Khafi Khan's
History Of 'Alamgir

(Being an English translation of the relevant portions of *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*
with notes and an introduction)

by

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PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KAKACHI-5
1975

Pakistan Historical Society Publication

No. 62

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

ا	=	a	ض	=	ḍ
آو	=	aw	ط	=	ṭ
اى	=	ay	ظ	=	ẓ
ب	=	b	ع	=	‘
ت and ٹ	=	t	غ	=	gh
ث	=	th	ف	=	f
ج	=	j	ق	=	q
ح	=	ḥ	ک	=	k
خ	=	kh	گ	=	g
د	=	d	ل	=	l
ذ	=	dh	م	=	m
ر	=	r	ن	=	n
ز	=	z	و	=	ū ; w
س	=	s	ہ	=	h
ش	=	sh	ی	=	ī ; y
ص	=	ṣ	ء	=	’

Long vowels : ā, ī, ū

Short vowels : a, i, u

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Preface

Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* is a monumental work on the history of the Mughul Empire from the time of Muslim conquest to about the middle of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. Evidently the second part of the book, covering the reign of 'Ālamgīr I and his successors, is more important as it contains a contemporary account of the period. It was for this reason that we decided to publish an English translation of the portion dealing with the reign of 'Ālamgīr, which is undoubtedly one of the most interesting periods in the history of the Subcontinent.

The work was originally assigned to an experienced scholar of history, but the system which he followed was not in conformity with the modern principles of scientific translation. It had therefore to be retranslated. In some places however the first draft has been used with advantage.

In view of my other commitments I had to do this work piece-meal, and it was printed in instalments in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

I am happy that this important work is now being published by the Society in the form of a book, under the title of *Khāfī Khān's History of 'Ālamgīr*, and hope that it will be useful not only for the University students but also for historians and scholars who are not in a position to utilize the original Persian text which is now rare.

Every care has been taken to present a literal translation of the text even if the English rendering appeared to be grotesque due to frequent repetition of synonymous words and phrases. This is a marked feature of Khāfī Khān's style, and although it looks impressive in the original Persian, it makes dull reading when rendered into English. We have however made slight deviations where literal rendering would have become almost intolerable.

S. Moinul Haq

INTRODUCTION

I

The author of *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Muḥammad Hāshim, generally known as Khāfī Khān,[1] has rightly been considered by some writers to be one of the leading historians of the Mughul period. Unfortunately we do not possess any material for his life and have to depend on only a few references made by him in his voluminous work. His father, Khwājah Mīr, originally on the staff of Prince Murād Bakhsh, had after his death joined the service of the State. The date and place of Khāfī Khān's birth are not known, but it has been guessed that he was born in the Sub-continent, and on the basis of a statement made by him that "at the time of writing seventy-four years had passed since the death of S'ad Allāh Khan, (*Jumādā II* 1066/April 1656) and fifty-two since he himself had reached the age of discretion (14?)" it has been calculated that he must have been sixty-six (lunar) years old in 1140/1728 and therefore must have been born in 1074/1663-4. Nor can it be said with certainty how and when he began his career, but he was acting as agent of 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān at Surat in 1693 or 1694 when he visited Bombay and had

1 Evidently he bore this epithet because of the connection of his ancestors with the town of Khwāf in Khurāsān. It is interesting to note that some historians have attributed it to the fact that *khāfī* means 'concealed' and he was known by this name because he had kept his book in concealment fearing the descendants of 'Ālamgīr whom he had severely criticized. Obviously this explanation is wrong because even if he wanted to keep his book concealed he could not have done so for nearly a quarter of a century. The conclusion is based on the wrong assumption that 'Ālamgīr had prohibited the writing of history even by individual scholars. What in fact he had prohibited was the compilation of an official history of the reign by an officer of the State because he did not like flattery and panegyrism.

See Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, (London, 1877), Vol. VII, p. 208.

an interview with an English officer.[1] Later he joined Government service and served in the Deccan from the last years of 'Ālamgīr to the time of Muḥammad Shāh. He was posted at Surat, Ahmadabad and Rahirī and was in charge of Champanir in the time of Bahādur Shāh. Subsequently he seems to have served under Āṣaf Jāh Niẓām al-Mulk I who made him a *dīwān* in the time of Farrukh Siyar. Probably he remained in his service until his death in 1732 or 1733, and it is for this reason that he has sometimes been referred to as *Niẓām-al-Mulkī.*

Khāfī Khān's work is valuable because 'Ālamgīr prohibited the writing of what one may call 'an official history' after seeing Muḥammad Kāzim's *'Ālamgīrnāmah* which contains an account of the first ten years of his reign ; "the cultivation of inward piety," he thought, "was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements."[2] The spirit behind this action was no doubt praiseworthy, but it certainly deprived the historian of a detailed account of the period of his reign based on authentic records. The court historian naturally wrote with a strong bias in favour of his hero and often degraded himself to the position of a mere panegyrist, but it is beyond doubt that he presented details of facts to

1 For details see *Muntakhab*, (Calcutta, 1874), Vol. II, p. 424.

2 This is supported by another incident. The court poet, *Shādmān*, wrote a *qaṣīdah* in his praise on his accession to the throne. 'Ālamgīr appreciated it as a piece of art and had it recited twice, but instead of encouraging the poet he said that he wanted that in future such ideas should not enter his mind. *Shādmān* placed his hands on the feet of the Emperor and pledged that he would never compose poems in future.

See Shīr Khān Lodi, *Mir'āt al-Khayāl* (Culcutta, 1831), p. 252.

A similar but more interesting story is narreted about Alexander: "Aristobulus, after he had written an account of the single combat between Alexander and Porus, showed that monarch a particular part of it, wherein, the better to get into his good graces, he had inserted a great deal more than was true : when Alexander seized the book and threw it (for they happened at that time to be sailing on the Hydaspes) directly into the river : 'Thus', said he, 'ought you to have been served yourself, for pretending to describe my battles, and killing half a dozen elephants for me with a spear.' "

See Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 176.

which an individual writer had no access, and although his account was usually over-loaded with metaphors, exaggerated statements and synonymous expressions it was not difficult to gather from it relevant and trustworthy material.

Thus, for the last forty years of 'Ālamgīr's reign we have no official chronicle. Fortunately, however, Muḥammad Musta'id Khān Sāqī, *munshi* of Bahādur Shāh's *wazīr*, Ināyat Allāh Khān, compiled at the desire hf his patron a brief history of the entire reign under the title of *Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgīrī.* It was completed in 1710, and although exceedingly brief we find in this book a reliable account of nearly all important events of the reign, for "he had been a constant follower of the Court for forty years and an eye-witness of many of the transactions he records". Khāfi Khān charges him with "not alluding to the campaigns," and confining himself to the the Emperor's conquests. This is not wholly untrue, but in spite of this drawback his book is the best and most authentic source of our information for the last four decades of 'Alamgir's reign, his account of the first ten years being just an abridgment of the *'Ālamgīrnāmah.*

The *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* is a complete history of the Mughul Empire up to the middle of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. The earlier portion is brief, but from the death of Akbar onwards the author has described the eveets in detail and has frequently recorded his own comments not only on the policies of the rulers but also on the deeds of some of the leading figures. In the case of 'Ālamgīr he is not always happy with the policies pursued by his Government, particularly with regard to the Sultanate of Golconda. He could not openly criticize the piety and moral qualities of 'Ālamgīr's character, because they were held in high esteem by the people in general, but, unable to completely suppress his feelings of dislike in respect of certain issues, he has expressed them in the form of mild satires giving an impression that due to some of his basic virtues he took measures which were not conducive to the interests of the State. Another feature of the book worth mentioning is the tendency of its author to make

only brief references to some of the important events of the reign. The result is that we possess, as far as recorded history is concerned, only an inadequate picture of 'Ālamgīr's reign after 1667. Neverthless, a careful study of the works of Khāfī Khān and Musta'id Khān supplemented by a perusal of his letters and contemporary or nearly contemporary material in other books will enable the student of history to form a fairly correct idea of the character and policies of 'Ālamgīr.

II

It is not possible here to discuss in detail the character and background of 'Ālamgīr's policies, but a few comments may be made which, it is hoped, will help the reader in assesseing the statements and remarks of Khāfī Khān, and other critics on the controversial aspects of problems relating to his reign. That he has been sharply criticized by some writers and profusely praised by others need not surprise us; he stood for and tried to champion a cause, and being the head of the State his activities were bound to elicit contradictory comments. Again, it is for this reason that even those of his qualities and virtues which go to make the personality of an individual great and glorious have been looked upon with suspicion. Indeed 'Ālamgīr's life and work have not been studied in a purely objective manner and we notice an element of subjectivity in the assessment of nearly all prominent writers who have made a special study of this period. Another noticeable feature of these studies is that the writers have not given due weight to the relevant contents of the Emperor's letters which have fortunately survived in a fairly large number. These epistles contain numerous statements of the writer's own views on questions of statecraft, government policies and administrative reforms as well as the moral teachings and ideals which a good Muslim is expected to follow, besides admonitions to princes and high State officials for lapses in the course of the performance of their duties

or a demonstration of unworthy conduct in their dealings with the people at large. In short, they provide us with abundant first-hand material to study his outlook on life and his feelings and ideas in regard to the responsibilities of the head of a monarchical State. To ignore this evidence and arrive at conclusions about 'Ālamgīr's deeds and policies or his aims and motives on the basis of the statements of other writers and historians only is hardly justifiable, particularly if one is anxious to know the real truth. We do not wish to minimize the importance of contemporary or later authorities, but their statements have to be examined and scrutinized in the light of information provided by the Emperor's letters. Only then shall we be in a position to form a correct idea of his rather complex personality.[1]

The task of collecting and examining all the existing letters of 'Ālamgīr will entail considerable amount of labour, but now that interest in historical research is increasing it is hoped that it will attract the attention of scholars and learned bodies. However, at present a student of history has to rely on the authorities which have so far been the basis of the study of 'Ālamgīr's reign, besides the few collections of his letters which have been published. It may be mentioned that our comments also as contained in the succeeding paragraphs are mainly based on these works besides some articles published in the periodicals.

Born only thirteen years after the death of Akbar, Prince Awrangzīb grew and received his early training in a period which was marked by the beginnings of a reaction to the effects of Dīn-i-Ilāhī on the moral and socio-religious aspects of life at the court. Nevertheless, many an innovation introduced by the sponsors of that creed were still current in a section of the courtiers. The *amīrs* and officers of the Government had thus become divided into two groups. In Shāhjahān's reign the lost prestige and influence of the orthodox section had been restored to a large extent, and perhaps the group of free-thinkers

1 For a study of the early years of his life, see S. Moinul Haq, *Prince Awrangzib*, (Karachi, 1962).

among the nobles would have disappeared as such if the patronage of his eldest and most favoured son, Dārā, had not kept it alive. Almost from their boyhood the two brothers—Dārā and Awrangzib—had become attached to these separate groups. As they advanced in age their views and attitudes in life became more distinct and firm. This explains why Awrangzīb commanded extensive influence among the nobles despite the Emperor's partiality for his elder brother. The War of Succession, it has rightly been stated, was more a clash between two ideologies than a conflict between two rivals. Temperamentally a strong believer in orthodox Islām, circumstances had forced Awrangzīb to lead its forces at a critical stage; his victory at Sāmūgarh, he believed, had placed on his shoulders the responsibility of not only governing the vast territories of the Empire with justice and ability but also of repairing the damaged structure of the socio-religious life of the Muslims.

Awrangzīb, who was thus forced by circumtances to play the role of a reformer along with kingship, had received good education and gained proficiency in different branches of learning, current in those days. He was also fully conscious of the defects of the system, for, according to some writers, he had once told one of his teachers that much of his time had been wasted in learning things which were of little advantage for a prince who was likely to becamc a ruler. A number of other incidents in his life also show that he had sound and mature views on education and other problems of life. By way of illustration we may mention the compilation of the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*; considerable difficulties were faced by the *qāḍīs* and *muftis* in deciding cases strictly in accordance with the *sharī'ah* law, particularly because the old collections of *fatāwā* must have been proving inadequate and in some cases out of date. To provide the judiciary with a comprehensive and authoritative code of Ḥanafī law he appointed a Commission comprised of some of the leading jurists of the Empire. In the compilation of this remarkable work 'Ālamgīr is stated to have taken an active interest, and important passages were

examined and commented upon by him before they were finalised by the Commission.

'Ālamgīr was deeply conscious of his dual responsibility: he wanted to reform the Muslim society and at the same time administer the territories of an extensive Empire in which an overwhelming majority of the population was non-Muslim. No doubt he did all he could to keep these two roles separate from each other but the complexities of problems which faced him made it difficult for the people to understand the real nature of his motives and steps taken by him to discharge his responsibilities. The destruction of some temples, for instance, may be mentioned by way of illustration. On this score he has been censured by non-Muslim writers, who attribute it to his narrow-mindedness and bigotry. Surprisingly enough, it has occurred to none of his critics that if this were true the campaign of destruction would have continued throughout the long span of his reign, particularly in its second half, when he was fighting in the Deccan against the Hindu Marathas. Again, how inconsistent it looks that a person who orders the destruction of some Hindu temples out of religious bigotry should at the same time grant *jāgīrs* to others.[1] The only conclusion that we can draw from these facts is that there must have been specific reasons other than religious bigotry, which forced him to issue orders for the demolition of some temples. In this connection an important factor which has to be kept in view is that due to the patronage of Akbar the Hindus had become aggressive and there are cases on record of the demolition of mosques by them at different places. By way of example we may mention the statement of Shaykh Aḥmad Sarhindī, (d. 1035/1625) who laments the destruction of a mosque in Kurukhet or Kurukshetra (near Thānesar).[2] Similarly, much has been said about 'Ālamgīr's

1 For some cases of grants made by the Emperor to Hindu templee, see *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* Vol. V, pt. IV, pp. 247-254.

2 See *Maktūbāt-i-Imām Rabbānī*, Vol. II, pp. 161-162; also see John Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi*, (Montreal and London 1971) p. 82; Z. Faruki, *Aurangzib and his Times*' (Bombay 1935), Ch. IV.

measures regarding disadvantages suffered by the non-Muslims in his reign, but little or no attention has been paid to his instructions that merit and not religion should be the basis of promotion in service. Such facts and other relevant factors have to be examined in detail and in their proper perspectives before drawing conclusions with regard to different aspects of his character and policies.[1]

We do not propose here to discuss in detail all aspects of Ālamgīr's administrative policies. A few references may however be made to some of the prominent features of his personality and work. Like most of the other rulers of the dynasty he was a brave warrior and has left an excellent record of feats of exceptional bravery. At the age of fourteen he resisted the attack of a furious elephant and cut its trunk. This was the first public demonstration of his extraordinary courage and coolness of temper, and naturally earned him wide-spread fame. Another heroic deed may also be mentioned. In 1647 he was sent to Balkh as commander of the Imperial army. The object of the campaign could not be achieved because of the vast distance from the capital, but Awrangzīb was able to create a deep impression on the mind of the enemy. In the thick of the battle, at the hour of prayer he dismounted from his horse, spread the carpet and began to pray. His opponent, Prince 'Abd al-'Azīz, was simply amazed at this spectacle and cried out: "To fight with such a man is to court one's ruin!"[2] It is obvious that this remarkable incident must have carried his fame to the farthest corners of the Islamic world. For another example of his dauntless courage reference may be made to his orders for fastening the legs of the elephants with chains in the Battle of Sāmūgarh, so that they might not flee from there in panic. More

1 See Faruki, chaps. VII and VIII.

2 For details see 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Pādshāhnāmah*, Vol. I, pp. 489-493. Also see J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib* (Calcutta, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

For details see 'Abd a l-Ḥamīd, Vol. II, p. 704.

striking than these incidents was his active participation in battles and sieges in the Deccan campaigns. Though an octogenarian he sometimes insisted on leading his forces to battle. In the siege of Wakinkhera when he was in the ninetieth year of his life he had taken position within the range of gunfire from the fort at the top of the hill. In the history of warfare we will hardly find the case of a ninety-year-old ruler exhibiting greater courage and determination in defying danger by risking his own life.[1]

'Ālamgīr was not only a brave fighter ; his command over the pen was as thorough as on the sword, and there can be no doubt that if he had chosen to devote his life to learning and scholarship he would have become one of the leading authors of his age. It appears from his letters that he could use strong and forceful language in administering threats, or even rebukes, to the princes and officers of the realm for their mistakes and inefficiency, but in conveying to them a piece of advice or an appreciation of their services his pen becomes unusually soft and facile. To embellish his expressions and statements and to add to the strength and effectiveness of his arguments he quotes freely from the *Qur'ān*, the *ḥadīthes* of the Prophet and the writings of eminent scholars and poets. He is stated to have sometimes composed verses, but these are scanty and it is beyond doubt that he did not like spending much of his time in writing poetry.[2] Primarily interested in religious learning he is said to have had a great liking for the works of Al-Ghazālī and other eminent *ṣūfī-shaykhs* (*'urafā'*)[3].

Islam has shown no preference for any specific form of government, but it has emphatically curbed the idea of unrestricted despotism by laying down the principle of *consultation*[4] which in practical working would mean democracy in one form or the other.

1 For details of the siege, see Khāfī Khān, p. 537, *et. seq.*

2 See *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*, under 'Āqil Khān Rāzī.

3 Cf. *'Ālamgīrnāmah*, p. 1104.

4 *Al-Qur'ān*, 42 : 38,

Thus, even monarchy is permissible but the ruler has to work within the frame-work of *shari'ah* law which imposes drastic limitations on his authority. Nevertheless in a monarchical system however limited might be the circle of his authority the conduct and personal qualities of the ruler count for much and the success and failure of administration largely depend on his character and behaviour. This was particularly true of the eastern monarchies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The basic features of the character of a monarch and its impact on the working of his government have therefore to be examined with great care. This explains why Muslim thinkers and writers on statecraft have laid great emphasis on qualities which a good monarch is expected to possess and cultivate. In the absence of organized public opinion in the medieval ages the monarchs did not consider themselves responsible to the people, or their representatives. No doubt, they appointed ministers, but they were not bound to accept their advice and often acted according to their whims or at best as their conscience guided them. In the case of a Muslim ruler however his responsibility to God was a universally accepted principle and, therefore, he had to be a just and God-fearing person. To fully realize the nature and significance of 'Ālamgīr's policies and actions we have to study them in the context of these ideals.

The most striking feature of 'Ālamgīr's personality was his piety and its effects could be witnessed in his private life as much as public dealings. Indeed, in this respect he can well be compared with the pious Muslims of early centuries, known as *zuhhād* and subsequently as *ṣūfīs*. Besides carrying out the commands of *sharī'ah* in regard to the performance of obligatory prayers and devotions the basis of their discipline (*ṭarīqah*) was to avoid involvement in affairs connected with the material aspects of life at the expense of moral and spiritual elevation. This was the ideal which the Prophet by his own example had left behind for his followers. It should however be noted that emphasis on moral and spiritual elevation did not preclude a Muslim from undertaking and discharging his responsibilities as a member of a social group or a citizen of a

particular State. It was this ideal which 'Ālamgīr had decided to follow, keeping before him the example of the first four caliphs of Islam, who had lived up to it with success. No obstacles which lay in his path could shake his determination, and no sacrifices which he had to make were considered to be too great for the achievement of this objective.

Five daily prayers[1] and fasting in the month of *Ramaḍān*[2] are obligatory and their omission is sinful. The prayers should be offered in congregation and only in exceptional circumstances one is allowed to perform them alone and in privacy. 'Ālamgīr fulfiilled the commands of the *sharī'ah* and offered the prayers in congregation in the mosque within the fort or the city, and also in the camp. After the morning (*fajr*) prayers he stayed in the mosque till the time of *chāsht* and remained engaged in devotional recitations (ادعیۂ ماثورہ و اوراد و وظائف). From the mosque he went to the council chamber (*ghusul-khānah*) where he spent some time in hearing to and deciding important cases presented before him. Then going to *jharūkādarshan* he witnessed the parade of horses or elephant fights. This was followed by a *darbār* where State business such as appointments and promotions of *manṣab-dārs* and audience of distinguished visitors was conducted. It lasted for nearly two hours after which the Emperor again went to the council chamber and disposed of important cases. After taking lunch in the female apartments he took rest for a short while; then performing early afternoon prayers (*ẓuhr*) he retired to his private chamber where he remained till the *'aṣr* (late after-noon) prayers, reciting and scribing the *Qur'ān* and studying books in which he was interested.[4] Here he spent some time with his wives and other distinguished ladies of the family. The *'aṣr*,

1 *Ṣalāt*, or *namāz*.

2 *Ṣawm* (*rūzah* in Persian).

3 *Chāsht*: Supererogatory prayers offered shortly after sunrise.

4 Besides well-known works on religiouss sciences, 'Ālamgīr was particularly interested in the writings of Al-Ghazālī and other *ṣūfī-shaykhs* (*'urafā'*). His interest in the study of the *Qur'ān* was so deep that he learnt it by heart after ascending the throne. See Faruki, p. 546.

prayers were followed by the disposal of other problems pertaining to State business. After *maghrib* (sunset) prayers he again came to the council chamber where the chief minister[1] and other leading ministers presented exceptionally important cases, and the Emperor gave his decisions and orders.

This was the end of his daily routine, but even after retiring he remained engaged in supererogatory prayers till late in the night and, according to Muḥammad Kāẓim, did not sleep for more than three or four hours. On certain nights considered sacred by the Muslims he did not sleep and remained busy in prayers and devotions. In addition to fasting he passed the last ten days of the month of *Ramaḍān* in retirement (*i'tikāf*). Besides *Ramaḍān* he generally fasted on three days in the week—Monday, Thursday and Friday. *Zakāt* is another "pillar" of Islam[2] and has greatly influenced the character of the economic system of Muslim States governed according to *sharī'ah*. Its payment is binding on every Muslim (man or woman) who is in a position to save something after his or her legitimate expenses. An idea of the importance of *zakāt* in the community life of Islam can be formed from the fact that to meet the demand of some tribesmen Abu Bakr, the first caliph of Islām, was advised to forego its collection. He did not only reject the suggestion but emphatically told his colleagues that he would fight to collect it to the last farthing,[3] even if he were to do it alone. Ever since then pious Muslims have obeyed the *Qur'ānic* injunction in regard to the payment of *zakāt* and have paid it to the poor in their individual capacity when the ruler or government of the country did not collect it. No wonder, then, that 'Ālamgīr was also particular in regard to the payment of *zakāt* on his personal income. He

1 *Wazīr-i-'Āẓam* in *Ā'lamgīrnāmah*. p. 1105.

2 The five *arkān* (lit. pillars) of Islam are: Faith in the creed ("There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is His Apostle); *Ṣalāt* (five daily prayers); *Zakāt* (tax on savings); *Ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Makkah); and *Ṣawm* (fasting in the month of *Ramaḍān*).

3 The actual expression used by him was "the halter of a camel."

also saw that his sons too paid their dues. The last "pillar" of the Faith is *ḥajj* but it has to be performed only if conditions and circumstances allow a person to do so. In the case of 'Ālamgīr or, for that matter, any other ruler of the Subcontinent, it was not possible to remain absent from his country for a long time. In a monarchy an absentee ruler is almost a contradiction in terms. However, besides frequently sending substantial sums of money to the two *ḥarams* (sacred places—Makkah and Madīnah) he also sent a manuscript of the *Qur'ān* scribed in his own hand to Makkah.

Simple in his food and dress, 'Alamgir was dignified in his behaviour and conversation He was gentle in disposition and possessed a forbearing nature. Both in and outside the court he maintained the dignity of his position and in his presence no body could indulge in loose talk or laughing and jesting. Indeed, the princes as well as officers and nobles had to be careful in their remarks and statements when the Emperor was present. Humour was permitted but not at the expense of serenity. A courtier, for instance, once forgot to thank him for a gift of fruits which had been sent to him; the Emperor courteously reminded him of this omission by asking him if he liked them. Taken aback the courtier instantly repeated the *chār-taslīm* (four salutations) which, according to the usual practice of the court were offered only once when a person appeared before the Emperor. "Why this repetition?" asked the Emperor. "Your Majesty, Your Majesty", he replied by way of humour, "this was *sajdah-i-sahw*".[1] The Emperor smiled and thus accepted the apology.

1 *Sajdah-i-sahw*; One has to perform extra prostrations (*sajdah*) if one forgets something or commits an error in the course of *ṣalāt* (prayers)

It may be noted that the practice of offering *sajdah* to the Emperor, in which the forehead is placed on the ground, had started in the time of Akbar. It was un-Islamic, for a Muslim can offer *sajdah* to Allāh alone, it being a symbol of worship. Under Jahāngīr the term *sajdah* was abolished and the courtiers simply kissed the ground (*zamīn-būs*) on appearing before the Emperor. Even this looked like *sajdah* and in the time of Shāhjahān they just bowed and saluted, which practice came to be known as chār-taslīm.

Besides the fundamental obligations referred to above there are other good deeds and actions which a pious Muslim is expected to perform and a number of evils which he has to avoid; these are generally referred to as *awāmir wa nawāhī* (orders and prohibitions). 'Ālamgīr tried to scrupulously follow them. Of course he did not taste any intoxicant nor touch any woman other than his legally married four wives.[1] Even in regard to minor injunctions he took great care to act in a way which was not objectionable. He did not waste his time in frivolities.

Without going into further details of the qualities and prominent features of his character we may now briefly examine their impact on the policies and working of his government.

'Ālamgīr has often been criticized and sometimes even censured for his policies and measures which, his critics maintain, were prompted by religious bigotry. According to them, they were prejudicial to the interests of the non-Muslims and alienated them ; the attitude of the Hindus, particularly the Rajputs, changed and the Empire became weak and had to face a number of new and complicated problems. In short, they attribute its decline largely to his policies and assert that if Dārā had succeeded to the throne instead of Awrangzīb the Mughul Empire would have lived much longer. The arguments of these writers appear to be convincing at the first sight, but a detailed and careful examination of facts will show that most of them are not sound. It may be mentioned at the outset that the main cause of the decline of the Empire was not a change in the policy but the quarrels and general incapacity of the nobles and officers who were responsible for running the administration. 'Ālamgīr had made no basic changes in the system of government which his predecessors had established and worked. He did not allow religion to influence the normal course of administration and there is recorded evidence to show that he disapproved the actions of his officers whenever they were marked

1 One of his wives was a Rajput princess, daughter of the chief of Rajauri in Kashmir. Her Muslim name was Raḥmat al-Nisā.

by partiality on the basis of religious beliefs. No doubt he made no attempt to conceal his pleasure on hearing of the entry of an important person in the fold of Islam but he did not use his influence to persuade any non-Muslim to embrace it against his will. Evidently he could not do otherwise, as it would have meant a clear deviation from the path laid down by Islam that there was no compulsion in matters of faith. The most oft-repeated charges levelled against him in this connection are the re-imposition of the *jizyah* and the demolition of some temples by the officers of the Government. They have been examined in detail by some modern writers.[1]

We would however like to make a few comments on these issues. The orders for the demolition of some temples were given under special circumstances which were of a political and administrative rather than religious nature. In this connection it may be mentioned that even a man of ordinary intelligence could have realized that the demolition of a few temples here and there could not have benefited Islam and would have certainly injured the sentiments of the Hindus. Moreover an idea of the policy of the Emperor on this issue can be formed from the fact that he is stated to have granted *jāgīrs* to some temples which were considered by him to be deserving of State patronage.[2]

The effects and consequences of the re-imposition of *jizyah* in 1679 have been grossly exaggerated by some of the modern writers. The western historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries represented it as a poll tax imposed by a Muslim Government on its non-Muslim subjects who were called *dhimmis*.[3] In an Islamic State, governed by the *sharī'ah* law, if the Government fought war (*jihād*) against infidel enemies or aggressors it became obligatory for all able-bodied male Muslims to join the forces as and when it became necessary. The *dhimmis*, on the other hand,

1, See, for instance, Shibli (*'Ālamgir par ik naẓar,)* and relevant chapters in Farūki.

2 See *Supra*, p. XVII, n. 1.

3 For *dhimmīs*, see *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. XX. Pt. 1, p. 21. *et, seq.*

were not bound to do so, but this did not deprive them of their fundamental rights of safety and protection; it was the responsibility of the Muslim Government to safeguard their lives and property in the same way as of the Muslims. In lieu of enjoying this right of protection without the consequential obligation of compulsarily joining the forces they were obliged to pay a tax. If therefore Muslim authorities were unable to ensure the safety of the *d͟himmīs* they were not entitled to levy or collect the *jizyah*.[1] Another point which should be noted is that it was levied only on the young and able-bodied males; women, children, old men and those who were unemployed or were in the service of the State were exempt. To reduce the burden to a minimum and facilitate its payment the rate of the tax was graded according to the capacity of the tax-payer. In 'Ālamgīr's time the highest slab was Rs. 13 *per annum*, and the lowest came downto Rs. 3-4.[2] As *jizyah* was one of the very few taxes enjoined by the *Qur'ān* it was levied and collected by the various Muslim Governments in the Subcontinent. Akbar it seems, had abolished it not so much with the intention of providing relief to poor non-Muslims as to utilize an opportunity defying a command of the *s͟harī'ah*, against which his Government had started a regular campaign and which was generally and contemptuously referred to as *Islām-i-Majāzī*. However, his orders its abolition remained in force for well over a century and therefore it is not surprising that its reimposition by 'Ālamgīr caused a stir in some sections of Hindu society. The Emperor remained firm in his determination to enforce it, and in course of time it was accepted by the people. The view expressed by some writers that reimposition of the *jizyah* was one of the main causes of disaffection among the Hindus is not supported by facts. A section

1 A good illustration is provided by the action of K͟hālid b. Walīd in the case of Ḥimṣ. For details, see S͟hibli, *Al-Farūq*, (Reprint, Lahore, 1953), p. 392.

2 For some useful comments on the nature and scope of *jizyah*, see Faruki, ch. V; S͟hibli, *Maqālāt*; and A. A. Alavi. in *The Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, 1968 (Karachi, 1969).

of the Rajputs tried to defy the imperial orders, but their failure in the revolt against the Emperor despite the desertion of his son, Prince Akbar, who held the supreme command of the Mughul army, came as a great blow to their pride as warriors. In fact their martial traditions were now gradually dying out, and after this war the number of Rajput chieftains who were anxious to win glory through exploits on the battle-fields decreased rather repidly. Nevertheless some of them who wanted to maintain their old traditions fought shoulder to shoulder with the Mughuls in the Deccan campaigns of 'Alamgir.

Most of the prominent features of 'Ālamgīr's personality, to which references have been made in the above paragraphs, had become apparent even in the days of his boyhood. When he ascended the throne in the forty-first year of his life his ideas and views had become clearly marked and no one could have any doubt as to the lines of his policies. Like many a prince the of ruling houses he had to fight a war of succession against his brother claimants. He has been criticized for the treatment meted out to his rivals. It is unnecessary to go into the details of his actions in this respect, for his conduct was not much different from what it could have been under the circumstances. Of his three brothers, Prince Shujā' had disappeared after his defeat and was therefore not a problem for him. Dārā and Murād were put into prison and were ultimately executed for specific offences under the orders of legal authorities. In either case it is difficult to find justification for the charge of revengefulness brought against him by some writers. Similarly Shāhjahān's forced retirement (*inzawā'*), originally manoeuvred by Dārā, should cause no surprise to a student of history, because Awrangzīb had with him conclusive evidence of his father's collusion with his eldest son in plots to entrap and imprison him.[1] Nevertheless, the internment of the ex-Emperor who used to hold his *darbār* sitting on the Peacock Throne, and the execution of Princes, the grandeur of whose establishments rivalled that

1 See 'Āqil Khān Rāzi, *Wāqi'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī* (ed. M. Zafar Hasan, Delhi. 1945), pp. 68-85.

of many a contemporary ruler, must have severely hurt the sentiments of at least some sections of the people. Awrangzīb's conscience might have been satisfied because it was through the machinery of law, and not by his personal orders, that his brothers had been executed, but the people could forget these episodes only after the passage of time. Such tragic consequences however are inevitable features of dynastic rule and fratricidal wars, and it is beyond doubt that if Aurangzīb had been defeated by any of his brothers his fate would have been worse.

In the end, we would like to make a passing reference to the fact that after assuming the responsibilities of government he did not change his views although he knew, as has been stated by some critics, that his seat on the Peacock Throne would have become more than comfortable if he had been less rigid in regard to the enforcement of the laws of Islam. This however was not possible for he had fought for and won the throne not to live in ease and comfort, but with the sole object of saving Muslim society and the Empire from falling into a state of anarchy, towards which it seemed to him to be moving since the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Much had been done to check this trend in the two preceding reigns. Yet, he felt that considerable effort was needed to mend the state of affairs. Nobody realized it more intensely than Awrangzīb that Dārā's accession to the Throne would pose a serious threat to the integrity of Muslim society. Being in a minority the Muslims would gradually be reduced to the position of outcastes if they did not continue to hold the political supremacy which they had won by making great sacrifices and maintained through centuries of persistent efforts. This had happened in their own case in Europe in the middle ages and in the case of the original inhabitants of the Subcontinent in the ancient days. His intelligent eye could easily foresee the disaster with which the Muslims would be confronted in future if no steps were taken to keep their position intact, because the vigiour and integrity of Muslim life was linked up with political supremacy. This objective, he knew, could be achieved if he oc-

cupied the throne instead of Dārā; he had to be kept away from power because he would have followed policies laid down by the sponsors of Din-i-Ilahī.[1] Murād was unfit to govern a mighty empire, and Shāhjahān's great fault was his blind infatuation for Dārā and his inability to take a realistic view of the situation after Awranzīb's great victory at Sāmūgarh. To the last moment he continued plotting against Awrangzīb in order to clear the way for Dārā, and thus left for him no alternative but to deprive him of the throne and place restrictions on his movements. The internment of Shāhjahān who had been a successful ruler and had immensely contributed to the advancement of civilization appears to be an act of cruelty, but, sentiment apart, Awrangzīb could not solve the problem in any other way. His restoration to power would have thrown open the doors of anarchy and mutual warfare.

'Ālamgīr has been criticized for his treatment of Shāhjahān. The contemporary Iranian monarch sarcastically wrote in a letter that he called his act of imprisoning the father as conquering the world (پدر گیری را عالم گیری نام نہادہ). This charge has since been repeated by some writers; however, no importance can be attached to it because it was the only logical end of the circumstances created by Dārā's obstinacy and haughtiness and Shāhjahān's inability to read the writing on the wall. During the struggle for the throne the four active participants had to face delicate and complicated problems, and their stakes being high, it is not surprising that the losers of the battle had to suffer grievously.

Summing up this brief discussion we can say that both as a Prince and as an Emperor the behaviour was of Awrangzīb was just normal. After winning the battle for the throne he had taken upon his shoulders the responsibility of administering a vast Empire and it cannot be denied that he discharged his duties with utmost vigour and determination and in all sincerity and devotion.

1 For Dara's views on Islam, see S. Moinul Haq, *Prince Awrangzib*, (Karachi, 1962), Introduction.

III

Several writers have particularly criticized 'Ālamgir for his Deccan policy, which, according to them, harmed the interests of his own dynasty, and in course of time became one of the main causes of the disintegration of the Empire. No doubt, a hasty glance over the course of history leaves this impression on the mind of the reader, for we notice that its decline began soon after the death of the Emperor and its first symptoms appeared in the territories of the Deccan. A closer and analytical study of the problem however will reveal that it is not so simple as it appears on the first sight, and that the criticism of 'Ālamgīr's policy loses much of its force when assessed in a proper perspective of the relevant facts and circumstances.

Since the ancient times the vast area of the Subcontinent was comprised of two separate regions. Before the advent of Islam early in the eighth century the northern half was predominently Aryan while most of the people living south of the Vindhya range belonged to the Dravidian race. Islam brought in its wake the tradition of not only transcending geographical barriers but also of crushing racial distinctions. To this tendency considerable strength was provided by the inordinate desire and persistent efforts of some of the powerful Muslim rulers to become great empire-builders and push the frontiers of their dominions to the shores of the sea in the south and the heights of the Himalayas in the north. Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Din Khalji was the first great ruler to extend the sphere of Muslim political supremacy to the farthest extremity of the Subcontinent in the south. In the social and spiritual phases of life Shaykh Burhan al-Din (d. 1340 A. C.), after whom the city of Burhānpur was so named, was the fisrt great *sūfi* missionary to go to the Deccan whither he was sent by his spiritual guide, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā (d. *1325* A. C.), with a large party.

Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluq's project of setting up a second capital of the Empire at Daulatabad made it a

centre of Islamic civilization in the south. As a result of the active efforts of *ṣūfi-shaykhs* and a continuous flow of cultural influences through a large scale migration of learned men and high State officials, Muslim population in the Deccan increased rapidly. In less than half a century the Deccani Muslims were in a position to overthrow the domination of the Delhi Sultans and establish an independent State of their own in the south. The Bahmanī kingdom made a lasting contribution to the growth of Islamic civilization, but like all monarchies it ultimately lost its vigour and disintegrated, giving birth to five independent Sultanates.

In the last years of his reign, Akbar, after bringing the whole of northern India under his sway, decided to extend it to the south. He succeeded in his ambition to a certain extent, but at the time of his death two of the five States—Bījāpūr and Golconda were completely independent, while Aḥmadnagar had recognized his sovereignty only partially and with reservation. Thus Akbar left in legacy a complicated problem for his successors. In fact the Mughuls had become so entangled in the affairs of the south that they could not withdraw from that region without the risk of leaving their prestige to suffer a severe blow at the international level besides other substantial losses. Even Jahāngīr, who was temperamentally not an ambitious man like his father, had to undertake campaigns and expeditions to maintain the position which he had inherited from him. Shāhjahān, a more gifted ruler than his predecessor, fully realized the importance of the Deccan problem, because having served there as a commander of the Mughul forces in the time of his father, he was personally acquainted with its intricacies and knew how dangerous it was to ignore it. Within a few years of his accession to the throne, therefore, he left for the south to personally supervise the operations of the Imperial forces. His efforts met with considerable success: Ahmadnagar became a part of the Empire and the remaining two States of Bījāpūr and Golconda accepted his suzerainty. This however did not

solve the problem for the obvious reason that the Deccan Sultans did not like the idea of permanent vassalage to the Mughul Emperors. Nor were the latter inclined to tolerate the existence of independent and sovereign States within the natural frontiers of the Subcontinent particularly because it would have meant a constant threat to their foreign policy. No single problem therefore demanded greater vigilance on the part of the Mughuls than distured conditions in the south.

The Deccan States, anxious to maintain their indepen dence, did not lose any opportunity of withholding the *pīsh-kash* (tribute), which they had undertaken to pay. Their rulers being Shī'ahs, they allowed the members of that community to openly indulge in some practices which were highly objectionable from the Sunni point of view. More dangerous and annoying to the Mughul Government however were their efforts to be on friendly terms with the Shī'ah rulers of Iran, who were old rivals of the Mughuls. The situation had further worsened since the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji. Prince Awrangzīb, who was twice appointed *ṣūbahdār* of the Deccan territories by his father, had from the beginning realized that it would be unwise to adopt a policy of half measures in respect of the Sultanates. The latter, on their part would always hunt for opportunities to shake off the burden of Mughul suzerainty, however light it might be. He therefore recommended to his father that annexation of the Sultanates of Bījāpur and Golconda was the only solution of the Deccan problem. To this Shāhjahān had agreed only in the last years of his reign, and if the war of succession had not started in 1657, Awrangzīb would have conquered them in that year and the course of Mughul history would have been different. There would have been little difficulty in arresting the growth and expansion of Maratha power and 'Ālamgīr would have devoted all his energy and resources to social reform and development in other phases of life.

On ascending the throne and assuming the responsibilities of administration 'Ālamgīr was so badly entangled in one problem after another that for almost half the period of his long reign

he could not devote his total attention to the affairs in the south. The Deccan Sultanates could have utilized this opportunity to stabilize their power and administration on the one hand and improve their relations with the Mughuls on the other. Unfortunately they did neither. On the contrary their leaders, unable to foresee the trends of future history, followed policies, which continually added to the growing strength and resources of the Marathas at their own expense, and in consequence intensified the distrust and annoyance of the Mughuls. Instead of minimizing the burden of Mughul suzerainty and gradually reducing it to the recognition of the supremacy of the Emperor's status, they tried to secure the good-will and friendship of the Marathas in the hope of organizing a joint and common front against the north. It is surprising that they failed to realize the impracticability of a genuine alliance with the Marathas, whose leader was an ambitious person and wanted to increase his strength and resources through plundering raids. Shivaji's successors continued the policy initiated by him. It would have been much wiser for them to maintain good relatons with the Mughuls; they could have co-operated with them in sustaining the vigour of Muslim rule. and strengthening it to bear the onslaughts of hostile forces

'Ālamgīr's preoccupation in the north with problems which called for his urgent and personal attention,—campaigns in the north-east and the north-west, revolt in Rajputana and the rebellion of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, etc.—did not allow him to deal with the Marathas as effectively as he should have done. No doubt in 1666 Shivāji had surrendered to the Mughul arms and had been sent to the court, but due to the carelessness of the attending staff he was able to escape and return in disguise to the south, where he re-started his plundering raids, and in course of time he became too strong to be easily suppressed by the Deccan Sultanates. In 1674 he set up an independent State which he called *Swarajya.* His son and successor, Shambhaji, continued the policy of his father and harassed the Mughuls by raiding their

territories in the south. The rebellion of the Marathas which had started under Shivāji had become a menace to the Empire because they were now assisted by the Muslim Sultanates of Bijāpur and Golconda. With the flight of the rebellious Prince Akbar towards the south the situation became delicate, as there was a likelihood of his being recognized as Emperor by Shambhaji and the Deccan Sultans. It was for this reason that 'Ālamgīr who had not forgotten the revolts of his own father and grandfather against their respective predecessors rushed to the south and reached there before his enemies could organize a consolidated front against him.

Soon after his arrival in the Deccan (1682) 'Ālamgīr realized that although the greatest danger to the integrity of Mughul territories in the south was from the rising power of the Marathas it was necessary to begin by conquering and annexing the Sultanates because they were a source of moral and material strength to them. A detailed study of the facts however shows that 'Ālamgīr would have allowed the Deccan Sultanates to exist with extensive autonomous powers as far as their internal administration was concerned if they had sincerely accepted the suzerainty of the Emperor. Their rulers however were not prepared to accept this position and decided to offer armed resistance. Abu al-Ḥasan, ruler of Golconda, showed willingnsse to accept the terms of peace dictated by the Emperor but only when it was too late, and, to quote Khāfi Khān's remark, "untimely rains are of no use for cultivation".

'Ālamgīr did not consider it to be a wise action to allow three disgruntled and obstinately hostile powers with extensive resources to make an alliance against him. The only course of action therefore which he could follow under the circumstances was to fight each of them separately and fight to the finish. Within ten years of his arrival in the Deccan the Sultanates of Bijāpūr and Golconda were conquered and included in the Empire, Shambhaji was captured and slain, his son and would-be successor, Shāhū, was made captive, and the only surviving representative of the Maratha ruling

family became a fugitive. Apparently the Mughuls had secured an over-all victory over their opponents in the south, and their entire territories seemed to have come under their sway. The Emperor however knew more than any one else that by achieving these victories he had completed only the first chapter of the protracted war in which he now found himself entangled. Though worsted by the Mughuls in the open field the Marathas had decided to resort to guerilla tactics which meant that to establish their authority over the greater part of the conquered territory the former would have to continue the war for years and actual fighting would be necessary to obtain the control of every single stronghold.

However, despite the efforts and determination of the Marathas to harass the victors by making surprise attacks on their convoys, cutting off supplies, destroying the crops, poisoning the wells and so forth, and offering armed resistance wherever they could, the imperial forces would have succeeded in bringing the entire region under their control in a short period, if their officers and commanders had not behaved shamefully at some of the critical moments and accepted bribes from the enemy. Besides this they had become ease-loving and lazy and the movement of forces under their command was extremely slow on account of their heavy paraphernalia. The Grand Army (اُردوئے معلیٰ) of the Mughuls, it has rightly been stated, was a moving city carrying with it all that was necessary for comfortable and luxurious living ; it was therefore accompanied by hosts of camp-followers far more in numbers than the soldiers. The light-footed horse of the Maratha raiders had thus the advantage of moving much faster than the Mughul contingents. No doubt, with their superior training and better equipment they could easily defeat the enemy in open battles, but he was clever and mobile enough not to offer them opportunities for such actions. Under these circumstances all that the Mughuls could do was to besiege the strongholds of the Marathas but here too the chances of capturing

the forts were often spoiled or weakened because of the treachery and misbehaviour of the avaricious commanders who became an easy prey to bribery.

In the whole span of this gloomy picture of Mughul war against the Maratha guerillas there was only one shining figure, throwing rays of its light in different directions. In grey hair and with a slightly bending back the aged Emperor remained firm like a rock in his resolve to carry the war to its logical end. No amount of loss in men and money could shake his determination. He knew that he was suffering a tremendous loss and also that his continued absence from the capital was adversely affecting the efficiency of the administrative machinery, but he was also conscious of the fact that the withdrawal of his forces without completing the conquest of the south would mean its passing into the hands of an enemy who would not let the Mughuls live in peace. It was also obvious that Maratha domination in the south would weaken the foundations of Muslim solidarity in the Subcontinent.

Evidentty therefore the only right course before 'Ālamgīr was to continue the war. In less than ten years, as has been stated, he was able to conquer and annex the Sultanates of Bījāpūr and Golconda as well as the territories of the Marathas. They had disappeared from the political map of the south and the region had become a part of the Empire. Its extent had now reached its utmost limits and never in the history of the Subcontinent had a single monarch ruled over a vaster area. It is however equally true that no other ruler was ever confronted with a more distressing situation. He spent the remaining seventeen years of his life in trying to consolidate the territories which he had conquered and annexed to his Empire, and the work was far from being completed when he died in 1707.

Only a successor as courageous and firm in determination as he was could continue and fulfil the task; but unfortunately 'Ālamgīr proved to be the last great ruler

of the dynasty. His successors were weak, incapable and ease-loving. It is not surprising therefore that the decline of the Mughul Empire after his death was more rapid than one could imagine.

In enforcing the precepts (*aḥkām*) of Islām and strengthening the firm Faith of Muḥammad[1] and carrying out the divine commands and prohibitions, he has taken such strong action that the reputation of his good name and his support of the Faith have rubbed the advice-accepting ears of the rulers of the seven climes. The annals of the deeds of his bravery in the days of his princehood as demonstrated in the conquest of Bal<u>kh</u> and Bada<u>khsh</u>ān, in the expeditions of Deccan and Qandahār and in his combat with a furious and giant-like elephant, which are written on the pages of history have already been narrated. The battles during the disorders caused by the illness of <u>Sh</u>āhjahān, when four or five actions were fought in one year against the crocodiles of the ocean of self-respect, every one of whom was as brave as a lion of the jungle of bravery and courage, (a particular feature) of the House of Tīmūr, and the fact that in spite of repeated reverses of his victorious army (*afwāj-i-ẓafar amwāj*) he never abandoned his position, remained firm, never lost heart nor allowed his plans to be defeated, and that with a small army he discomfited the enemy, and that despite the distractions in fighting he did not give up exertion—to what can these be ascribed but the grace of God Almighty ?

Verse :

His enligtened mind knows the art of government. All the secrets of administration are open to him.

If the steel will hear the reports of his justice, the axe, out of shame, will be transformed into water, at the root of the tree.

If the flood destroys a house, the gallbladder of the cloud will change into water out of fear.

The rest of the account of the excellence of the character of the just King is given at its proper place ; I now turn to the main topic.

1. In the Calcutta edition دین متعین is obviously a misprint for دین متین .

To attempt a brief account of the fifty years of the reign of the King, having the dignity of Jām, is to measure the water of the ocean with a pitcher, particularly of the last forty years, the account of which period has not been given by the historians because they were forbidden to write history[1]; it is an ocean without limits. The writer of this book, according to the practice of those who gather the remnants (*Khūshah-chīnān*) and have limited ability, has presented after thorough investigation and research, one out of a hundred (parts) of the story of some events which are worthy of being recorded, and about which he has obtained information from old and reliable persons, and ascertained them from the employees of the offices of the *Wāqi'ah-nigārs*, or those to which he has been an eye-witness. He (the writer) requests the learned scholars and the wise readers of this book, who are accustomed to hide the faults, that if owing to his inability to get hold of the chain of events he commits mistakes in the sequence of events or a small discrepancy is found between his version and other histories, then they should forgive him for that, because even in the most authentic works on history differences creep in through *riwāyat* (narration).

1 This is a misleading statement and has been accepted rather uncritically by modern historians. A reference may be made to the order given by 'Ālamgīr with regard to stopping the practice of the preparation of official histories. Muḥammad Kāẓim was appointed Court historiographer in the reign of 'Ālamgīr. He wrote the history of the first ten years and named it *'Ālamgīr-nāmah*. It was written on the lines laid down by Abū al-Faḍl and followed by other Court historians. 'Ālamgīr could not appreciate the highly artificial and exaggerated style of the book, nor was he pleased by the lavish praises showered on him. He therefore ordered the official history to be discontinued because he preferred 'internal beauties to mere showing off'. This fact has been misinterpreted by some of the modern historians who say that he gave these orders because he did not want his "black deeds" to remain on record. This is evidently a foolish explanation. The Emperor knew that he could stop the writing of history only as far as the official version was concerned, and that it was impossible to control private individuals and check them from collecting material for writing his history after his death. The case of 'Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī was before him.

Birth of Prince Awrangzīb

His auspicious birth took place in 1028 A.H.[1] at Dohad which lies on the frontier of the provinces of Aḥmadābād and Mālwa. This date is yielded by the chronogram, *Āftāb-i-'Ālam-tāb* (the sun that illuminates the world).

During the days when he (Awrangzīb), the selected one in the dynasty of Tīmūr, was the *Ṣūbahdār* of the Deccan, after the completion of the expedition of Haydarābād, as has been narrated in the account of the reign of Shāhjahān, he (Awrangzīb) was entrusted with the expediton of Bijāpūr in the year 1066 A.H. that is the thirtieth regnal year of His Majesty (Shāhjahān) who will be mentioned in this book as *Firdaws Āshyānī* and other suitable titles which our limited space will permit. As a result of his remarkable exploits the fort of Bidar, the province of Aḥmadābād and the fort of Kalyāni were captured ; these territories were named as the ṣūbah of Ẓafarābād[2]. Then he girdled the loins of determination for the conquest of Bijāpūr. A detailed account of his brave deeds and actions in the siege of Bijāpūr will however take us away from the chain of events. In short, when the Mughuls dug entrenchments right up to the foot of the walls of the fortress, the besieged garrison became helpless and their surrender was a question of a day or two. 'Ādil Shāh begged for peace and made a request for his life.

Illness of Shāhjahān and assumption of powers by Dārā

At this time, the alarming news (of Shāhjahān's illness) contained in the letters from the Court reached him (Awrangzīb). The gist of these reports was that *Firdaws Āshyānī* had fallen ill on the 7th *Dhi al-hijjah* 1067 A.H. (6 September, 1657 A.C.) and had ultimately developed strangury. This had caused disturbance in the (affairs of the) Empire and the life *(ḥāl)* of the people ; the work of administration was upset. Dārā Shukoh, who considered himself to be the heir-apparent and had the reins of Government

1 1027 according to other authorities. See J. N. Sarkār, *History of Awrangzīb* (Calcutta, 1912), Vol. I, p. 2.

2 In another manuscript ṣubah Ẓafarābād and Muḥammadābād.

in his hands even when Shāhjahān was in good health, and had brought disgrace to *Taṣawwuf* by following some heretics who posed as *Ṣūfis*, and declared Islām and unbelief to be twin brothers, on which subject he had written treatises[1], and by his accord and friendship with the Brahmins and Gosains, found this to be an opportune moment ; he took the machinery of the government into his hands, stopped the messengers and travellers coming from Bengal, Aḥmadābād and the Deccan by obtaining pledges from their *Wakils* to the effect that they would not send any report about the occurences at the court. When the intelligence of these spark-raining disorders reached the various provinces through *dak-chawkis*, disaffection found its way into (affected) the loyalty of the *Amīrs*, the big *zamindārs*, the landholders and the opportunity-seeking mischief-mongers. The disruptionists from every corner and quarter and those eager to fan disorders in every province and region raised their heads to create trouble.

When the news reached Muḥammad Shujā', the *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal and Muḥammed Murād Bakhsh in Aḥmadābād, each of them, as if vying with one another, had coins struck and the *khuṭbah* read in his name ; thus they confirmed their initiatives in raising the standards of revolt.

Shujā' and Murād prepare for war :

Shujā', at the head of a large force, marched towards Bihar and Patna ; the news of the drums of his revolt reached the

1 Dārā's chief works are :—
- (1) *Sirr-al-Asrār* (*Sirr-i-Akbar*), a translation of fifty Upanishads.
- (2) *Maraj al-Baḥrayn* (the confluence of two Oceans), edited and translated by M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, (Calcutta, 1929).
- (3) *Risalah-i-Haqq-numā* : It has also been published.
- (4) *Safinat-al-Awliya* : It has been published in several editions : (Agra, 1853); (Lucknow, 1872) ; (Kanpur 1884, 1900).
- (5) *Sakinat al-Awliyā* (Lahore, 1920).
- (6) *Ḥasanāt-al-'Ārifin*. It has also been published. Dārā also wrote poetry under the poetical name, *Qidrī*.

Capital through his opponents, who were waiting for an opportunity. Shāhjahān who had, from the beginning, shown great love and affection for Dārā Shukoh, and, generally speaking had, in all matters, tried his best to please him, had on account of a change in his condition (illness) begun to accept and act upon his advice more than ever.

Dārā Shukoh being apprehensive of the talents of Prince Awrangzīb Bahādar 'Ālamgīr, to be called hereafter *Khuld-makān* or by other epithets, and of his brave deeds and wise actions (*tadbīrāt*) persuaded the Emperor to recall, as a first step, to the Court, those of the leading *Amīrs*, having military contingents, who had been ordered to accompany him (Awrangzīb) on the expedition of Bījāpūr[1].

With the spread of this alarming news the completion of the conquest of Bijāpūr was delayed. Awrangzīb being thus forced to come to terms with Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr agreed to grant him peace, accepting a crore of rupees as *pīsh-kash* in cash and kind, to be paid in instalments ; he raised the siege and returned to Awrangābād.[2] Subsequently he learnt that Dārā Shukoh, with a view to seize the Imperial treasures, had taken Shāhjahān from Dihli to Akbarābād.

On the 4th *Rabī' al-awwal* 1068 A.H. (1st December 1657), Dārā Shukoh sent Raja Jai Singh and several other *Amīrs* with a strong army under the command of Sulaymān Shukoh, against Muḥammad Shujā'. As the vanguard of the army commanded by the Raja reached near Banāras[3] Muḥammad Shujā', who had prepared his brave forces for battle, and had taken possession of boats, advanced towards him, and came within a *kruh* and a half of his camp[4]. Next day the Raja without making it

1 Mahābat Khān and Rao Satar Sal were among those who were recalled, Āqil Khān, *Ẓafarnamah-i-'Ālamgīrī* (ed. M. Zafar Hasan, Aligarh), p. 23.

2 *Khujistah-bunyād* in the text.

3 At the village, Bahādurpūr, on the side of the Ganges. See *'Ālamgīr-nāmah, p.* 31.

4 A *krūh* is a little less than two miles.

known that he intended to fight or change the site of his camp, left it before the rising of the sun. Muḥammad Shujā' was still sleeping, being under the effects of intoxication of the previous night, when Jai Singh marching at full speed (fell upon his camp and) started fighting and killing (his men). That inexperienced and uninformed fellow came to know of it and woke up from slumber when the situation was beyond control; having fallen in a state of perplexity he obtained access to a boat, embarked it, and, with the servants of the palace and his favourite companions, took to flight. The whole of his camp along with the treasures, elephants, artillery and equipment was plundered and seized by Raja Jai Singh. Shujā', having been struck by the Imperial forces, could not stay even in Bengal, and that region came into the hands of the officers of Dārā Shukoh. The Raja sent a number of servants and well-known companions of Shujā' as prisoners to Agra. Dārā Shukoh had them paraded in the city; then he put some of them to death, while the hands of others were amputated.

The report was also received that about the time when Sulaymān Shukoh and Rājā Jai Singh were sent against Muḥammad Shujā', Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Qāsim Khān were ordered to proceed towards the road from Aḥmadābād and the Deccan, at the head of the imperial artillery and several thousand horse-men along with his own artillery, accompained by several leading *Amīrs*. Their instructions were that if the report was confirmed that Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh wanted to move from Aḥmadābād, then Qāsim Khān[1] was to advance with some leading *Amīrs* and a park of artillery to meet him; (further) on receiving intelligence of the Prince's march from the Deccan, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was to act according to circumstances. If Muḥammad Awrangzīb made an advance from the Deccan the Maharaja and Qāsim Khān and all the Imperial officers were to take the route followed by him and

1 Also see Muḥammad Kāẓim *'Ālamgīrnāmah* (Calcutta p. 33). 'Āqil Khān adds that Qāsim was appointed governor of Gujarāt. See p. 28.

combine their forces to give him battle[1]. Dārā Shukoh took the whole province of Malwa into his personal *jāgīr* so that his officers, posted there, might, in the expectation that its treasure and revenues would be spent on their salaries, and they would have peace of mind, devote themselves to co-operating with and helping each other in the recruitment of forces and other preparations of war, as he desired. It was also reported that he had imprisoned 'Īsā Beg, the agent of Awrangzīb (at the Court), and confiscated his house.

Murād proclaims himself King

Simultaneously it became evident from the reports from Aḥmadābād that Prince Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh had struck coins and had the *khuṭbāb* read in his own name; further that he had despatched the eunuch Khwājah Shāhbāz, with an army and necessary equipment for capturing the fort in order to take possession of the fort of the port town of Surat. On reaching Surat, Khwājah Shāhbāz invested the place, laid mines and blew up the bastions and the walls of the fort and (ultimately) occupied it; then he called the merchants of the place and demanded from them fifteen lakhs of rupees as a loan[2]. After lengthy discussions Ḥājī Muḥammsd Zāhid and Pīrjī, who were among the leading merchants of the place, agreed together to pay six lakhs of rupees on behalf of all the merchants and took a bond under the seal of Murād Bakhsh and the guarantee of Khwājah Shāhbāz.

At this time, 'Alī Naqī was the *Dīwān* and adviser of Murād Bakhsh; he had a rival and enemy in the person of a favourite eunuch. 'Alī Naqī, in spite of his perfect integrity and good conduct as an administrator was so strict in the administration of the territories and in the matter of awarding punishments that on the slightest fault, committed by a person, he would order the removal of his

1 The fact that Qāsim Khān was directed to oppose Murād single-handed, but that he was to join Jaswant Singh when fighting against Awrangzīb, indicates that Dārā feared the latter more than the younger brother.

2 *Dast-gardān.*

gall-bladder. It so happened that about this time a beggar (*faqīr*) was arrested on the charge of theft and brought before 'Alī Naqī, who, without making proper investigation ordered the removal of his gall-bladder ; it was taken out. The beggar in that condition turned his face towards the heavens and said : "You are killing me for no fault ; I pray that you also be accused with a charge of the same nature." In spite of all his integrity and influence on Murād Bakhsh, the said eunuch or some other person successfully forged a letter addressed to Dārā Shukoh, bearing his ('Alī Naqī's) seal and a similarity to his hand-writing, containing (an account of) his evil intentions. The letter, enveloped in wax-cloth, was given to a messenger, and it was so arranged that it fell into the hands of watchmen who had been appointed, in those days of commotion, to censor the letters and guard the main roads. It was before sunrise that the (intercepted) letter was brought to Murād Bakhsh. On its perusal the fire of the anger of the Prince shone like a flame, and he issued orders that the doomed fellow should be brought to him in whatever condition he was. At the time when the officers[1] came to 'Alī Naqī, he was reading the *Qur'ān* with his cap on his head ; they did not give him time even to change his dress. As his death was near he thought that he was being called for consultation on affairs of the State ; he therefore started in such haste that he had to put on his *darbār* dress on his way, reaching the palace at the "destined" moment. Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, furious with anger, was sitting on a chair with a small spear in his hand ; he asked 'Alī Naqī : "What should be the punishment of a person who is faithless and is guilty of perfidy against his own patron" ?. 'Alī Naqī, knowing himself to be perfectly free from perfidy, answered without any fear : "He should be awarded the maximum punishment." Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh handed over that letter to 'Alī Naqī. He read it, and in view of his devotion and loyalty, gave an impudent reply, saying : "All honour to the impostor who has made this forgery, and a pity on the

1 *Sazāwal*; lit. a collector of revenue.

wisdom and intelligence of the King upon whom God has conferred kingship, but who does not possess enough sense to be able to distinguish his friends and adherents from the hypocritical enemies of the State." Muḥammad Murād Ba<u>khsh</u> whose heart was already filled with anger became excited by these words and struck the spear, which he had in his hand, at the chest of 'Alī Naqī and hinted to the eunuch who was standing there to kill him. They killed him with deadly weapons.

About this time, Mir Jumlah, who had been despatched by the Court, before the illness of the Emperor, to go and re-inforce Awrangzīb, arrived, and on account of his devotion and loyalty became his chief adviser and trusted friend and companion. To avoid the possibility of ill-fame he (Awrangzīb) thought it advisable to leave him as prisoner in the fort of Dawlatābād, and then marched against the enemies of the State,[1] (*mukhālifān-i-dawlat.*[1]) As an expedient and prudent measure, Awrangzīb wrote repeatedly and in most affectionate terms to Muḥammad Murād Ba<u>khsh</u> offering him congratulations on the assumption of kingship and telling him that he had not the slightest liking and inclination for this deceitful and unstable world and that his only desire was to go on a pilgrimage to the House of God (Makkah);[2] to meet

1 Muḥammad Kāẓim rightly points out that Awrangzīb fully realized that Dārā's forces, after defeating Murād, would march on the Deccan. It was therefore imperative for him to forestal this invasion by marching northwards with a well-equipped army. He did not however give out that he was marching with the intention of fighting because he was not going to launch an offensive. Nevertheless he wanted to go to the capital because he could not let Dārā occupy the throne. If <u>Sh</u>āhjahān resumed power, he would have no objection. Thus he gave out that he wanted to go to the Emperor. *A.N.* p. 36. et seq.

2 <u>Kh</u>āfi <u>Kh</u>ān's version that Awrangzīb had written to Murād that he was not interested in kingship and would retire from active life and go to Makkah on pilgrimage is not supported by facts. In fact, the two brothers had entered into a pact; Awrangzīb, at the request of Murād, had written to him positively that if the latter would remain in alliance with him he would assign to him the provinces of Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Multan, Bhakkar and Thatta and the

(*Continued on page* 11)

the excesses and injustices of the luckless brother (Dārā) whatever idea came to the mind of that selected among the brothers (Murād) was right and proper and that he could consider him as his sincere friend and ally[1] ; the best course, however, was that as their revered father was still alive, they, the two brothers, jointly should present themselves before him and should further try to have that irreligious fellow (*bad-millat*) punished for his haughtiness and presumptuousness. If they were destined to have the (privilege of) seeing their benefactor (S̲h̲ahjahān) they should make an effort to suppress the disorders, and secure forgiveness from the truth-knowing Emperor for the misdeeds of that brother (Murād), committed by him involuntarily and in a state of anxiety. After settling the affairs of the government and punishing the enemies of that brother's kingship he would, with the permission of the best of the

(*Continued from page* 10)

entire region up to the coast of the Gulf of Amman (Arabian Sea). The letter does not even say that Murād's sovereignty would be recognized over these regions, although it was perhaps implied that he would have more powers and authority than ordinary *Ṣubahdārs*. Murād agreed to these terms because he knew that the Emperor (of course at the recommendation of Dārā) had dismissed him from the *Ṣūbahdārship* of Gujarat and had appointed Qāsim K̲h̲ān in his place. Without the help of Awrangzīb he (Murād) had no chances of successfully resisting the Imperial forces. Sarkār's interpretation (Vol. I, p. 335) that the agreement was for the division of the Empire is not quite correct. Both the brothers feared annihilation at the hands of Dārā, so they entered into an alliance ; in case of victory Awrangzīb was to be the Emperor and Murād a Viceroy over several provinces with extraordinary powers. The letter of Awrangzīb containing the agreement may be read in the *Ādab* ; also see Najīb As̲h̲raf, *Ruqqa'āt-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 264 ; see Sarkar, Vol. I, pp. 326-38.

1 K̲h̲āfi K̲h̲ān does not mention the very important fact that Murād had taken the initiative in opening negotiations and requesting Awrangzīb to help him. Awrangzīb decided "to take him along with him to the Emperor and secure forgiveness for his crimes." *A.N.*, p. 41.

'Āqil K̲h̲ān says that he simply asked Murād to avoid a clash with Jaswant Singh until his (Awrangzīb's) arrival. See p. 31.

brothers, go on a plgrimage to the Kā'bah. He should therefore brook no delay in marching with a well equipped army to chastise that impertinent infidel, Jaswant Singh ; he was to consider him (Awrangzīb) as having arrived on the other side of the Narbadā, and was to regard the numerous forces and powerful artillery accompanying him as the source of his victory. The word of God was the guarrantee for this agreement and pledge, and therefore he should banish suspicion from his mind.

Having sent the agreement containing these terms he busied himself with the mobilisation of the army and the equipment of his artillery, like a king and a statesman, paying no attention whatsoever to the issuing of coins or having the *khuṭbah* read in his name. He ordered Prince Mu'aẓẓam to guard the city of Awrangābād and left Prince Muḥammād Akbar, who had just been born, under the guardianship of Khwājah Manẓūr along with the ladies of the *harem*, in the fort of Dawlatābād. As a matter of policy and in order to avoid ill-fame and acting on his own advice he sent Mu'aẓẓam Khān, *alias* Mīr Jumlah, whose son Muḥammad Amīn Khān was *Bakhshī* and *Nāib-Wazīr* with him, as prisoner to that fort.

On the first day of the month of *Jumāda I* he sent Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān with Najābat Khān and a party of *Amīrs* as his vanguard. Murshid Qulī Khān,[1] *Dīwān* of the Deccan, whose revenue administration (*dastūr al-'amal*), will live for ever, along with the good deeds of the *Wazīrs* had been made his *Dīwān* by Awrangzīb on acconnt of his (Murshid's) bravery and efficiency in political and revenue affairs ; subsequently he gave him the charge of *Mīr-Ātish* also and took him with himself and many other nobles who had fought in battles and were experienced men, and the enumeration of whose names in detail would involve me into a digression, earned the good fortune of accompanying him. Starting for Burhānpūr (*dār al-surūr)* on the 12th of the same month he reached that place on the 25th.

1 For his life see *Ma'athir al-Umārā*, III, pp. 693-500.

It is said that in Burhānpūr during those days lived the best of the *quṭbs*, Ḥaḍrat Shaykh Burhān (may God sanctify his soul) ; he was among the leading *darwīshs* of the day. Awrangzīb, on account of the inclination of his heart (*irādat-i-bāṭini*) expressed a desire to meet him ; permission was not given. After repeated requests however permission of the Shaykh was acquired. Accordingly, accompanied by Shaykh Niẓām who was a close associate and officer in charge of arranging interviews, Awrangzib went to see the Shaykh without a retinue and requested him to pray for him. The Shaykh said : "Of what avail are our prayers ? You who are a king should pray that you will do justice and look after the interests of your subjects. We will also raise our hands with you in prayer." On hearing these auspicious words, Shaykh Niẓām congratulated Awrangzīb on this happy news of kingship. After the prayers were over, the Shaykh gave him (Awrangzīb) some advice and bid him farewell after giving him some (sacred) presents (*tabarruk*).

Awrangzīb remained in Burhānpūr for a month to make necessary arrangements and ascertain the reports received from the Court. He gave the title of Waẓīr Khān to Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mashhadī and appointed him *Ṣūbahdār* of Burhānpūr and then left for the capital on the 25th of *Jumādā II.* On that very day the effect of the auspicious prophecy (of the Shaykh) began to appear. His *Wakil*, 'Īsā Beg, who had been imprisoned by Dārā Shukoh, but was later released and given full freedom by Shāhjahān, having made rapid marches, presented himself before Awrangzīb and gave him detailed information about the arrival of Maharaja Jaswant and Qāsim Khān at Ujjain. As he had arrived there after having been plundered, he (Awrangzīb) gave him ten thousand rupees as *in'ām.* When two or three stages had been covered he (Awrangzīb) was informed that Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafawī, one of whose daughters had been married to Awrangzīb and another to Murād Bakhsh, had stayed behind at Burhānpūr and did not wish to accompany him. He ordered Prince Muḥam-

mad Sulṭān and Shaykh Mīr to return to Burhānpūr and imprison him (Shāhnawāz) in the citadel. At every stage increments and titles were conferred on reputed and experienced officers.

Awrangzīb crosses the Narbadā and meets Murād

He crossed the Narbada on the 10th of *Rajab*; Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, after having received the agreement marked by affection, had started from Aḥmadābād and reached Dīpālpūr. On the 20th *Rajab* he met Awrangzīb : from both the sides there was a demonstration of extreme love and unity, and of formalities and hospitality ; promises and pledges were renewed under the guarantee of the Word of God.

Mirzā Muḥammad Mashhadī was given the title of 'Aṣālat Khān and a drum. Mīr Shams al-Dīn Banī Mukhtār was awarded the title of Mukhtār Khān and Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān son of Sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhāb of Khandesh was to be addressed as Sayyid Dilāwar Khān. Many other loyal servants were ordered to follow him (Awrangzīb).

As special arrangements at the crossings of the rivers and the land routes had been made with such thoroughness that it seemed difficult even for the wind and the water to cross them without orders, Jaswant Singh could not get any news about the approach of the great army of the two brothers until it had come within seven *krūhs* of Ujjain, except that Raja Sheoram Kur, the *Qil'ahdār* of Mandu[1], having received some information after the army had crossed the river at Akbarpūr[2], had sent a brief note to the Maharajah. On hearing that Prince Murād Bakhsh had left Aḥmadābād, Qāsim Khān had hurriedly marched forward to meet him, but as that Prince had gone away 18 *krūhs* from the direct route to meet Awrangzīb, he returned disappointed. Dārā Shukoh's men who were in the fortress in the vicinity of Dhar,

1 Mandu : 14 miles north of Akbarpūr ; 23 miles from Dhar.

2 Akbarpūr. 22.9 N. Lat. 75.32 Long. on the Narbadā, 13 miles west of Mandesor.

on seeing the enemy-crushing force of the two brothers, took to flight and joined the Maharajah.

The Battle of Dharmat, April 1658

On hearing the heart-rending news of their (the two brothers') arrival, the Raja, accompanied by Qāsim Khān, advanced for one stage and pitched his camp at a distance of one *krūh* and a half. Awrangzib sent Kab, a Brahmin who was a reputed scholar of Hindi poetry and language, to the Raja with this message : "Our purpose in undertaking this journey is to present ourselves before our great benefactor and guide (*murshid*) and the *qiblah* of the two worlds and enquire about his health. For us this is an act of worship, and so we are proceeding towards His Majesty ; we have no intention of opposing or fighting any one. It is therefore desirable that you should either have the honour of accompanying us, or keep away from our route to avoid making yourself the cause of mischief and loss of human blood, and return to your home." The Raja sent an impertinent reply, putting forward an excuse that his duty to obey the orders of His Majesty did not allow him to accept this advice. Next day both the parties arranged their forces for battle. On this side after the enemy-crushing artillery, and elephants, with mountain-like bodies, were put in order, the command of the vanguard was given to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Najābat Khān, with a party of *Amīrs*, having experience of war, and elephants strong like mountains, was attached to the contingent of the Prince. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān *alias* Muḥammad Beg with a party of brave warriors formed the advance guard of the Prince; Murshid Qulī Khān with his park of artillery commanded the scouts of the advance guard.

Murād Bakhsh with his army and *Amīrs* arranged his troops (to constitute) the right wing, and the forces commanded by Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam with a party of experienced fighters formed the left wing of the army. In the same way the rear-guard and the reserve were arranged in battle array and the life-sacrificing *Amīrs* and lion-hunting (gallant) soldiers were stationed in

different positions ; to name them all would make this brief account lengthy. Awrangzīb himself, with a party of *Amīrs* experienced in fighting, riding an elephant as high as the sky took position in the centre, in all the dignity of a Farīdūn and the grandeur of an Alexandar.

On the other side Raja Jaswant Singh also arranged his army, giving the command of the advance guard to Qāsim Khān and posting other experienced *Amīrs* behind the powerful Imperial artillery and that of Dārā. He then arranged the right, left and the centre of his army and put the excited war elephants, covered with steel (*gharq-i-āhan*), in front of the two armies, appointing officers to command them ; while he himself with a few thousand war-mongering and misguided Rajputs took his position in the centre. On Friday, the 22nd *Rajab* (20th April 1658), the two armies advanced for battle in full excitement.

The king with heaven-like dignity (Awrangzīb) ordered the commandant of artillery (*Dārūghah-i-Tūp-Khānah*)', to make the brave warriors start fighting by throwing fire-rockets and bullets from his army-destroying guns, which is always a preamble to the heat of the battle. Every moment the tempo of the battle and bloodshed increased until fighters had recourse to arrows and deadly spears. Of the brave fighters ready to lay down their lives the heads of many a famous chief were severed from their bodies and many courageous men died before they touched the ground after falling from the saddles under the blows of sharp swords and chest-piercing spears. What form of heroism was there which was not demonstrated by the war-like Rajputs and the furious infidels among whom the father considered it a deed of glory to draw the sacred mark *(qashqah)* on the forehead with the blood of his son instead of sandal :

Verse :

All of them were proud, ignorant and warlike, their hearts
were, like the sword, hard as iron and their faces rigid.

In the ocean of battle they were all together; they had tied
their aprons together like the waves.

Mukand Singh Hārah, Ratan Singh Rathor, Arjun Kaur, Dayal Singh Jhālah[1] and many another dauntless Rajput, galloped forward horses uttering the slogan, *Rām Rām*, and washing their hands off their lives, they threw themselves into the fire of guns like moths which fall on the burning candles; their incessant attacks disturbed the arrangement of the artillery. Murshid Qulī Khān performed remarkable deeds and did full justice to the spirit of sacrificing life. The vanguard however was in difficulties. Ultimately matters reached such a stage that Dhu al-Fiqār Khān, who had remained firm in the battle, as is usual with the winners of fame, despite the fact that his followers had fled, finding that the battle was being lost, came down, as all life-sacrificing warriors do, from his elephant, and with a few devoted companions advanced on foot; he exhibited great bravery, and although wounded severely, he stopped the advancing flood of the wicked infidels, until reinforcements from the centre arrived; the din of the battle now reached the heavens. Muḥammad Sulṭān and Najābat Khān, along with their supporters, tried to stop the attack of those misguided people, remaining firm in their positions like a mountain of dignity. The pressure of the Rajputs however continued, until Shaykh Mīr Khawāfī[2], Ṣaf-Shikan Khān, and Murtaḍa Khān also arrived and struck at their vital points *(kamar-gāh)*[3]. Nevertheless in spite of their strenuous efforts they could not remove the dirt of the misfortune of the infidels by their sharp swords. When the brave King (Awrangzīb) saw the dauntlessness and exploits of the two parties, he advanced forward on his elephant to help the fighters of Islām. On this support and attention from the enemy-killing monarch and his victorious banner every effect of defeat on the losers of battle in the field of faith

1 Chhālah, in some mss.

2 He was the father of the author and an officer in the army of Murād Bakhsh.

3 Lit. waist.

were becoming evident, and the breeze of triumph and victory had begun to blow. The Rajputs, in large numbers, became the fodder of the swords and targets of the arrows of the fighters.

Verses :

> Many Rajputs experienced in war, lost their lives with honour and fame. So many dead bodies lay on the field of battle, that the passage was closed for a horse-rider.

The face (surface) of the earth again became red with the blood of the cheeks and the bodies of the brave men, and the flesh of the dead on both sides was enough to provide food for years for the wild beasts and birds (vultures). Nevertheless, the Rajputs did not lay down their arms, nor did ignorance allow their feet to leave position. In the meantime Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, with his brave contingent moved forward from the right wing ; he attacked the camp of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and plundered it. A fierce action was fought with the unwholesome Rajputs. Some of them like Debi Singh, Persoji, Maloji and others who, with eight or nine thousand horsemen, were entrusted with the duty of guarding the camp of Jaswant Singh, offered resistance and exhibited remarkable courage. They repeatedly attacked the elephant of Murād Bakhsh and many of them lost their lives. But Debi Singh, who considered himself to be a tactful and brave Rajput warrior, keeping his future and his reputation in view, begged for peace ; he dismounted from the horse of pride and presented himself before Murād Bakhsh as *zinhārī*, seeking peace and protection for his life and property as well as for the members of his family ; he was pardoned. The other feats of that decendant of Tīmūr performed in the company of the victorious stirrup of the respected brother are not described here in detail. However, to mention briefly, Mukand Singh Hārah, Sujan Singh Sodia, Ratan Singh Rathor, Arjun Kaur, Depal Dayal Das Jhālah, and Mohan Singh Hārah fell as victims of the sword and incessant attacks of Murād Bakhsh ; that luckless party came into the grip of complete panic and rout. The dead bodies of the Rajputs lay in heaps on

all sides. Every moment the prevailing darkness of unbelief was changing into the light of the victory of Islām, so much so that fear and dismay overpowered the heart of the unwholesome Jaswant, who, against the practice of the renowned rajas, placed on his forehead the dark spot of infamy instead of the red and white marks of *sandal*, and fled from the field of battle, taking the road to his home, even before his army was actually defeated, and thereby earned for himself eternal ignominy ; he did not even care to mind the taunts of his rivals. Qāsim K͟hān, with other Imperial officers and the personal forces of Dārā S͟hukoh, found themselves to be helpless ; the soldiers followed the commander of the army and fled in different directions. On the side of the Master of the Crown and the Throne loud proclamations of victory were made. The entire artillery, elephants, treasurers, camels, baggage animals and equipment of the Emperor (S͟hāhjahān) and Dārā S͟hukoh, were plundered and came into the possession of Awrangzīb.

Verse :

When the brave became free from fighting, they engaged themselves in the plunder of the enemy's camp.

If there was any one fortunate among the enemy, he escaped with his life and left everything else.

Many quick footed horses were captured. The hands and feet of all were covered with blood.

The *farmāns* issued by 'Ālamgīr to the rulers of Bijāpūr and Ḥaydarābād after this victory are to be found in the '*Ālamgīr-nāmah*. There it has been said that six thousand men, including some of the chiefs, of the enemy were counted as killed. On this side, excepting Murs͟hid Qulī K͟hān, no other (*Amīr*) was killed. D͟hu al-Fiqār K͟hān, and some other *Amīrs* were wounded seriously ; they were treated with the ointment of favours and *in'ām*.

The two brothers (Awrangzīb and Murād) congratulated each other. The Princes of royal blood and the *Amīrs* offered their respects and congratulations. Fifteen thousand gold mohurs

were given to the followers of Murād Bakhsh for the expenses of his treatment. Besides this, four elephants, with silver trappings and golden howdahs, jewels, utensils inlaid with precious metals, and shining pearls were sent to him as presents in appreciation of his remarkable exploits.

It has been well said :

"If it is possible to achieve the purpose by strategem (*tadbīr*), to show favours to the enemy is better than actual battle."[1]

Muḥammad Sulṭān was promoted to the rank of five thousand; Najābat Khān was rewarded with a gift of a lakh of rupees and the title of Khān Khānān ; Multafit Khān was given the title of Ā'ẓam Khān along with the privilege of (using) a drum and other favours, and he was promoted to the office of *Dīwān*, which had fallen vacant owing to the death of Murshid Qulī Khān. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān was satisfied by a reward in cash and kind, and a promotion in addition to gifts and favours. In the same way many other followers were promoted in rank. Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and other *Amīrs* who were granted promotions and ranks were ordered to go and pay their respects to Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh. Khwājah Kalān Khawāfī the maternal uncle (*khālū*) of the writer of these pages was appointed *Dīwān* of Ujjain which had been named Dār-al-Fatḥ ; he became the *Ṣūbahdār* on behalf of the Prince. He was ordered to report whatever he wanted in cash or kind. Khwājah Khawāfī made his submission in the following words :

"The first intention of this slave is not to keep himself away from you and be included in the list of your faithful followers. In case of carrying out these orders this is not the proper time for asking for help and things required. As long as I have my life and property I shall consider it my good fortune to sacrifice them in the service of the leader and guide of the two worlds."

1 By quoting this couplet Khāfi Khān betrays his attitude towards Awrangzīb.

After this submission he was given the title of Kifāyat Khān and was granted a *khil'at*, a horse and an elephant. 'Ālam Singh who was the leading zamindār of that place was granted the title of Raja, a khil'at, an elephant, a sword, a dagger, an ornamented belt, the *jighah* (jewel worn in the turban) a saddle-cloth (*digdigi*) and ear-rings, and he was included in the list of loyal servants; he was attached to Kifāyat Khān.

On the 27th *Rajab* (Awrangzīb) left the borders of the Dār al-Fath of Ujjain and after covering twenty-eight stages encamped in the territories of Gwalior.[1] Nuṣrat Khān, son of Khān Dawrān was given the title of his father. As no steps had been taken by Dārā's men to guard the ferries, Awrangzīb made Saf-Shikan Khān the *Dārūghah* of artillery, and ordered him to cross at Bhaduryah[2] with Dhu al-Fiqār Khān, the *Sipah Salar* of artillery, without losing any time. On the first of *Ramaḍān* the army crossed the Chambal, while he himself crossed it on the following day.[3]

A few words about the happenings at the Court of Shāhjahān may be said. The heat of Agra did not agree with the health of Shāhjahān, so when he had only slightly improved in health, he had

1 He reached there one month later, on 28th *Sha'bān*, *A.N.*, p. 78.

2 Awrangzīb's guide at this crossing was Champat Rao Bundela. He crossed the Chambal at Bhaduryah, 40-50 miles east of Dholpūr. For a discussion of the name and site of the place where the Prince crossed the river, see Sarkar, II, 29n.

3 When Awrangzīb had crossed the Chambal, he received a letter from his elder sister, Jahān-ārā Begam. She had pleaded the cause of Dārā, because "the elder brother, according to *Shar'* as well as custom, is like one's own father." She wanted the matter to be left to Shāhjahān. Awrangzīb, in reply sent a 'petition' (*'arḍ-dāsht*) to the Emperor explaining in detail the causes of the steps that he had taken. He frankly told his father that he was completely under the control of Dārā and as such could not do any thing in his independent judgment. The best course for him was to move away from the scene of turmoil and go to the Panjab, leaving the matters to him (Awrangzīb) for a few days. In fact Awrangzīb had by now strong reasons to believe that Shāhjahān was at one time thinking of moving against him. The two letters are quoted in 'Āqil Khān, pp. 46—56.

set off for the Capital (Delhi). Dārā Shukoh was not in favour of his departure (from Agra) and had advised him against it. Now that he heard of the defeat of Rāja Jaswant Singh, he was bewildered, and like men who lose their senses he annoyed his aged father with incessant importunities and requests and brought him back from the middle of the journey. In great perplexity (*iḍṭirār*) he made preparations for the war and began his march with all the leading *Amīrs* of his father's suite, as well as the old and newly-promoted followers of his own, in all about 60,000 men, with the world-disturbing train of artillery. How can one give the number of the furious and huge war-elephants who had changed the face of the jungle from green into black ?

Because Awrangzīb had imprisoned Mu'aẓẓam Khān in Dawlatābād and had left him in the service of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, Dārā Shukoh, thinking that this was done on the suggestion of Mu'aẓẓam Khān himself, imprisoned his son Muḥammad Amīn Khān and posted a guard on his house. Shāhjahān, anxious to improve the situation and end the disturbances, however, released him after a few days.

It is said that the Emperor repeatedly asked Dārā Shhkuh not to move forward, because his march would further intensify the feelings of enemity and bitterness between the two brothers. With a view to bring about peace and reconciliation between the two jewels of the casket of the Empire (Dārā and Awrangzīb) he (Shāhjahān) wanted to move in person ; consequently he ordered his advance party to proceed. Dārā, who was not agreeable to this, and was supported by Khān Jahān *alias* Shāistah Khān, stopped him. It has also been narrated that His Majesty, even before the defeat of Jaswant when the Deccan and Ahmadābād armies had not yet united, wanted to move out ; he repeatedly consulted Khān Jahān, who was the maternal uncle of Awrangzīb and was secretly in sympathy with him because of his personal accomplishments and the rising star of his fortune, but he did not think it opportune to agree to it. When the news of the defeat of Jaswant Singh reached

the Emperor, he suspected K͟hān Jahān for his partiality for Awrangzīb and was so much annoyed that he struck his walking stick on the chest of the K͟hān and stopped him from attending the *Darbār* for two or three days. Subsequently, however, he was restored to favour and was again consulted about the Emperor going forth (to meet his sons). But the K͟hān advised him, as before, against his moving in person ; hence, despite the fact that the advance party had already left, nothing came out of it.

On the 16th of *S͟ha'bān* (10 May 1658 A.C.) Dārā S͟hukoh sent K͟halīl Allāh K͟hān with Qubād K͟hān and Ram Singh, who were in the Imperial service, as well as his own forces, as an advance guard to Dholpur to encamp there and to secure the fords of the Chambal. He himself remained outside the city waiting for the arrival of Sulaymān S͟hukoh who was on his way to the court after his battle with S͟hujā'. He remained here for some days and made necessary arrangements for the march. As Sulaymān did not arrive, Dārā was obliged to start on his march to meet and fight against the two brothers. On the 6th of *Ramaḍān*, the two armies encamped near Samugarh[1], within half a *kurūh* of each other. The despatch of the forces to guard the fords thus proved of no avail.

The Battle of Samugarh

Dārā S͟hukoh engaged himself in the disposal of his forces, putting his artillery and his furious and huge elephants in position. Next day he moved forward and arranged his army in rows in a wide plain. His innumerable forces and elephants were spread over a line nearly two *krūh*s long. It being the month of *K͟hurdād*, the day was very hot. The wind was blowing in all directions and on account of excessive heat it appeared fire was raining ; the scarcity of water and the heat of the armour and coats of mail were in addition to it. Many a strong man fell on the dust of annihilation. Awrangzīb also rode forth, but as he saw no

1 Samugarh—8 miles east of Agra.

advantage in being hasty and precipitating the battle, he took position at a cannon shot, and there waited for his adversary to start fighting. As no sign of attack appeared from the other side, except the taking of a position, Awrangzīb, after performing *'aṣr* and *maghrib* prayers, encamped at the same place, and ordered that strict watch should be kept throughout the dark night until the break of the day.

Next day when the sun, the mighty monarch with the golden crown, rose in full brightness from the orient with his world-conquering sword and the king of the army of stars put his head out of the window of the horizon, Awrangzīb busied himself with the arraying of his forces. He ordered Dhu al-Fiqār Khān and Saf-Shikan Khān to march in advance with the artillery; behind it were to be arrayed the huge and heavily-armoured elephants. Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān with Khān Khānān Najābat Khān, Sayyid Bahādur, Sayyid Ẓafar Khān Bārhah, Shujā'at Khān and other experienced *Amīrs* were put in charge of the advance guard. The forces of Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam supported by Islām Khān, Ā'ẓam Khān, Khān Zamān Khān, Mukhtār Khān and many other warlike and experienced officers were to act as the right wing. Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, with his reputed commanders took position in the left wing; the command of the centre was given to Shaykh Mīr, his brother, Sayyid Mīr, and Sharzah Khān with other life-sacrificing officers. Bahādur Khān with five experienced officers was given the charge of the advance guard of the centre. In the same way at every other point he placed experienced officers. If I were to enumerate them in detail I would lose the thread of brevity. He kept in his own attendance a part of devoted and brave fighters from every section (*qawm*), particularly Dilāwar Khān of Khandesh in the loyalty and courage of whose family he had full confidence, and a few other Sayyids of Bārhah. Prince Muḥammad sat in the howdah of his elephant behind his own. Thus like a shining star in a tower, sitting in the howdah of his elephant, with heaven-like dignity, he adorned the centre and arrayed his forces—which appeared like waves—as a

heroe, equipped with trust in God and accompanied by victory and triumph. Without fearing the numerical superiority of the enemy, he advanced like a mountain of dignity to meet his forces.[1]

On the other side Dārā Shukoh also arranged the right and left wings and the centre of his army and placed in its front the furious, huge and war-loving elephants and the world-disturbing artillery. On that day he had an army of about seventy or eighty thousand horsemen with him. At mid-day when the world-burning sun made the people uncomfortable with his heat he took position in the centre ; but victory flew from him like the shadow of the declining sun, and misfortune, entering the abode of calamity ; began to spread darkness.

Fighting started with the discharge of fire-showering rockets and cannon balls, which excited the fighters of the two sides. Every moment and at every step the flames of fire rose high in the battle of fame and glory in both the armies ; ultimately they resorted to throwing of the life-hunting arrows, and thousands of chest-piercing arrows flew into the chests of the unfortunate ones in the two camps. Later, sharp swords, life-taking spears and lion-killing battle-axes (*zāgh-nul*) were plied with the result that thousands of armours began to pour blood from numerous holes.

Soldiers on both the sides used their swords ; armour closed
its eyes on account of fear. Both the armies were spread
in the open plain,

1 'Āqil's account of the disposal of Awrangzīb's forces is slightly different. According to him the number of horsemen was 40,000. Murād's forces formed the right wing ; Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad commanded the left wing. Shaykh Mīr with, 5,000 horsemen was to support the right wing and Bahādur Khān with an equal number was to be with the left wing. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān with 10,000 horsemen was in the advance guard. Awrangzīb himself commanded the centre with 10,000 horse (see p. 59). For further details see Kāẓim, p. 95 et. seq.

As if two rivers of fire were in flood ; two elephants from both sides began to thunder, and like the rivers of fire rose in fury.

Sipahr Shukoh, who along with Rustam Khān Dakhanī commanded the advance guard (of Dārā), attacked Awrangzīb's artillery, with his ten or twelve thousand horses. Driving away the brave soldiers from before him, he penetrated through the fire-raining lines and wanted to fall upon Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān who was in command of his (father's) advance guard ; this caused great confusion in that wing of the army. Just at this moment due to the good luck of Awrangzīb, a ball from his enemy-crushing artillery struck the elephant of Rustam Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang who was moving forward and threw the animal dead on the ground. This sudden and elephant-crushing blow changed the gall-bladder of the Rustam[1] of the day into water. He withdrew from his attack on the advance guard and fell on the right wing which was under the command of Bahādur Khān Kūkah. Bahādur Khān with other brave men offered vigorous resistance. Every moment Rustam Khān was receiving re-inforcements, and his pressure was increasing ; Bahādur Khān who had performed brave deeds was wounded. Many men were wounded and killed on both the sides. Confusion was about to spread in the army of Awrangzīb when Islām Khān, Sayyid Dilāwar Khān and Dilāwar Khān Afghān brought reinforcements to him. At the same time Shaykh Mīr, Sayyid Ḥusayn, Sayf Khān, Mamrīz Khān, Arab Beg and Muḥammad Ṣādiq rushed with a contingent of the forces of the centre to the help of the right wing and engaged Rustam Khān and other brave followers of Sipahr Shukoh. The din of battle rose high in that terror-stricken field.

The noise and the tumult of battle rose high ; the world cried for protection from it. The ground was moistened with the blood of the brave fighters ; as if the earth was sown with *arghurwān*[2].

1 The famous hero of the *Shāhnāmah*.

2 A tree whose fruit and flower are of a beautiful red.

In this battle, Sayyid Dilāwar Khān Khāndesī who had performed great feats and exploits lost his life, having received several wounds, but not before he had stripped naked, and reddened with blood many a saddle of brave fighters. Hādi Dād Khān also fulfilled the conditions of self-sacrifice (i.e. was killed) after many deeds of bravery. Sayyid Ḥusayn, Sayf Khān, Mamrīz Khān, Arab Beg and Muḥammad Ḥāziq earned the privilege of being wounded (*zakhm-i-surkh-rūī*). At last Rustam Khān was defeated and the steadfast foot of Sipahr Shukoh also was uprooted. Dārā Shukoh on being informed of the defeat of Sipahr Shukoh and Rustam Khān, led the centre of his army, not less than 20,000 horse, towards that party, and exhibiting great courage and bravery he passed by the side of his own artillery and came in front of the artillery and advance guard of the King (Awrangzīb), destined to achieve victory. The brave fighters on this (Awrangzīb's) side also offered so severe a resistance, discharging rockets and balls of guns and muskets and making repeated attacks, that he could not take a stand. He therefore diverted his attack towards Murād Bakhsh and rushed his forces, like the waves of the ocean, against that lion of the field of battle. The two armies were now engaged in a close fight. Khalīl Allāh Khān, the leader of the enemy's vanguard, had with him three or four thousand Uzbek archers; he launched an attack on the elephant of Murād Bakhsh. There was a shower of arrows from both the sides; such consternation spread in Murād's forces that the dread of the Day of Judgment became manifest; many of them fell back. The elephant of Murād Bakhsh, covered with wounds from arrows, spears and maces, was about to turn tail; Murād Bakhsh ordered that a chain be cast round the legs of his elephant. At this time Raja Ram Singh, who among the Rajputs was known for his bravery, fastened a string of costly pearls round his head, clad himself and his men in saffron-coloured robes in pretence of showing bravery, and rushed upon the elephant of Murād Bakhsh, and in a defiant and insolent manner shouted: "you have in your head the idea of fighting against Dārā

Shukoh for the Throne?" At the same time he struck his spear at Murād Bakhsh and fiercely told his *mahāwat* (elephant-driver): "Make the elephant kneel down". That prince, brave like a lion, warded off his charge and shot such a fatal arrow at his forehead that he fell down headlong from the seat of his saddle. Of the Rajputs who had followed that misguided and insolent fellow many fell fighting round the feet of Murād Bakhsh's elephant turning the ground into a field of saffron and *arghwān* (i. e. yellow and red).

It is related in the *'Ālamgīr-nāmah* that at this juncture, Prince Awrangzīb came to the help of his brother and tried to repulse the enemy. The author of this book has however heard from his father, who was present in the battle with that Prince of noble birth (Murād) and had remained with him till the end of the engagement and had also been wounded in the action, as well as from other trustworthy narrators, that Muḥammad Awrangzīb Bahādur after making repeated inquiries and learning about the pressure of the enemy had expressed a desire to go to the help of his brother. But Shaykh Mīr dissuaded him and advised him to remain patient, for "killing two birds with one stone" would go in favour of his attaining the Throne.[1] In short, a fierce battle was fought on that plain and on all sides deeds of valour and devotion were performed by brave fighters.

Verse :

Through the cruelties of the sword which causes separation,
the head was separated from the body and the body from the coffin.

The misguided Rajputs, making great efforts and fighting desperately, made their way to the auspicious centre (commanded by Awrangzīb himself). One of them, Raja Rup Singh Rathor,

1 This shows Khāfī Khān's partiality for Murād and his hostility towards Awrangzīb. This attitude is understandable, his father being on the personal staff of Murād.

dismounting from his horse, exhibiting great daring and foolishness, and having washed his hands off his life, cut his way through the ranks of the centre, and with his sword unsheathed, flashing like lightning, he betook himself to the elephant of Awrangzīb and began to cut the ropes with which the howdah was fastened. Awrangzīb on coming to know of this daring attempt did not want, because of his keen sense of justice and appreciation of his bravery, that the stupid and daring fellow should be left to be killed by the sword of the brave warriors; he therefore ordered that, as far as possible, he should be captured alive, but the well-wishers, in view of his insolence, cut him to pieces.

While this was going on, Rustam Khan again advanced against the brave fighters in the field of fame and reputation; this created greater heat in the battle. On account of the Rustam-like attacks of the brave fighters, the men of Rustam, who were the mainstay of Darā's army and Raja Satar Sal[1], Wazīr Khān, the *Dīwān* of Dārā Shukoh, Sayyid Nāhir Khān and Yūsuf Khān, the brother of Dilīr Khān Afghān were killed. Ram Singh and Bhim, the sons of Bithal Das Kaur and Raja Shiva Ram were severely wounded. Dārā, seeing so many of his well-known and reputed chiefs killed and wounded, was absolutely bewildered and being worried about the result of the battle knew not what to do. Just at this time a rocket struck the howdah of his elephant; this unnerved him. He came down from his elephant and was so perplexed that he forgot to wear his slippers; without having any arms he mounted a horse. On noticing this ill-timed alarm and seeing from a distance that their master's howdah was unoccupied the soldiers of his army became disheartened like him and began to think of flight.

Just at this moment a cannon ball struck the attendant of Dārā Shukoh, who was fastening a quiver to his waist; his right hand flew in the air and he died. This struck terror into the hearts of

1 See Sarkar, II, p. 41.

his well-wishers at different places; they became panicky and began to disperse, and some of them preferred to make an escape from that dreadful field of battle. Dārā Shukoh, seeing his forces dispersing and losing heart, preferred the saving of the ephemeral life to the false hope of getting the Empire ; he also began to waver. Sipahr Shukoh came to his father in this state, and accompanied by some of his faithful followers,[1] who did not want to leave him even in the moment of defeat, Dārā took the road to Akbarābād, laden with a thousand disappointments. The breeze of victory blew over the triumphant army (of Awrangzīb) and shouts of congratulations on the victory rose on all sides. The exalted princes and prominent *Amīrs* offered felicitations and paid their respects.

Verse :

These two wonderful victories came near to each other ;
Victory is from God and success is nearby[2].

The victorious King (Awrangzīb) came down from his elephant to offer to the Almighty thanks beyond measure. He offered two *rak'ats* of thanks-giving prayers, and then proceeded towards the tent of Dārā Shukoh. Every thing except the tent and the artillery having been plundered, Awrangzīb entered the tent and thus honoured it afresh. The Princes and other nobles presented the *nadhrs* and offerings and were in turn honoured with (words of) appreciation and praise.

As Murād Bakhsh had received many a wound of the arrows on his face and body, Awrangzīb applied the ointment of outward kindness and compliments ; he placed his head on the thigh of his affection and ordered skilled surgeons to treat his wounds. To the internal wounds of the heart of that simple-minded Prince he

1 The author of the *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* says they were only thirty or forty in number. He gives a lengthy account of the battle. See Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambūh, *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, (Calcutta ed.), Vol. III, pp. 364-72.

2 *Qur'ān*, LXI: 13.

applied the balm of thousands of praises and congratulations for the empire[1] ; and while shedding tears, he wiped off blood from the cheeks of his brother with the sleeve of affection. It is said that so many arrows had struck the howdah of Murād Bakhsh that it looked like a porcupine, its surface having become invisible. This howdah was kept in the apartments of the fortress[2] at the Capital as a memorial to the bravery of that descendant of the House of Tīmūr ; it remained there till the time of the disturbances of Farrukh Siyar's reign, which by the grace of God, will be described. Bādshāh Begam, the sister of Muḥammad Ā'ẓam used to point out to the howdah containing holes to encourage the members of the House of Tīmūr during the rebellion of the Sayyids of Bārha.

In short, of the leading chiefs of Awrangzīb, Khwājah Khān, Rājah Mān Sing Hārah and ten others were killed. As Murād Bakhsh had to do more of fighting, twenty of his *Amīrs* and servants sacrificed their lives. After the battle was over, Ā'ẓam Khān owing to excessive heat of the air and the armour died.

On the side of Dārā Shukoh, besides the nobles, already mentioned, innumerable horsemen and foot soldiers were killed. This narrative will become very long if I give the details of the gifts and rewards given in the form of cash, titles, promotions, and jewels to Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, the two princes and the *Amīrs*.

Dārā Shukoh with 2,000 horse, many of whom were wounded and without equipment, entered Akbarābād in the evening without even the torches. On account of shame and ill fortune he did not go to his exalted father ; he went to his own house. The Emperor repeatedly sent him message calling him with a view to give him fresh advice, but he avoided it, offering excuses. The same night, after the third watch, accompanied by Sipahr Shukoh,

1 This is not mentioned by Muḥammad Kāẓim. Even if Khafi Khān's version is accepted as correct, Awrangzīb's congratulations did not mean that he was abdicating in favour of Murād.

2 *Kār-khānah-i-Dawlat-khanah-i-qil'ah.*

his wife, daughter and some other servants of the Palace, and taking along with him jewels, ornaments, gold mohurs, gold and silver plate, and whatever else he could, loading them on elephants, camels and oxen he came out of the city and took the road to Dihli, with the intention of proceeding to the metropolis of Lahore. At the third stage, 5,000 horse, some nobles with some equipment, sent by *Firdaws 'Āshyānī* (Shāhjahān), joined him.[1]

After his victory, Awrangzib, sent a letter to the Emperor, intimating to him his intention of coming to him with a view to pay respects and to enquire about his health, as alarming reports had been spreading about it. He also mentioned the fact that the Mahārāja had to be punished because he wanted to stop him and that Dārā Shukoh, having arrived (at Samūgarh) with a large army and with evil intentions, a battle was fought, in which he was defeated ; that was the will of God, (he added in conclusion) and he was helpless.[2]

In the meantime Muḥammad Amin Khān, Khān Jahān, the son of Āṣaf Jāh with a party of the *Amirs* who were the main props of the State came to pay their respects to Awrangzib ; they were honoured with the award of *khil'at*, jewels, horses and elephants. On the 10th of *Ramaḍān*, Awrangzib marched from Samūgarh for Akbarābād and pitched his camp in its vicinity. Here he received in reply to his petition, a letter of consolation *(tasallī-nāmah)* from the Emperor who, as a measure of expediency, had written it in his own hand. The letter was brought (to Awrangzib) by Fāḍil Khān *Khān Sāmān* and Sayyid Hidāyat Allāh *Ṣadr*. On the following day Nawab Qudsiyah Pādshāh Begam, at

1 This indicates Shāhjahān's partiality for Dārā. It is surprising that he was unable to take a realistic views of the situation. Awrangzib had sent a letter to him after the Battle of Dharmat in which he had recounted Dārā's excesses and had requested the Emperor to send him back to the governorship of the Panjab. This letter is given in *Fayyāḍ al-Qawānīn*; for an English rendering. see Faruki, p. 57.

2 Elliot's rendering is brief and misleading : 'Awrangzib addressed a letter to the Emperor (recounting what had passed and) excusing himself by referring all to the will of God.' See Vol. VII, p. 225.

the instance of her father, came to see her brother and addressed to him words of kindness as well as of reproach by way of advice and out of affection.

However, on receiving an unfavourable reply she returned. Then another affectionate letter, full of advice, came from the Emperor who also sent with it a sword on whose handle was inscribed the auspicious title, *'Ālamgīr ;* it was the best sword known to have existed in the House of Timur. Besides these, the trusted messenger brought agreeable and pleasant messages. The farsighted among those who knew the real meaning (دقیقه سنجان بزم معنی) found a favourable omen in the receipt of the sword with the title, *'Ālamgīr*, inscribed on it; they congratulated Awrangzīb on this happy augury which was a God-send and suggested that it might be adopted as a title. He then directed Prince Mu'aẓẓam to take over the administration of the city (of Agra) and guard it against the high-handedness and excesses of the soldiery and the vagabonds, and give peace to its people. To Khān Jahān, the son of Āṣaf Khān, he gave the title of *Amīr al-Umarā* and conferred upon him other favours. Many of the (Imperial) nobles came to offer their respects and were given promotions in rank, cash and jewels ; among them were Asad Khān, Qāsim Khān, Nāmdār Khān, Ẓafar Khān, Sayyid Shīr Khān Bārhah, Ḥasan Beg, 'Abd al-Nabī Khān and others.

Shāhjahān's (forced) retirement :

The authors of the three *'Ālamgīr-nāmahs*[1] have referred to the (forced) retirement[2] of Shāhjahān in brief words as was desired by Awrangzīb. But 'Āqil Khān Khāfī in his *'Wāqi'āt-i--'Ālamgīrī*[3] has described it in detail. Briefly, the affairs reached the stage when the fort was besieged and Shāhjahān, was taken into confinement ; the supply of water was cut off and the bitter and

1 See C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature* (London, 1939), p. 586 et. seq.

2 *Munzāwī Sākhtan.*

3 The *Wāqi'āt-i-'Alamgīrī*, also called *Ẓafar-nāmah-i-'Ālamgīrī*, has been edited by M. Zafar Hasan and was published from Aligarh ; later. Dr. M.A. Chaghtai published its text. In this work references are to the pages of the first edition.

disagreeable exchange of messages took place. Eventually on the 17th *Ramaḍān*, 1068 A.H. Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān was ordered to proceed to the fort of Agra, post his trusted men at the gate, and then present himself before his grandfather to deliver agreeable and disagreeable messages regarding his retirement, and to cut off all means of communication. Accordingly Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān entered the fort and carried out the instructions; he deprived the *Ṣāḥib-qiran-i-thānī* of power and authority in the affairs of the State and made him retire (from active life).

Verse :

This is the tradition of this thoroughfare,
It keeps the road alive (by allowing men) to come and go ;

It brings one into the tumult of life ; and bids another to
move away from it.[1]

1 Khāfī Khān's version of the incidents leading to the internment of Shāhjahān presents an incomplete picture of this important event. Indeed, by suppressing some details he has tried to create an impression that Awrangzīb's conduct towards his father was marked by cruelty and selfishness. A few references to some of the details suppressed by Khāfī Khān may therefore be made ; they will give us a clear idea of the attitude of Shāhjahān towards his two sons, Awrangzīb and Dārā. When Awrangzīb arrived in the vicinity of Agra he received a *farmān* from his father expressing his deep anxiety to see his son and asking him to come immediately to the fort. Awrangzīb sent a reply through Fāḍil Khān, who had brought the letter, that he would certainly present himself before the Emperor. However, when he consulted his advisers they pointed out to him that it would be an unwise step, for Shāhjahān was still anxious to promote Dārā's cause and his *farmān* inviting him to come and see him was merely a trap laid for his arrest. Awrangzīb accepted the advice. On the following day when Fāḍil Khān came again bringing the sword, known as *'Ālamgīr*, and other presents from the Emperor, he found that the Prince had changed his idea. Shāhjahān was grieved to hear this, and sent Fāḍil Khān with another letter written in his own hand. Fāḍil Khān was accompanied by Khalīl Allāh Khān who was secretly in sympathy with Awrangzīb. Consequently he was called to a private interview; he took this opportunity to warn his patron that "he should never give his consent to the Emperor's proposal," regarding his paying a visit to him at the fort of Agra. Awrangzīb therefore wrote to his father

(*Continued on page* 35)

Awrangzīb sent Muḥammad Ja'far Khān, son of Allāh Wardī Khān to the *chaklah* of Mewat, which formed part of the *jāgīr* of Dārā Shukoh. He also presented 26,00,000 rupees with other parapharnalia of royalty to Murād Bakhsh.

(*Continued from page* 34)

that "he did not think he would be safe during his interview with him." Fāḍil took back the message and related the whole story to Shāhjahān who was sorely disappointed at the failure of his plan to arrest Awrangzīb. He now took the extreme step of ordering the defences of the fort to be strengthened and other necessary precautions taken. When Awrangzīb came to know of it he had no option but to seize the fort. It was however not easy to capture it without a regular siege ; to avoid violence Awrangzīb's officers hit on a novel idea. The water in the wells of the fort was not very sweet ; drinking water was therefore brought from the Jamuna. They seized the passage leading to the river. Shāhjahān wrote a sharp letter to Awrangzīb rebuking him for this act. Awrangzīb replied that after all it was the result of "his own doing". He had already requested the Emperor in a previous letter to discontinue the defence, because it would result in a clash of his forces with the Emperor's guard. Shāhjahān had ignored it. The besieged Emperor however soon realized that he had committed a blunder in resorting to arms ; the gates of the fort were opened on 8 June. Prince Sulṭan Muḥammad entered it on Friday, 15 (Kaẓim says 17) *Ramaḍān*, and "earned the honour" of presenting himself be fore the Emperor who gave him a dagger inlaid with jewels, a necklace of pearls and two elephants. It is rather surprising that Shāhjahān failed to realize the delicacy of the situation and was still anxious to help Dārā. He sent Jahān-ārā to Awrangzīb with a proposal for the division of the Empire. The territories of the Panjab and Kabul were to go to Dārā, Gujarāt to Murād, Bengal to Shujā', the Deccan to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān. Awrangzīb was to have the rest of the Empire and was to be declared heir-apparent. In fact, before Samūgarh, Awrangzīb had suggested that Dārā should be sent away from Agra and remain in the Panjab while he would serve the Emperor, which, by implication, meant that he would be heir-apparent, Shāhjahān had just ignored the suggestion, because he was sure of the victory of his powerful army over the comparatively inferior forces of the two Princes. But now that he had become helpless, he suggested a division of the Empire ; obviously Awrangzīb could not accept it. Jahān-ārā returned disappointed. After sometime, however, Awrangzīb agreed to pay a visit to Shāhjahān ; when he was about to move at the head of a procession, some of his nobles pleaded for the cancellation of

(*Continued on page* 36)

He (Awrangzīb) entered Agra on the 22nd of *Ramaḍān* and took his residence in the palace of Dārā Shukoh. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was appointed *Mīr-Bakhshī* ; Tarbiat Khān became the *Ṣūbahdār* of Ajmer and Khān Zamān was given the *Ṣūbah* of Ẓafarābād with the additional duties of the commandant of the fort.

(*Continued from page* 35)
the visit adding that according to their information his murder had been planned, and the task was assigned to the Tartar women-guard of the Emperor. Awrangzīb accepted the advice and abandoned the idea of going to the fort. The statement of the nobles was soon confirmed, because Nāhir-dil, placed in his hands a letter which under orders from Shāhjahān he had to deliver to Dārā. The letter said : "Dārā Shukoh ! stay firmly at Dihlī. There is no lack of money and troops there. Take care not to pass beyond that place, as I shall myself despatch the affair here." Awrangzīb's reaction can be easily guessed. He did not only drop the idea of meeting his father, but decided to take a decisive step. He ordered Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad to be more careful, and stop all communication between the fort and the people outside. Shāhjahan lost all credit and respect as Emperor. This step was taken on 21 *Ramaḍān.*

For details see 'Āqil, pp. 69-86.

Flight of Dārā

A few words may be said about the misfortunes of Dārā Shukoh. When he reached the vicinity of Dār al-Khilāfat Shāhjahānābād he found himself under the threat of pursuit by the forces of Muḥammad Awrangzīb and of being besieged (in the city); he therefore remained outside the city and engaged himself in the collection of money and equipment. He seized whatever he could get in the Imperial stores and the houses of the nobles. Then he waited for some days for the arrival of Sulaymān Shukoh who, after the flight of Shujā', had been wandering in the wilderness of perplexity in Bihar (near) Patna and was in a state of uncertainty about his affairs. As he had heard already the news of the victory of Awrangzīb, he dared not come to his father, and thus passed his days there. (Ultimately) Dārā realized that if he waited for long he would fall within the clutches of the anger of his brother; (consequently) with his newly assembled forces, 10.000 horse men having joined him, he proceeded towards the Panjab. Every day he wrote to Sulaymān Shukoh about his misfortunes and asked him to meet him either at Sirhind or at Lahore. To the *Fawjdārs* and other officers in the Panjab he sent conciliatory letters containing promises as well as threats. He also wrote to his father explaining his inability to see him (before leaving Agra), which was due to his adverse fortune and the jealousy of his brothers and other nobles.

Awrangzīb also resolved several times to go and see his father with a view to apologize to him and request him to pardon him for the deeds of which he had been guilty, by no choice of his own, but through the divine decrees of Fate and the ill-fortune of his unworthy brother. But as he knew that Shāhjahān was favourably inclined towards Dārā Shukoh and was ever ready to help him, and that through the decrees of the pen of Fate, power had passed from his hands, he (Awrangzīb) thought it advisable to give up the idea of meeting his distinguished father, and directed Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam to go to his grandfather. Accordingly,

the Prince, accompanied by Taqarrub K͟hān, and Islām K͟hān, went to S͟hāhjahān, with messages of apology from him (Awrangzīb), and presented to him 500 gold mohurs and 4000 rupees. The Emperor, happily or unhappily, took Muḥammad Ā'ẓam in the arms of affection (i.e. embraced him) with tears in his eyes, and after having demonstrated his kindness in many ways allowed him to depart.

K͟huld-makān (Awrangzīb)[1] now decided to go in pursuit of Dārā S͟hukoh. He left Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān with Fāḍil K͟han *K͟hānsāmān* and several other nobles of S͟hahjahān to attend upon him. He awarded 30,000 rupees to Islām K͟hān and made him guardian (*atālīq*) of the Prince who was given two lakhs of rupees and sixty horses. Muqarrab K͟hān was to be in charge of the Emperor's treatment[2] and was given three thousand gold mohurs.

On 22 *Ramaḍān* (14 June, 1658), accompanied by victory and success, Awrangzīb set off from Akbarābād in pursuit of his hostile brother. On the way he came to know that on the 21st *Ramaḍān*, Dārā S͟hukoh had left Delhi for Lahore. Awrangzīb gave 26 lakhs of rupees and 230 horses with gold and jewelled trappings to Murād Bak͟hsh; in reality these gifts were only a trust.[3] K͟hān Dawrān was despatched to Allahābād to take over that fort from Sayyid Qāsim Bārah who held it on behalf of Dārā. He was given instructions that in case Sayyid Qāsim surrendered the fort he was to be treated with consideration and sent to the Court immediately; if, however, he offered resistance, the fort was to be

1 K͟hāfī K͟hān often mentions the names of S͟hāhjahān and Awrangzīb with these epithets. In the translation only their well-known names and titles have been used.

2 He was assigned this responsibility because he had been treating the Emperor and had studied his case. See Kāzim, p. 124.

3 K͟hāfī K͟hān suggests by implication that Awrangzīb had already decided to imprison Murād.

invested and he was to be punished ; reinforcements could be sent for, if neceassary.

On the last day of *Ramaḍān* Bahādur Khān Kūkah was despatched, from the halt of Salīmpur, as leader of the vanguard in pursuit of Dārā. Khān Khānān Najābat Khān was given two lakhs of rupees on the day of *'Īd al-Fiṭr.* Dilīr Khān, who had deserted Sulaymān Shukoh and had come to the Court, was given a promotion of one thousand with one thousand horse in addition (to his *manṣab*). 'Abd Allāh Beg, son of 'Alī Mardān Khān, and I'timād Khān deserted Sulaymān Shukoh and reached the Court ; they were shown favours.

Secret Letter which Shāhjahan, after being imprisoned, wrote to Mahābat Khān, Governor of Kabul

"The best of the devoted servants, strengthened and exalted by royal attention and kindness, should know that he might have heard about the nature of the calamity which has befallen this powerful Empire through the faithlessness of Time and might have also heard about the perfidious conduct of the evil-minded Khurāsānis and the attitude of the wretched traitors. My poor and persecuted son Dārā Shukoh, after being defeated, is now proceeding towards Lahore.' At this juncture, a sincere and devoted person (like you) should ignore the petty gains of this faithless world and seek instead (true) name and glory. Now that, Mahābat Khān is no more and his true son Mahābat II is still alive, therefore to him am I revealing the internal affliction of my heart and hope that he would try to remove it. It is thus : At the time when the Khurāsānis had imprisoned Jahāngīr and snatched authority from him, tqat lion of the jungle of war (Mahābat Khān I) after traversing a long distance had delivered him from the clutches of those demons, and after keeping him in his own custody for a few days had placed him on the throne and made his position firm. He had also taken me out of the corner of insignificance and the valley

of hard sufferings (*wādi-i-mihnat*), and after his (Jahāngīr's) death, had brought me to the capital and made me happy and satisfied. Now a more difficult situation has arisen and no person can save it other than a wise and brave Amīr like you. My Dārā Shukoh is reaching Lahore. There is no dearth of money (in the treasury) at Lahore, nor that of horses and men at Kābul, and there is a leader as brave as Mahābat Khān whose fear makes the world tremble, and in spite of this, Shahjahān should remain in (forced) retirement (*munzawī bāshad*). This is indeed strange ! If that lion of the jungle of bravery would decide (to start) with a well-equipped army, and, making forced marches, reach Lahore to join Dārā Shukoh and fight and punish the two undutiful brothers for their evil deeds, and then bring the old Emperor out of confinement, he would find that he had earned a name which was better than the treasure of Korah and all the ranks and dignities of this mean world.

Verse :

Only you can do this work, and brave men alone do things like this."

I have written to my worthy son (Dārā) to place himself in your hands and consider the carrying out of your directions to be in his best interests and to his great advantage, as well as the only means of my deliverance. I repeat it again that the comforts of this world are transitory ; it has never been faithful to any one, nor will it be faithful in future. Good name lives for ever. How can Mahābat Khān tolerate that the *Ṣāḥib-qirān Thānī* (Shāhjahān) should remain in confinement, a victim to all sorts of calamities while a person who has made the whole world obey him by laying a trap of fraud should succeed in attaining his objective and capturing the Throne. If you, who are the best among the nobles, will connive at this, tomorrow on the day of Judgment, my hand will be on your skirt."[1]

1 The importance of this letter cannot be over-emphasized. It proves beyond doubt that Shāhjahān had laid a trap to catch Awrangzīb and thus make the throne secure for Dārā. He was forming a big conspiracy against

A brief account of the imprisonment of Murād Bukhsh.

That simple-minded Prince (Murād) was a person possessed of many a good quality. He tried much to great favours to the Mughuls and often connived at their faults. Owing to the purity of his heart and the goodness of his faith he ignored the sayings of the sages (as for instance Sa'dī) that "two kings cannot accomodate themselves in one country". He was deluded by and satisfied himself with the captivating promises and awards in cash and kind that were conferred upon him as temporary gifts by way of trust, as has been stated above, both before the battle (of Samūgarh) and after his victory. Unaware of the planning of the deceitful sky (*falak-i-shu'bdah bāz*) he always painted pictures of securing kingship on the surface of his heart on account of his simple-mindedness, and therefore did not abandon the practice of behaving like a king. He never allowed the idea to enter his mind that his brother could possibly commit a breach of faith and violate promises made to him, in spite of the fact that some of his well-wishers repeatedly reminded him of the deceitfulness of Time, particularly in respect of the attitude of former kings towards the possible heirs to the thrones. This warning proved to be of no avail and quite fearlessly he used to go with some persons to his brother to meet him in privacy. One day when he was about to mount a horse in order to go to his brother, a white-bearded old man who had for long been his courtier (*muqarrab*), was known to be a (true) *Sayyid* and was reputed for his piety and virtuous habits said to him (Murād): "The interpretations of my dreams have seldom been wrong, and what I have repeatedly seen in my dreams predicts remorse on trusting the pledges and promises

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Awrangzīb's life, and his affectionate letters addressed to him were, to say the least, fraudulent. Awrangzīb under the circumstances could hardly show greater consideration to an intriguing father than deprive him of power and authority and keep him interned in the Imperial palace.

which have been mutually given". Murād Bakhsh attributed this to the flattery of the sychophants, turned his face away from the old man, and addressed Khwājah Shāhbāz, who also, more than others, used to advise him with regard to this matter, and said to him : "The uttering and hearing of such meaningless words becomes the cause of confusion (*ikhtilāl*) in affection and promises".

In short, on the 4 *Shawwāl* Awrangzīb, having reached and encamped at Mathura, about 25 *kos* from Agra, took Murād Bakhsh into his custody (*dast-gir sākhtah*) by careful planning, (*husn-i-tadbir*) in which he was aided by fortune, and into the particulars of which it is needless to enter[1]. However, chains were

1 By suppressing details of the story of Murād's imprisonment Khāfī Khān has done a positive disservice to the cause of historical truth. A careful study of the circumstances and the conduct of Murād will show that Awrangzīb had no alternative but to imprison him in order to save himself. From the outset Murād was playing the game of duplicity. On the eve of the Battle of Dharmt, Jahān-ārā's letter was delivered to Awrangzīb asking him not to proceed further. Murād gave to the messenger, Muḥammad Fārūq, a secret letter, addressed to Shāhjahān, promising "to obey whatever command is issued to me." In an open letter at the same time he spoke of his determination to proceed to Agra with Awrangzīb. Shāhjahān took advantage of Murād's duplicity and decided to use him as a tool. Accordingly with a view to bring about discord between Awrangzīb and Murād he wrote a letter to him : "I have conferred the sovereignty of the whole of India on my illustrious son (Murād). I enjoin you to be most careful and patient in this matter and not to divulge this secret to any one, however intimate. After a few days, invite your brother (Awrangzīb) and his son to your camp on the plea of a banquet and see the last of them ; and then have the *khuṭbah* recited in your name, and assume the Imperial title, which I bestow on you of my own free will. You should perform this important task with the greatest caution." Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm quoting this letter says that through his carelessness Murād put it in a book where it was accidentally seen by an attendant of Awrangzīb, who brought it to him. Awrangzīb was naturally shocked to see it. However, he simply decided to imprison Murād, although he would have been fully justified if he had killed him. It is surprising that Sarkar dismisses Ma'ṣūm's version as "probably a mere story" (Vol. II, p. 87n.) although on other questions he

put on his legs, and the same night four elephants with veiled *howdahs* were prepared and sent in four different directions, each under two or three well-known Sardars, with escorts. The elephant which was sent to the fort of Salīmgarh (near the Red Fort of Delhi) under the escort of Shaykh Mīr and Dilīr Khān carried Murād as a helpless prisoner. This precaution was taken lest the Mughuls or other partisans of the unfortunate prince might not start shooting arrows. All his treasure and effects, not one *dām* or *dirham* of which was plundered, were confiscated.

Verse:

By suitable planning (*tādbīr*) a clever man performs feats which cannot be achieved by the sword[1].

Ibrāhim Khān, the son of 'Alī Mardān Khān and Sayyid Fīrūz Khān Bārah, who had been friends of Murād Bakhsh, along with 'Alī Qulī Khān, his old servant, came over (to Awrangzīb) and took service.

When Awrangzīb reached near Delhi he was informed that Raja Todar Mal II, the *Mutaṣaddī* of the crown lands of the *Sarkar* of Sirhind, on hearing the news of the approach of Dārā,

quotes that writer and considers the information provided exclusively by him to be "seemingly true" (p. 303) In fact Murād's activities and conduct after the Battle of Samūgarh had amply betrayed his intentions. Unnecessarily and without any reasons he had started recruiting new soldiers to increase the strength of his army. He knew how important it was for Awrangzīb to capture Dārā to make his position secure, but he would not cooperate with him. When Awrangzīb started on his pursuit, Murād stayed back, putting forward the excuse of lack of funds. Awrangzīb immediately sent him twenty lakhs of rupees, and promised that one-third of the booty obtained from Dārā's camp would be given to him. On receiving the money he moved but did not join Awrangzīb's camp; he remained two miles behind the main army. It was for these reasons that Awrangzīb accepted the advice of his councillors and allowed them to take necessary steps to capture him by resorting to a stratagem. (For details see 'Āqil Khān, pp. 87-94.) Awrangzīb has been

1 Evidently this is a taunt.

had buried the treasure in his possession in the vicinity of unknown villages and had fled away to the jungles in the Siwaliks, with a small amount of money which he was able to carry. When Dārā Shukoh reached Sirhind he seized the treasure which he was able to discover, having been led to it by the zamindars whom he had subjected to torture. (It was also reported) that in the Panjab wherever he crossed a river he either burnt or sank the boats before resuming his march, and that he had left Dāwūd Khān with several thousand horse to guard the ferry of Talwun which is a well-known place of crossing. The rivers were in floods. It was further reported that on his arrival in Lahore, Dārā had seized a crore of rupees along with the stores belonging to the State and the *Amīrs* of the Court and that he was engaged in recruiting fresh forces and collecting munitions of war.

Awrangzib's first Coronation

Having received these reports, Awrangzīb did not enter the fort of Delhi, but encamped in the garden of Āgharābād, now called Shalimār, and sent an advance force under Bahādur Khān and Khhalīl-Allāh Khān, with other experienced officers, in pursuit of Dārā. On Friday the 1st *Dhī al-Qa'dah*, 1068 A.H. (22 July 1658 A.C.) after saying the Friday prayers, and at a fortunate hour and an auspicious moment, when the sun was in the tenth sign of zodiac he started the celebration of his coronation, without the striking of the coins or the recitation of the *khuṭbah* in his name, and took his seat on the throne of the extensive and heaven-

crticized for resorting to a stratagem in imprisoning Murād. It would however be unfair to ignore the fact that Awrangzīb's position was insecure as long as Dārā was free, and it would have been the height of foolishness on his part to have allowed Murād to take advantage of this delicate situation. In fact Awrangzīb found himself between the devil and the deep, and there was no way out except that Murād was taken into custody ; and this could be done only through a stratagem. It was by no means a praiseworthy action but under the circumstances Awrangzīb had no other alternative, if he wanted security of his own life ; he could not fight at two fronts simultaneously.

like empire of Hindustān. The sounds of music, the beating of drums, and the blowing of trumpets spread under the green-coloured dome of the sky (i.e. the world) and words of congratulations from the tongues of the genii, the angels and the men reached the ears of the people of the world.

Verse :

> When they arranged a function (glorious) like paradise, even the skies left their places to dance.
>
> When the doors of everlasting bliss were opened the Venus prepared her instruments of music for singing.
>
> The lips of the people of this world were opened like flowers and could not be closed on account of (incessant) laughing.

The *Salāṭīns* and important *Amīrs* offered *nadhrs* and tray-fulls of gold and pearls were showered (in sacrifice) on the head of that august King. Large amounts of red (gold) and white (silver) coins were given in *in'āms* and gifts to the musicians, the needy and pious men and the poets. The skirts of hopes and desires of the deserving people and those who were masters of perfection (in their arts) were filled (with awards) from the treasury of beneficence and genorosity. Among the many chronograms composed by the intelligent persons the Quranic verse, "Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger and those of you who are in authority," was approved[1]. The other chronograms like, "*Shāhinshāh-i-Falak-i-Awrang*"[2] and "*Sazāwār-i-Sarīr-i-Pādshahi*[3] were also composed. Other ceremonies of the coronation such as the conferment of titles, the striking of coins, the recitation of the *khuṭbah*, gifts to the *Salāṭīn* and nobles, near and far, were postponed for the second coronation. A *manṣab* of ten thousand with four thousand horse was granted to Prince Ā'ẓam ; he was also given the drum and other insignia

1 The author of this chronogram was Sāyyid 'Abd Al-Rashīd of Thatta See Kāẓim, p. 154.

2 The Emperor of the sky of the Throne

3 Worthy of the royal throne.

of honour. Awrangzīb then ordered Khalil-Allah Khān to march swiftly and remove the hinderances placed by Dārā Shukoh, seize the boats and collect them at a suitable crossing.

In the meantime it was reported that Sulaymān Shukoh had crossed the Ganges and intended to proceed via Hardwar to join his unfortunate father. The *Amīr-al-Umarā*, Lūdī Khān and Fidāī Khān Kūkā were directed to proceed in that direction and by forced marches enable themselves to intercept him. On 7 *Dhī al-Qa'dah* (28 July) Awrangzīb ordered an advance party to proceed to Lahore. Shaykh Mīr, Randawlah Khān and some other brave and experienced *Amīrs* were sent in advance. Then he himself started in pursuit of Dārā.

Ja'far Khān was promoted to the rank of six thousand with 5000 horse and was appointed *Nā'ib* of the *Ṣūbah* of Malwa in addition to his *wizārat*. Ibrāhīm Khān son of 'Alī Mardān Khān resigned his *manṣab*; he was granted a monthly pension of five thousand rupees. While at Karnal, reports from Bahādur Khān and other *Amīrs* came to the effect that the forces of the enemy at the ferries had been punished and had fled away, and that the royal army had crossed the river safely.

Sulaymān seeks shelter with the zamindar of Srinagar :

About this time the informers reported that, when Sulaymān Shukoh reached the vicinity of Hardwar, he came to know that the lion-hunting army was marching against him ; he was therefore forced to proceed towards the hills of Srinagar[1]. He did not however get the expected support from the zamindars of that region ; many of his followers deserted him and went over to the Court. He gave the zamindar of Srinagar a liltle trouble (by requesting him) that after dismissing his surplus men he would live in those hills with the members of his family only. His followers, now not more than 500 in number, did not consider it safe to remain in that place and left for Allahabad. His tutor,

1 A small estate near Hardwar.

Bāqī Beg, known as Bahādur Khān, could not go to Allahabad on account of illness; with a party of *Amīrs* he left him but died on the way. Sulaymān Shukoh, owing to the misfortunes of his father, as well as to his own bad luck, because he had now been left with no more than two hundred horse men, turned back and went to the zamindar of Srinagar. On the way, he happened to pass through the jagir of Begum Ṣāḥibah Qudsiyah (Jahān-ārā); he took, by force, two lakhs of rupees from the *Karūrī* who had the charge of her *maḥāl* (lands), plundered his house and took him prisoner; ultimately he put the *Karūrī* to death. Now, even the remnant of Sulaymān's followers left him except Muḥammad Shāh Kūkā and a few slaves and domestic servants. The zamindar of Srinagar coveted his money and jewels; he therefore took him to the upper storey of the fort, and kept him there as a prisoner When a report about this was received, the *Amīr-al-Umarā* who had been sent to intercept Sulaymān was directed to send a contingent of his forces to the Imperial Court and then proceed to Agra to join Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān.

Dārā fails to crown himself

It was reported that after reaching Lahore, Dārā Shukoh had started raising forces and winning the hearts of the residents of that region; he had also given promises and signed agreements with the zamindars and *Fawjdārs* to conciliate them and had thus built up an army. He was however ignorant of the (truth):

Verse:

Who can compete with a person
Who is helped by God?
No body can wrest fortune from one who has it;
The throne and the crown cannot be purchased (i.e. they are the gifts of God).

It appeared that he had collected nearly 20,000 horsemen and had sent a letter and a written agreement about the future

government, supported by an oath on the *Qurān*, to Shujā' that after obtaining victory (over Awrangzīb) the two world-conquering monarchs *i.e.* Dārā and Shujā' would divide the Empire between themselves in a brotherly way. Shujā' allowed himself to be deceived by this imaginary and captivating agreement in spite of the fact that a letter of consolation (*tasalli-nāmah*) from Awrangzīb containing pledges and promises had already reached him. However, that foolish person busied himself in collecting forces with a view to help Dārā Shukoh and marched out of Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca) with a large army and a long train of artillery. It was also reported that Dārā Shukoh repeatedly tried to hold his coronation at Lahore and issue coins and have the *khuṭbah* recited in his name, but this was not possible because of the fear of Awrangzīb's sword. The leading and well-known zamindars and *Fawjdārs*, having heard of the decline of the position of Dārā and the rising of the fortune of Awrangzīb, did not join him.

Jaswant Singh at the Court of Awrangzīb

Jaswant Singh, who had taken to the path of the infamy of flight after his encounter with Awrangzīb, had managed to reach his homeland. Some women, specially among the Rajputs, have a higher sense of honour than men, and this is why they prefer in this life the torture of fire to disgrace. Raja Jaswant Singh's senior wife, who was the daughter of Raja Chattar Sal severely repremanded her husband and refused to share his bed. Quite frequently, in the course of conversation, she would use taunting words and make hints marked by sadness, so much so that her sarcastic remarks about (the cowardice of) her husband had become a current talk among the people. I avoid giving my pen the trouble of writing the details of this estrangement (between the Raja and his wife) and come to the main story. The Raja having been stung to the quick by these taunts, his heart lost interest in the house and his homeland. Consequently he sent letters through *Wakīls*, who were close to the Court, begging forgiveness for his past misdeeds (*jarā'im*). When his apology was graciously accepted, he came to

the Court having foundations like that of the Divine Throne (*arsh-asās*), and had the good fortune of presenting himself before the Emperor who conferred upon him gifts, a *khil'at*, an elephant, a sword and a dagger and was confirmed in his *manṣab* with a reduction in the number of horsemen.

In the meantime report was received that Dārā Shukoh's newly raised army having dispersed on hearing of the approach of Awrangzīb's forces that were coming like the waves of a river, he fled away with three or four thousand horses and a few guns towards Multan and Thatta. He had left behind Dā'wūd Khān, with instructions to delay the crossing of the Emperor's (Awrangzib's) army (at a ford) as long as possible, and then, after burning and sinking the boats, join him (Dārā Shukoh) later. Immediately after this however information came that Ṭāhir Khān, with other Imperial officers, had reached Lahore and seized the territory and treasure left by Ḍārā Shukoh. Raja Rajrup, the chief zamindar of the region, deserted Dārā Shukoh, and came over to Raja Jai Singh and Khalīl Allah Khān; they sent him to the Court. At the request of Mu'aẓẓam Khān *alias* Mīr Jumlah who had been diplomatically (*maṣlaḥatan*) imprisoned at Daulatabad, orders were issued to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam to release him and send him to the Court. Raja Jaswant Singh, whose request for the restitution of the title of *Mahārājah* had not been accepted and in whose friendship the Emperor had no confidence, was sent to Shāhjahānābād, to be kept in safe custody.

On 5 *Dhī al-Ḥijjah* Awrangzīb crossed the river Sutlaj. As boats (in sufficient number) could not be obtained and a bridge could not be thrown the army could not cross the river without much difficulty; it had to stay there for ten days. After crossing the river he (Awrangzīb) sent the surplus equipment and stores of the army with Prince Muḥammad Ā'zam to Lahore. After disposing of important business, and being freed of heavy equipment he raised his victorious standards in pursuit of Dārā. Permission was given to Raja Jai Singh, who had been in

attendance for one year and was passing his days in great difficulties to go back to his native land.

Dārā's flight to Sind

Awrangzīb now travelled by a circuitous route. It was reported at this time that Dārā had reached Multan and without stopping there had left for Bhakkar. Desertions were daily taking place in his army. Fīrūz Mewatī who was in charge of the treasure of Dārā Shukoh was travelling in boats in the river. Ḥājī Khān Baloch fell upon him and plundered part of the treasure leaving only what he could not carry away. When Awrangzīb heard this, he ordered the *Mīr Manzil* to take the shorter route so that the hardships of the journey might be lessened for the army. Early in *Muḥarram* 1069 A.H. the royal standard reached the banks of the Ravi, near Multan. Khalīl-Allah Khān who had been sent in pursuit of Dārā Shukoh returned to the Emperor with Ghayrat Khān and two or three other leading *Amīrs* who had deserted that wanderer of the valley of misfortune (Dārā) ; each of these received favours. Shaykh Mir, Ṣaf Shikan Khan, and some other men were now sent in pursuit of Dārā.

Shāhnawāz Khān, who out of policy had been kept in surveillance in the citadel of Burhānpūr, was ordered to be released. He was made the *Ṣūbahdār* of Aḥmadābād with an addition of one thousand horse to his original *manṣab* and was given *a khil'at.*

Awrangzīb returns from the Panjab

On receiving repeated reports from the news-writers of the eastern territories that Muḥammad Shujā' had left Bengal with 25000 horsemen and a park of world-disturbing artillery with the intention of fighting against the victorious Emperor the latter decided that in the interest of the State he should first annihilate that senseless brother. Accordingly on 12 *Muḥarram* (30th September 1658) he turned back the reins of attention from the

pursuit of Dārā Shukoh and took the road to the capital, and by forced marches reached Lahore, riding on an elephant; after going round in the fort, he pitched his camp in the Fayḍ Bakhsh garden. On the last day of *Muharram* he left Lahore for his capital, and on 4 *Rabī'-al-awwal* he entered the fort of Shāhjahānābād. Here he learnt that Muḥammad Shujā' had come as far as Banaras and that Ramdas, the commandant of the fort, appointed by Dārā Shukoh, had, at the latter's instance, handed it over to his men. In the same way, Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalil Bārhah the commandant of Chitāpūr and Sayyid Qāsimī, *Hāris* (lit. guard) of Allahabad, had also joined him and surrendered the city and the fort to him. On hearing the reports of these occurences Awrangzib ordered Prince Muḥammad Sultān that he should present himself at the Court, leaving the *Amīr al-Umarā* at Akbarābād. Subsequently a *farmān* was issued to the Prince and Dhu al-Fiqār Khān to leave the fort of Akbarābād in the charge of Ra'ḍ Andāz Khān and to take a crore of rupees and one lakh of gold mohurs from its treasury and despatch it in the charge of the Prince, who was to reach Allahabad before his own (Awrangzib's) arrival there. A *farmān* was sent to Khān Dawrān, who had been sent to capture Allahabad, to advance with his armies and receive the Prince.

On 7 *Rabi' al-thānī* the weighing ceremony of the forty-first solar year of the Emperor's life was celebrated. The servants, from far and near, got *khil'ats*, jewels and other gifts, and thousands of musicians and needy persons collected sums of money (which could last) for years.

Khān Khānān Najābat Khān, who was stated to be one of the cousins (*bani-a'mām*) of Shahjahān and who had performed great deeds in both the battles, had been entertaining hopes and ambitions greater than those of the kings. Awrangzib felt annoyed at this; accordingly, a few days earlier he had sent Ma'mūr Khān, one of his (Khān's) friends and companions with admonitory messages. Ma'mūr Khān, knowing the truth, "Nothing on the messenger but the delivering of the message," thought that

his friendship with Najābat Khān, being an appendix (to his position as a messenger) entitled him, when in privacy, to add a few harsh words on his own behalf, besides demanding of him a brief reply in the form of 'yes' or 'no'. Najābat Khān could not tolerate (his words), and taking the sword that was hanging near his *masnad*, struck him suddenly at the waist, and cut his body into two pieces. When this was reported (to the Emperor) he (Najābat Khān) fell under displeasure, was deprived of his *manṣab* and was forbidden to appear at the audience. After some days, however, on the occasion of this ceremony, he (Khān Khānān) was forgiven; he was granted a *khil'at* and was restored to his former *manṣab*. Dāwūd Khān who had left Dārā Shukoh and had come to the Court was given a *manṣab* of four thousand with three thousand horse; he also received other favours.

Battle of Khajwah: Defeat and Flight of Shujā'

On 17 *Rabī' al-thānī* 'Ālamgīr left the capital and marched towards the east. When he reached near Etawah he came to know that the Prince and Dhu al-Fiqār Khān, as ordered, had reached Khajwah[1] and were waiting there for further orders to advance forward to oppose (Shujā'). Shujā', on his part, had also left the place and was continuing his advance. Having extorted three lakhs of rupees from the bankers of Banaras under pretence of loans, he had also sent a force under a man, Khusraw by name, to occupy Jawnpūr. Mukarram Khān, who was in charge of Jawnpūr, after being besieged for days, lost heart, came out of it and joined Shujā's side. In this connection it may be mentioned that Abū al-Ma'ālī, who had out of policy joined Shujā' for a few days, finding a favourable opportunity, deserted him and came to the Court. He was given thirty thousand rupees besides a *khil'at*, an elephant and a *manṣab* of three thousand. The Emperor visited the tomb of the slected among the pure, Haḍrat Sayyid Badī' al-Dīn, *alias* Shāh Madār, and gave ten thousand rupees to

1 Khajwah: in Fatḥpūr district; it is situated between the Ganges and the Jamuna at a distance of 10 miles from each river.

its attendants and then advanced further. When the victory-achieving camp reached the stage near khajwah, Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān earned the honour of presenting himself before him. Again, it was at this auspicious place that Mu'aẓẓam Khān (Mīr Jumlah) having covered the long distance from the Deccan with the feet of devotion and firmness, enabled himself, by forced marches, to reach the Court with his equipment of war and presented himself before the Emperor; he received great favours. The army was arrayed (in battle order) according to the advice of Mu'aẓẓam Khān, and as he had arrived without any means to maintain his status, except war equipment, he was given some horses, two elephants and tents beside other things necessary to meet his requirements. Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān was appointed commander of the vanguard ; Sayyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārhah, Sayyid Najābat Khān Bārhah, Irādat Khān, Bīr Singh Rathor and Qizilbāsh Khān were to accompany him. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān with some other *Amīrs* was made the commander of the advance party of the Prince. Raja Jaswant Singh, with other brave Rajputs, was to be in charge of the right wing. Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam with Khān Dawrān, Murād Khān and some other experienced *Amīrs*, was to command the left wing. Islām Khān and Iḥtishām Khān with some other brave warriors was to be in charge of the reserve forces. The rear guard was under the command of Khawāṣ Khan, Ikhlāṣ Khān and some other *Amīrs* with *Aḥadīs* and a contingent of warlike Afghāns. Mu'aẓẓam Khān and his son Muḥammad Amīn Khān were to attend the Emperor's own elephant in the centre of the army. The huge mountain-like elephants almost buried in steel and fully equipped for war were posted behind the artillery and were distributed among the commanders (of the units). Bahādur Khān, Dā'wūd Khān, Raja Subhā Singh, Kunwar Rām Singh and many other brave fighters were posted to the right and left of the Emperor and the Princes. Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam was given a seat in the Imperial *howdah*. The army was so arranged that owing to the large number of forces one could see nothing but the banners on the line-breaking (*ṣaf-rubā*) elephants

and the enemy-killing spears, shining like lightning, till the last limit of one's sight; ninety thousand horses were ready for battle in that dreary plain.

Verse:

The tumult of the day of resurrection spread in the world.

The earth was asking the sky for more space on loan.

There was so much scarcity of space owing to the number of troops,

That the marks of shadow were on the shoulders of the wind.

If showers of mercury had fallen from the sky,

It would have rested on the pikes of spears of the lancers.

Shujā' also arranged his army. He put his son, Buland Akhtar, who was desirous of excelling his elder brother in bravery, in charge of the vanguard of the main army; Sayyid 'Ālam Bārah and some experienced *Amīrs* were attached to him. Shaykh Walī Qirmilī and other trusted officers were posted as vanguard of Prince Buland Akhtar. He posted his elder son, Zayn al-Dīn, as the commander of the right wing and appointed Ḥusayn Khīshgī with three or four trusted officers to his advance guard. Mukarram Khān Ṣafawī with Sayyid Rājī and some other nobles was put in the left wing. Shaykh Ẓarīf, with a contingent of experienced fighters, was to remain in reserve. Asfandyar ma'mūrī was appointed commander of the centre; Abu al-Ma'ālī was posted as chief artillery officer; Mīr 'Alāwal, his *dīwān*, was the captain of his rear-guard and Muḥammad Qulī Khān with Joti was in the vanguard. Shujā,' with 'Alī Wardī Khān, son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Khān and some experienced fighters took positions in the centre. On 17 *Rabī' al-thānī*, the Emperor, with Farīdūn-like dignity, mounted his elephant, when two watches (*sā'at-i-nujūmī*) had passed. Rawshan Ḍamīr who was described as one of the enlightened and proficient men of the day and was so skilled in writing verses that he could be called Amīr Khusraw II, presented a chronogram containing the

date of victory, just at the moment when the Emperor was mounting the elephant.

Verse :

The *Sūrah-i-Tabārak* be your protecting amulet, (and)
May there be a crown constantly on your head !
I searched a chronogram for the omen of your victory,
My heart said! "victory shall come, congralulations to you".

It was liked by 'Ālamgīr, and he gave him five thousand rupees in reward. Accompanied by victory and riding a huge elephant, like a mountain of dignity, he advanced slowly so as to cause no disturbance in the arrangement of the army. Covering two or three *krūhs* in two *pahrs*[1] he reached within half a *krūh* of the enemy's camp in the third *pahr*. The effect of the awe and bravery of 'Ālamgir's sword on the army of Shujā' was such that it could not move and had not enough courage to take the initiative. That day the reporting of the firing of cannons and throwing of the rockets continued till evening, and no charge was made on the soldiers (of the enemy). The army spent the night on the saddles of the horses and the *howdahs* of the elephants ; while many of the men remained fully armed and vigilant, waiting for the dawn of victory, counting the stars all the time. They were all anxious to see what the pregnant night would bring forth on the morrow. The guns of Shujā' were so placed that they had an advantage over the artillery of the enemy-killing Emperor. On coming to know of this Mu'azzam Khān who was a good tactician and was expert in the art of fighting, shifted in the darkness of the night forty enemy-killing guns which had been removed from a selected place, to a site in front of the enemy's position. With a view to arrange his men and look after them, he took no rest during the night. 'Ālamgir spent three watches of the night in a small tent in prayers and supplication, praying to God for the dawn of victory. Suddenly, about the fourth watch of the night a great tumult which deprived

1 *Pahr* : one eighth of the day (i.e. three hours).

the people of their senses (*hūsh-rubā*) arose from the army and reached the skies, creating a strange confusion. The details of this (incident) may be given.

Jaswant Singh's treacherous night assaults

Raja Jaswant Singh whose support of 'Ālamgīr was based on hypocracy, and on whose body had been fitted from the day of creation the ill-famed garb of flight and whose wicked nature had always led him to ultimate ruin, had, owing to his stupid thinking (*'aql-i-tabāh*) and evil intentions, sent through one of his confidants in the early hours of the night a friendly message to Shujā' that "towards the end of the night I would make a surprise attack on the Imperial army and after plundering the camp would flee from there. Naturally the Emperor on coming to know of this would turn to arranging a pursuit of my men. At that time your brave soldiers (*bahādurān-i-yakkah-tāz-i-shumā*) should make a sudden charge on the army."

When three or four hours (*ghari*) of the night still remained that wretched fellow, in league with other Rajputs having their own contingents of soldiers, such as Ram Singh Rathor and the wicked Mahesh Das, set into motion the innumerable forces that he had collected for this purpose, giving out that he wanted to sacrifice his life for the Imperial cause, and plundered the Imperial camp and the equipment and baggage of the *Amīrs* and Princes, and whatever came in his way. Every one who tried to stop him received martyrdom through the inconsiderate sword of the Rajputs. A strange confusion was caused in the forces and establishment of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān ; there was hardly any tent, big or small, that escaped the plundering hand of the wicked Rajputs. They divided among themselves the entire treasure and stores of the Prince, which they had marked out during the day. The major portion of the equipment of the soldiers was looted and their women disgraced. The plundering hands of the Rajputs, the vagabonds and the looters, who had been waiting for such an opportunity even reached the stables and stores of the Imperial

camp. There was hardly a tent surrounding that of the Emperor that remained safe from their hands. For some time the cause of this tumult and disorder was not known and all sorts of erroneous surmises, far from common sense, were made by the people. There was complete panic throughout the camp. Many lost their heart and joined the plunderers, because, they thought, the best means of salvation (escape) from that misfortuue was desertion. Some of them fled towards the jungles, while a few went over to the camp of the enemy and were plundered there. Many important *Amīrs* who were with the Emperor went away in order to enquire about the safety of their own tents, baggage and families and were thus separated from him. Even the most sincere of his followers began to waver ; what could be said about the cowards and traitors ? However in spite of all this disturbance in the army, there was not the slightest change in the firm attitude of the Emperor who possessed heaven-like dignity.

When it was reported that the wicked infidel (Jaswant Singh) having the nature of Saturn, had returned from his high position to a low and wretched place, he ('Ālamgīr) deliberately came down from the elephant and sat on a *takht-i-rawān*[1], so that the person who saw superficial things and had lost control of his hands and feet, might know that the firm steps of the Emperor had no intention of changing their position (i.e. retreating). He also issued strict orders to his quick-footed orderlies and proclaimers (*qad-ghanān*) that the officers riding the elephants and horsemen should not to be allowed to move from their positions ; any officer riding an elephant or a horse, who was found here or there (having left his position), was to be dragged by the reins of his animal and brought before the Emperor in a humiliating manner. In spite of so much panic and confusion in the army, 'Ālamgīr did not let the reins of strategy and authority slip from his hands. There was no sign of change in the firmness of the heart and the courage of the Emperor with heaven-like dignity. On the contrary he

1 A wooden throne carried by men on their shoulders.

appeared cheerful, showing no indication of losing temper or using harsh words, which are an evidence of the timidity of shallow-minded people. He said : "Praise be to God ! in this way the difference between the hypocrites and sincere devotees has become evident and has been tested on the touch-stone of trial. I regard this to be a blessing from God and an omen of my victory and triumph. Most of the hypocrites, who were devoid of foresight and had a mistaken notion of their future, consideried this (disturbance) to be a sure sign of the success of the enemy and have gone over to his camp. They shall most certainly be punished for their misdeeds." Without exaggeration. more than half of the Imperial army was lost as a result of the plundering raid (of Jaswant Singh) as most of the deserters had joined the camp of the enemy.

When the gold-capped world-conquering King (i.e. the sun), equipped with a quiver of bright rays, brought forth his head from the window of the orient with the object of conquering the world and the dust of the Indian (i.e. dark) night was replaced by the light of the morning, the Emperor was informed that the uufortunate infidel (Jaswant Singh) had taken the route to Akbarābād. The devoted servants from far and near gathered round him. The Emperor whose conscience was bright as the sun and whose authority was high like the heavens, mounted an elephant with heaven-like prestige in all the dignity and firmness of a mountain. Not the least sign of anxiety was visible on his face, and he engaged himself in preparation for the battle and fighting according to the settled programme. Islām Khān was appointed commander of the right wing in place of that wretched infidel, and the entire army was rearranged. Mu'aẓẓam Khān was given discretionary powers to make such alterations in the disposition of forces as he thought necessary.

Shujā' also, strengthened by fresh additions, made changes in the arrangement of his forces. He consolidated all his forces into a single line (*yak ṣaf*) and posted his artillery in place of the vanguard. He took his son, Buland Akhtar along with himself in the centre and then moved forward with daring

steps. Four or five watches of the day had passed when the two armies stood facing each other. The battle commenced with the thundering of guns, huge like dragons and roaring like lightning, from both the camps. The noise created by the sound of the beating of the war drums and trumpets shook the desolate plain and made the hearts of the cowards on both the sides tremble. But, as far as the brave and courageous fighters of the Imperial army were concerned, every time a gun was fired, their dauntlessness was doubled. Every moment the market of the flashing of the lightning and the killing of the enemy became more brisk. The penetration of the bullets of the muskets into the backs of the enemy's soldiers brought the noise of death to the excited ears of the cowards.

Verse :

On account of the whirring sound of the empty-headed drum,
The Earth began to shiver in the mountains and the meadows.
Because of the whirring noise of the dragon-like muskets,
The battle became more brisk through the lightning of enmity.
Through the frequent reclining (*khwābidan*) of the nipples (*māshahā*) of the match-locks,
Many enemies went to the sleep of death.

In this state of affairs a cannon ball from the victory-marked artillery (of 'Ālamgīr) struck the elephant of Sulṭān Zayn al-'Ābidīn. No injury was caused to him or the elephant, but one leg of the elephant-driver and one leg of the personal attendant of the Prince, who was sitting behind the *howdah*, were blown off. This frightend many of Shujā's soldiers. With the conclusion of this duel of guns commenced the showering of arrows and the demonstration of skill by the faultless archers of Cathay and Turkey, who never missed an aim. Thousands of arrows flew from the bows and bowstrings of the fighters resembling the hunting lions and in consequence of the showering of arrows, instead of water, blood

sprouted from the roots of every hair of the brave men. The armours and the cuirasses (*jawshans*) of the fighters and the bodies of the combatants became like a grove of arrows.

Verse :

Owing to the excessive shower of arrows,
The clouds showered rain from their shoulders.
Two rivers of blood came into motion ;
The Earth became red from the waves of blood.

In the course of the battle, Sayyid 'Ālam Bārhah with three elephants launched an attack on the left wing of the victory-marked Imperial army on which victory attends (*ẓafar-qarīn*). Due to the shock of the elephants and the attack of the Sayyids the left wing of the Imperial army began to waver. Many of the coward men in that force preferred to accept the ignominy of flight, and a great confusion appeared in the victorious (*fīrūzī-athar*) army. On account of the pressure of the enemy's forces and the retreat of the left wing the centre of 'Ālamgīr's army also became panicky, and matters came to such a pass that not more than 2000 brave and devoted soldiers remained with the Emperor. The men of the enemy's forces found a good omen in this and began to felicitate one another. Being thus encouraged, they advanced forward and attacked the blessed centre (of the Imperial army) with great impertenance. But, 'Ālamgīr, strengthened by Divine help, remained firm, sitting on his elephant, like a terrible lion, reproaching and also trying to console the weak-hearted among his soldiers, and, at the same time, throwing with his own august hands arrows at the enemy. At this time Murtaḍa Qulī Khān from the left wing, Bahādur Khān from the vanguard and Ḥasan Qulī Khān from the left of the Emperor came to him. Each of them, like brave and faithful (*jān-supār*) servants, showed prodigies of valour, and, with the few soldiers left with them, they resisted the charge of the enemy exhibiting Rustam-like bravery. The enemy-destroying Emperor also, seeing this state of affairs, turned his

mountain-like elephant towards the enemy, and joined these crocodiles of the rivers of respect and the lions of the jungle of bravery (brave fighters) in their charge on him. In the course of this terrible fighting many of those who had lost heart were over-whelmed by shame, and pulling their reins they rushed towards the Emperor's elephant, (with the result that) in spite of the paucity of troops they were able to take a remarkably firm stand.

Verse:
Because of hostility brave men fell on each other;
They raised a tumult like that of the day of resurrection.

The steadfastness and bravery of these men created panic in the army of Shujā', and most of his soldiers were either killed or wounded. Though the pressure of the charge of the Sayyids of Bārhah could not continue, yet each one of the three excited elephants, who were like dark hills of terror and had chains weighing two or three maunds in their trunks, repeatedly attacked positions on different sides turning the eyes of the sky black and white. At every step, as they moved forward, they brought down and killed the horses and their riders. One of them came in front of the Imperial elephant. Nevertheless, the Emperor, with heaven-like dignity, remained firm and did not move from his position Apart from the beating of the pulse there was no sign of change on the face or in the general condition of that fortunate Emperor. He had the legs of his own elephant fastened with chains, and then ordered one of his guards who was a faultless marksman to shoot down the driver of the attacking elephant with his life-taking matchlock. Jalāl Khān, the guardsman, who was an exact marksman and could shoot at a long distance fired at the elephant and brought down from the height of the black misfortune (elephant's neck) the wretched driver whose prodding rod used to goad the huge animal to attack. One of the Imperial elephant-riders at once got to the neck of the elephant and brought the animal under control. The other two elephants, seeing this

turned from the centre of the Imperial forces and charged the right wing of the army.

At this time Buland Akhtar with some brave chiefs, such as Shaykh Walī, Shaykh Ẓarif and Ḥasan Khishgī, who were well-known fighters, attacked the right wing of the Imperial army, which caused great confusion. The elephant of Islām Khān was struck by a rocket; it became panicky and many a person took to flight. Sayf Khān and Ikrām Khān, who commanded the vanguard of the right wing, remained firm in their positions and tried hard to repulse the attack of the enemy.

At this time many of his inexperienced attendants advised the exalted Emperor to go to the help of the right wing; but the soldiers around him were also engaged in fierce fighting and owing to the pressure of the enemy, many a weak-hearted person was thinking of fleeing away. The powerful Emperor therefore thought that if he would turn his elephant towards the right in order to defeat the enemy forces and make the horses rush, it was probable that many of his foot soldiers who were within the range of the artillery of the enemy would run away because of the rumours of flight. In these circumstances when the right wing was also thrown into disorder it was uncertain what the deceitful sky would next reveal. So he did not leave his position till the repulse of the opposing forces and sent a message to Islām Khān and other chiefs to remain steadfast and bravely withstand the attacks of the enemy; he also gave them hopes of his arrival there soon.

Flight of Shujā'

In the meantime report was received that Bakhtyār Beg Rūzbihāri the commandant of the artillery in the army of Shujā' had died of injuries and his son Jāni Beg after being mortally wounded had fallen from his horse. On hearing that the pressure of the enemy had also diminished, the enemy-destroying Emperor came to the help of the right wing without any delay. The arrival of the Emperor in all his dignity gave fresh vigour and

strength to the forces of the right wring. The brave and war-like fighters raised the noise : 'kill, kill' and made pools of blood flow in every direction. In the course of exchange of blows, Shaykh Walī Qirmilī, a leading officer in Shujā''s army fell on the ground. Ḥasan Beg Khān Khishgi also fell down from his saddle. Of the unimportant persons many became the targets of the arrows and spears of brave men and the fodder of the swords of fighters. Buland Akhtar seeing the courage of the brave men fled away and sought protection with his father. The victorious army made a sudden attack on the centre of Shujā'. Mukarram Khān Ṣafawī who had been supporting Shujā' out of expediency appeared before the Emperor's elephant as a supplicant. He was praised and encouraged and was ordered to sit on an elephant in the contingent of the Emperor himself. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān, and Sanjar Beg, son of Allah Wardī Khān, separated themselves from the defeated army and joined the victorious troops. In the meantime the breeze of victory began to blow and the good news of the flight of Shujā' was on the tongue of every attendant of the victorious Emperor. The shouts of congratulations were heard on every side and the beatings of the drums of joy and trumpets of happiness were heard by the soldiers. They made their drums of victory produce music ; they played on the lute and trumpet creating a mixed noise.

Pursuit of Shujā'

The victorious troops fell upon the camp of the unfortunate Shujā' and plundered his treasure, elephants, horses, the paraphernalia of pomp and dignity, equipment and in fact whatever they could lay their hands on. Besides what was plundered by the soldiery, one hundred and fourteen guns, and one hundred and fifteen elephants with some treasure and jewels were seized by the Emperor's officers. The victorious Emperor came down from his elephant and after offering two *rak'ats* of prayers in thanks-giving, and praising the *Amīrs* who were in attendance, he thought it

advisable that Shujā' should not be allowed to make a halt anywhere, and therefore Prince Muhammad Sultān, along with his own and as many of the Imperial troops as were available, was ordered to go hurriedly in his pursuit. The Emperor blessed him in place of a *khil-'at* with the *dupattah* which he had on his shoulders and the string of pearls which had for years formed part of the royal robes of Shāhjahān and then of his own. With prayers for his protection the Prince was granted permission to march. As the camp and equiptment of the Prince had been plundered (by Jaswant) the Emperor ordered that necessary equipment of war should be given to him from the Imperial stores and be sent after him with three sets of *khil'ats*, the royal sword and one hundred horses for the Prince's own use.

The Emperor stayed at the site marked by victory and held an assembly to confer unlimited honours, in the form of promotions, cash, jewels, titles, and permission to use drums, on each of the *Amīrs* in attendance, according to his status and deeds performed by him in the battle. Mu'azzam Khān was given a distinction over all others; he got an additional *manṣab* of 7000 with 7000 horse, and his rank was thus raised to 12000. He was also given a reward of ten lakhs of rupees in cash[1]. On the twenty-seventh of the month the Emperor left Khajwah.

Raja Jai Singh who had with permission gone to his homeland now earned the honour of presenting himself before the Emperor. On the last day of the month the Emperor encamped on the banks of the Ganges. Mu'azzam Khān, Dhū al-Fiqār Khān, Islām Khān, Kunwar Rai Singh, Dāwūd Khān, and Fidāī Khān, with a party of well-known and experienced persons and heavy artillery were ordered to accompany the Prince. When giving them leave to depart, 'Ālamgīr conferred upon them *khil'ats*, horses, elephants, drums, cash, arms inlaid with gold, swords, and daggers and raised their position by giving them substantial promotions.

1 Muḥammad Kāẓim does not mention the figure of 12000. See p. 267.

Dārā's pursuit resumed

Now, I write something about the unfortunate affairs of the illstarred Dārā Shukoh. The report of the unhappy condition and misfortunes of Dārā Shukoh was received. He had arrived at Bhakkar in a wretched condition, with hardly three thousand horses. For want of transport and owing to the desertion of many of his adherents, he was compelled to leave some of his domestic servants with a part of treasure, gold and silver service, goods, and heavy articles of baggage and surplus things, with Nawīd, the eunuch, and Sayyid 'Abd al Razzāq, one of his trusted men in the fort of Bhakkar and had himself advanced further. Because of dense thorny brakes, difficulties of the routes, loss of baggage and transport in the saline soil on the banks of (the Indus) near Thatta and (lastly) his pursuit by the Imperial forces under Shaykh Mīr, Dārā Shukoh could not stay at any one place. Many of his men died or fell ill owing to want of water and hardships of the journey and various diseases, and a number of them deserted him. Shaykh Mīr was pursuing him close on his heels and had made it so difficult for that wretched wanderer of the wilderness to proceed on his way that not more than one thousand horsemen had been left with him when he reached the vicinity of Siwistan ; (now) he took the road to Aḥmadābād. Many of Shaykh Mīr's men also died or dispersed on account of the scarcity of water, long and rapid marches, loss of horses and transport and other hardships which they had to face on the route. Most of his troops were forced to march on foot. When this was reported to Ālamgīr, he ordered Shaykh Mīr and Ṣaf Shikan Khān to withdraw their forces (from the pursuit).

On the first of *Jumādā I* the Emperor with forces as numerous as stars left for Akbarābād. At the second stage of the journey he received a dispatch from Prince Muḥammad Sultān, informing him of a second victory and the defeat of Shujā.' A brief account of the victory may be given.

Shujā' defeated by Prince Muḥammad Sultān

Sayyid Qāsim, the commandant of the fort of Allahabad, had left a person, 'Abd al-Jalīl by name, to be in charge of the fort, when leaving it to join Shujā' in the battle. After the latter's defeat Qāsim Khān had returned to his fortress and had since engaged himself in strengthening its ramparts and other fortifications. When Shujā' arrived he could not offer any reason for not surrendering to him. On receiving the pledge of security, however, he came out of the fortress alone to meet Shujā'; he made all the arrangements for his entertainment, entered into an agreement with him and then took his leave to depart. Subsequently he (Muḥammad Qāsim) sent a letter to Prince Muḥammad Sultān containing an apology for his past conduct and a request for being allowed to offer submission; he also surrendred the keys of the fortress to him. When the Emperor was informed of this he issued an order that Khān Darwān was to be placed in command of the fort of Allahabad and Muḥammad Qāsim was to be treated with consideration and then sent to the Court. When the unfortunate Shujā', who had an intention of raising an army to meet the Imperial forces, heard this, he lost heart and became a wanderer in the valley of bewilderment.

Amīn Khān sent to punish Jaswant Singh

The Emperor despatched Muḥammad Amīn Khān, at the head of 10,000 horse, with 'Abd Allah Khān, to punish the vicious Raja Jaswant Singh. Rai Singh Rathor, the nephew of Raja Jaswant Singh, had differences with the latter on the question of inheritance. He was honoured with the award of the title of *rājah*, a promotion to the rank of 1000, a gift of one lakh of rupees, a *khil'at*, a horse, an elephant, a jewelled sword and the right of keeping a drum with high sound. He was to be associated in the annihilation of that despised fellow, for which he was given a hope that the State of Jodhpur would be conferred on him.

Amīn Khān, the commandant of the fort at the capital received orders to the effect that Murād Bakhsh was to be shifted from the fortress of Salīmgarh to that of Gwalior; he was to go with

Shaykh Mīr when he returned from the pursuit of Dārā Shukoh. On the 18th of the month the Emperor having reached the vicinity of Agra, pitched his tents near Bāgh-i-Nūr. Fāḍil Khān *Khān-Sāmān* presented one lakh of rupees along with other things belonging to Dārā Shukoh. The *Amir al-Umarā* and all the other *Amīrs* posted at the fort of Agra came forward to pay their respects. From the reports of some loyal servants it became known that when the wretched Jaswant Singh reached Agra by forced marches, some of the traitorous people thought that he would besiege the fort and stay there to release Shāhjahān. This created fear in the hearts of many a person who lacked courage and commonsense. The Emperor ordered this to be kept as a secret, and at the time of his departure he ordered some of them to be put in the custody of the *Amīr al-Umarā* and attached to the Imperial camp. On the 23rd of the month he departed from Agra.

Dārā in Gujarāt

A report was received about this time that Dārā Shukoh had reached the territory of Kachh, on the borders of the province of Aḥmadābād, and three or four thousand horsemen had collected round him. Since the withdrawal of the Imperial forces, he had been moving slowly and had started recruiting soldiers and winning the hearts of the *Fawjdārs* and zamindars on his route. By offering presents in cash and jewels he had won the support of the zamindar of Kachh and persuaded him to betroth his daughter to Prince Sipahr Shukoh. The zamindar after entertaining him to a feast, gave him an escort, and then saw him off his territory, sending him to Aḥmadābād. When Dārā reached its vicinity Shāhnawāz Khān, the *Ṣūbahdār* of the province, one of whose daughters had been married to the Emperor[1] and another to Murād Bakhsh, accompanied by Raḥmat Khān,

1 The name of the daughter of Shahnawāz married to Prince Awrangzīb in 1637 was Dilras Bānū. She bore him five children : Zīb al-Nisā, Zinat al-Nīsā, Zubdat al-Nisā, Muḥammad A'ẓam, and Muḥammad Akbar. Dilras had died in 1657.

the *Dīwān*, and other supporters, came out to receive him. After meeting him, Shāh-nawāz Khān took necessary steps to help him; he presented to him nearly ten lakhs of rupees with gold and silver articles and other things which belonged to Murād Bakhsh and had been left by him in Aḥmadābād. Dārā engaged himself in collecting men and money and winning the support of the people by making them happy, conferring on them *khil'ats*, promotions, titles and jewels. He posted his own officers and administrators in Surat, Khambayat (Cambay), Baroach and other fertile parganahs and brought them under his control. In one month and seven days he was able to collect 20000 horse. He sent letters and messages to the officials of Bijapur and Hyderabad asking them to send men and money. Indeed he had started considering over the possibilities of going to the Deccan or joining Raja Jaswant Singh.

It was about this time when he was so active that the news of the flight of Raja Jaswant Singh from the Imperial camp and the baseless and entirely false reports of the defeat of the Emperor reached him (Dārā Shukoh). A letter from Jaswant Singh inviting him was also received. On the 1st of *Jumādā II* he set out on his march with a well-equiped army and a large train of artillery, having obtained 30 or 40 guns from the port of Surat. At every stage he received false and delusive letters from Jaswant Singh informing him of his early arrival. These things strengthened the determination of that unfortunate fellow.

On hearing reports of these developments, 'Ālamgīr decided to march towards Ajmer and send a conciliatory letter to Jaswant forgiving his past sins because Jai Singh had interceded on his behalf. As Jai Singh had so advised, it was decided that his (Jaswant's) title of *Mahārājah* and *manṣab* should be restored. Accordingly, the Emperor authorized Jai Singh to write to Jaswant Singh in this connection and send his letter through a swift messenger.

Minor occurences at the Court

Now, the quick-footed horse of my pen turns from writing

the account of the ill-started Dārā to the affairs of the Imperial Court. Prince Muḥammad Akbar who, with other ladies of the *harem* had been left at Daulatabad, towards the close of *Jamada II* reached the capital and had the honour of being presented before the Emperor. Champat Bundelah, during the course of its march through the Panjab, had, on account of his bad luck, deserted the Imperial camp without permission and returned to his native place, where he had taken to highway robbery. Subhkaran Bundelah, who was reported to be his rival and had a common ancestry with that wretched fellow, was favoured with the grant of a *khil'at*, horse and sword. With a fresh army he was sent to punish the doomed Champat. Sayyid Qāsim Shuja'ī and Bahādur Khān, who had been ordered to come from the camp of the Prince and join the Court, arrived and had the honour of being presented (before the Emperor).

It was reported that Tarbi'at Khān, the *Ṣūbahdār* of Ajmer, had lost heart on receiving the news that Dārā had reached the frontiers of Jodhpur, and had returned to the Court. For reasons of policy Muḥammad Amīn Khān who had been sent to punish Raja Jaswant Singh, was recalled to the Court. Sayyid Qāsim was honoured with the award of a *manṣab* of three thousand and one thousand horse and the title of *Shahāmat Khān*. Ṭāhir Khān was sent for a skirmish and to collect news about Dārā's movements.

On reaching (the *ta'alluqah of*) Amber, belonging to Raja Jai Singh, the Emperor ordered his forces to be arranged. Raja Jai Singh with Dilīr Khān, Ḥasan Qulī Khān and some other brave fighters, was made the commandant of the vanguard; Ṣaf Shikan Khān was ordered to march ahead with the artillery; Shaykh Mīr, accompanied by his brother. Amīr Khān, was put at the head of the reserve force; *the Amir al-Umarā*. (Shā'istah Khān), with his sons, Ganj 'Alī Khān and other experienced commanders was to be in charge of the ri ghtngıʍ lı̣əthwʎqe command of the left wing was assigned to Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam supported by other

brave Irani fighters. In the same way, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Hushdār Khān, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Khān, son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān, and other fighters from Iran, and Tūrān, the brave Afghāns and dauntless Rajputs were distributed in the right and left wings, the centre, the advance guard and the rear. The Emperor issued orders that as long as the army was face to face with the enemy, this arrangement would remain unchanged.

The Battle of Deorai

A short account of the confused affairs of Dārā Shukoh may also be given. When confidential orders forgiving the past offences of Jaswant Singh and the letters of Raja Jai Singh and other friends reached him, he tried to keep them secret. He had already advanced 20 *krūh*s from Jodhpur to receive and support Dārā Shukoh; now he cancelled his programme and Saturn-like returned to his place. When the news of Jaswant Singh's return (to Jodhpur) reached Dārā, he was greatly disturbed and wrote conciliatory and flattering letters to the Raja, but they proved to be of no avail. This fact added to the thorns in the wounded heart of that wanderer in the valley of bewilderment. However, having reached within twenty *krūhs* of Jodhpur, Dārā sent Dichand,[1] one of his Hindu confidants, who was on friendly terms with Jaswant Singh, with a message, entreating him to fulfil his promise. The Raja treacherously replied that he was still firm in his promise, but it was not expedient for him to meet him at the moment. He also added that he (Dārā) should reach Ajmer and encamp there. Then he should send messages to other Rajput chiefs inviting them to join him. As soon as two or three other important Rajput chiefs would join him, he would also follow. With this letter containing a treacherous and disappointing reply he sent Dichand back. Dārā who had almost lost his senses, willingly or unwillingly, proceeded to Ajmer, and from there he again sent Dichand to that hypocrite and traitor (Jaswnat). Dichand delivered the message of his

1 In '*Ālamgirnāmah* (p. 311) the name is given as Dubinchand. In the MSS. of Khāfī Khān the two forms of the name are Dipchand and Dichand.

master in a most eloquent and flattering style, but it proved to be of no avail. It was now certain that all the replies of Jaswant Singh were evasive and treacherous.

The report about the *farmān* of the forgiving and wise Emperor pardoning Jaswant Singh was being talked about publicly. As a needy person becomes insane, and wants turn the temper of a lion into that of a fox, Dārā, in spite of his (Jaswant's) great dissimulation, sent Sipahr Shukoh to that perfidious traitor. Sipahr tried to cajole and flatter him and made promises and pledges, but that sinner and infidel behaved as if he had not heard anything, and sent back the Prince disappointed, like Dichand. Sipahr Shukoh returned to his father with a broken heart[1] and tears in his eyes which he knew were due to the revolution caused by the perverse sky *(falak-i-kaj-raftār)*.

Verse :

Be not astonished at these fluctuations of fortune ;
The sky remembers thousands of such fables and miracles.

Dārā Shukoh, losing all hope of any assistance from Jaswant Singh, did not know what to do. At this stage the reports of the approach of Muḥammad Awrangzib Bahādur Bādshāh Ghāzi, the Emperor, became current. There being no other alternative for him, he decided to offer resistance. Under the circumstances he did not consider it expedient to fight an open battle (immediately). (With a view therefore) to prepare a line of defence in the hills near Ajmer, he moved out and proceeded towards them and reached the pass (of Deorai)[2]. To throw defences on some of the routes he built up barriers of stone and earth and stationed his guns and musketeers to strengthen the positions. He posted Muṣṭafā Khān *alias* Sayyid Ibrāhīm to his right and ordered three of his *Amīrs* with a contingent of a thousand musketeers to support him. The defence of the left was entrusted to Shāhnawāz Khān and his sons with a contingent of skilled musketeers. Other positions were to be

1 *Jigar kabāb* (lit. burnt liver).
2 Deorai is about four miles to the south of Ajmer.

defended by Fīrūz Mewati in whose bravery and experience he had complete confidence ; he was assisted by a party of experienced fighters. Fīrūz was also given the charge of artillery and ammunition. In front of himself he posted Sipahr Shukoh with plenty of fire-arms highly destructive (*ṣaf-rubā*) guns. He himself remained in the centre, and properly setting the guns, detailed a body of men to supply ammunitions to the various defence positions and see that the officers and soldiers did not remain idle and inactive.

The details of the disposition of the Emperor's victorious army and the stationing of forces at the entrenchments may also be given here. On reaching Deorai, which was at a distance of three *krūhs* from Ajmer and half *krūh* from the enemy's position and (so) within the range of his guns, 'Ālamgīr ordered his camp to be set up and issued instructions that entrenchments should be thrown at certain specified places. Ṣaf Shikan Khān was appoined *Mīr Ātish* ; he was ordered to move forward the train of artillery and select strategic positions in front of the fortifications of the enemy. Shaykh Mīr and Dilīr Khān, the lion of the battle, were ordered to make trenches behind the artillery. The war-loving soldiers and the fiery-tempered brave fighters selected sites to construct trenches; they now started throwing cannon balls (on the enemy's positions). Every one tried to outdo the others and did not let them surpass him, particularly Purdil Khān, Shaykh Mīr, Dilīr Khān, Sayyid Naṣīr al-Dīn Khān Dakhanī and other devoted and life-sacrificing officers, girded themselves up for laying down their lives; for three days they fought without food or sleep. The *Amīr al-Umarā* tried his best to storm the positions of the enemy and by his mountain-shaking charges created terror in the hearts of the besieged forces. As the enemy's positions were in the gorges of the hills and were strongly fortified, the efforts of the brave fighters in the Imperial forces met with little success. On the other hand the soldiers of Dārā, coming out of their entrenched positions and placing their shields in their front, would attack the Imperial positions and after killing

men and animals would safely return to their defences in the hills. No cannon ball from the guns of Dārā fell on the ground without killing men or animals, while those thrown by the Imperial forces on the positions of the enemy made no impression beyond striking the stones and the walls. On the fourth night the empire-winning Monarch called a meeting of his most trusted officers and urged them to storm the enemy positions ; he extended to them hopes (of rewards) and also administred threats containing references to their self-respect.

On the following day the Emperor sent Raja Rajrup, the zamindar of Jammu, whose men had the reputation of being expert in mountain warfare and (were known for their) bravery, and ordered him along with his infantry to the other side of a hill, called Pahārī[1]. The forces of Dārā had taken positions on the hill, expecting an assualt from that side and were constantly showering balls, bullets and stones giving the Imperial forces no rest. However these lion-hearted experts in mountain warare, girding the lions of determination, moved forward creeping along slowly and carrying with them their arms, which were swift like lightning in killing men, and resisting the artillery charges from the entrenchments. Every one who fell served as a step for further advance of his fellow-soldiers. Ultimately they succeeded in planting the standard of Rajrup on the top of the hill. Raja Rajrup who followed his armed warriors was all the time waiting to hear a call from the top of the hill. Though the Raja was engaged by one thousand of the enemy forces, who had come down from the hill and subjected him to a ceaseless shower of balls, bullets and stones, small and big, he and his men dismounted from their horses and fearlessly facing the bullets of the enemy they made an advance and attacked his positions. Seeing the Raja's courage and boldness in taking his men to the top of the hill, Dilīr Khān, who, among the Afghāns, was known for his bravery and unique courage, moved up the

1 Pahari. This was known a Gokhlah Pahari. See Kāẓim, p. 320.

hill towards the right in the face of a shower of bullets and stones and reached the top. From the left Shaykh Mīr who was peerless in valour and strategy, advanced with his followers. Raja Jai Singh, followed by his war-loving Rajputs, made an assault from another side, exhibiting marvellous courage. The *Āmīr al-Umarā*, with a large number of men of his artillery moved from the left[1], while from the left wing came Asad Khān and Hushdār Khān. with their respective contingents. Thus on all sides lines of soldiers were engaged in fighting. In this battle every life-sacrificing soldier performed deeds of bravery, yet in the beginning the advance was made by the troops of Raja Rajrup, and in the end the first symptoms and the blowing of the breeze of victory were due to the sacrificing of his life by Shaykh Mīr and the bravery of Dilīr Khān Afghān, who were the main targets and were within the range of the ceaseless shower of the fatal bullets from the guns of the entrenchments of Fīrūz Mewati. A large number of troops of both the *Amīrs* were killed. The echoing of the thunder of guns from the mountains and the firing of rockets and bullets from both the sides had raised so much smoke and frightful noise in the hills and the plains that it was difficult to distinguish friend from foe.

Verse :

The battle flared up like the raining clouds,
The hail stones showering from the javelins and rain-drops from the swords.
Such a noise arose from the centres of the two armies,
That the tumult of the day of resurrection reached the ears of the sky.

On every side so many heads and bodies were trampled by horses skilled in traversing mountains (*kūh-naward*) and were crushed that they could not be recognized. Dilīr Khān, like a roaring lion, was performing remarkable exploits, but he was incapacitated by an arrow which struck him in the right arm. Although he could notice symptoms of defeat, Dārā Shukoh was

1 From the right wing, according to Kāẓim. See p. 321.

encouraging his men to fight, appealing to their self-respect and bravery, from the top of the hill. The war-seeking hill-men of his army, who had taken shelter in the entrenchments, came out from behind the walls and performed deeds of great bravery but no advantage was achieved. On account of his keen sense of self-respect, Shāhnawāz Khān thought it would not be possible for him to survive after the battle, nor could he, out of shame, dare face either of his two masters (Dārā and 'Ālamgīr) ; particularly, he could not seek the honour of coming under the protection of the Shadow of Allāh without having staked his life and removed the eternal stigma on his name. Consequently he exerted himself to such an extent that he earned fame by laying down his life in the tumult of the battle. Like him Shaykh Mīr was also killed when the sun was about to set and the news of victory and the planting of the banners from both sides was reaching the ears of the friend and foe. In the same tumult, having recklessly marched to death through the thick of fighting on account of his devotion and courage, he was making a demonstration of his bravery like a mad man, when a cannon ball struck him in the chest. At the moment when he was about to breathe his last, he made his faithful tongue recite the following verse :

> I sacrificed my life for the happy news (of victory), yet I am ashamed
> Of the worthlessness of my heart, which I have sacrified for my friend (beloved).

To Sayyid Hāshim, who was his near relation and was sitting behind him in the howdah instead of a servant, he said : "I am dying ; hold my belt and keep me erect till the breeze of success blows over this enemy-destroying army and the signs of victory become evident, lest my friends and fellow-fighters, knowing my state, withdraw from the battle, and the enemy, being informed of it, become bolder in his attacks."

Praise be to Allah ! in this world man is so deeply interested in the promotion and prosperity of his self and his children that

even at the moment of sacrificing his precious life, when the question of his faith in Islam (*Imān*) arises and nothing should enter his heart except the thought of the Creater and no words should be on his tongue besides the name of the True God and the *Kalimah-i-ṭayyibah*,[1] he recites nothing but words confirmatory of his loyalty to the salt, in the hope that it might become a means of the rise of his children and other descendants.

It is said that, owing to the sacrifice made by Shaykh Mīr with such devotion and sincerity, the Emperor who is a great benefactor of his servants, became greatly interested in all the people of Khwāf. In the time of 'Ālamgīr so many people from Khwāf, the most unimportant province (*ulkah*) of Khurāsān, rose to power as had never been known in history to have risen in the time of any ruler. And in fact the residents of Khwāf, though apparently ugly-looking and rough as compared to other people of Khurāsān, are, at least most of them, honest and upright in conduct and are considered to be more staunch in their loyalty to the salt of their masters than many others.

Defeat and Flight of Dārā

In short, Dārā Shukoh could now see (the signs of) his bad luck. He also heard about the falling down of the tree of Shāhnawāz Khān's life, which in fact was a signal that the banner of the steadfastness of his army was coming down. He could also see the clear signs of the rising of the victorious standards of the triumphant Emperor and his army of life-sacrificing and brave fighters. For these reasons he lost his heart, reason and self-control, and accompanied by Sipar Shukoh, Fīrūz Mewati and some of the servants of the *harem*, he took to flight in the first watch of that dark night, overwhelmed by afflictions and sorrows. A day like that may not befall a king or a beggar! Besides the two above-named persons none of his leading companions could get

1 *Kalimah-i-ṭayyibah : Lā ilāha il-Allah, Muḥammad al Rasūl al-Allah* (Tr. There is no God but Allah ; and Muḥammad is his Prophet).

an opportunity of accompanying him. (However), taking with him a small number of gold mohurs, and jewels and accompanied by his wife, his daughter and a few female attendants, he took the road to Aḥmadābād. Out of foresight and in anticipation of an eventuality like this he had kept ready twelve elephants, mules and camels, loaded with treasure and other selected and valuable articles and a large party of palace attendants, but he was unable to take these along with him[1]. He left them in the custody of a party of his old and new servants and some eunuchs with a contingent of a thousand musketeers, all of whom were disloyal, and instructed them to follow him quickly. The rest of the story of that unfortunate wanderer in the valley of bewilderness will be related at its proper place. The greater part of Dārā's routed army took to flight, leaving their property and children in the camp; some of his men started lamenting the loss of their property, families, treasure and reputation, while others who were severely wounded and had lost their belongings and whose servants had fled away, began to wander in a state of bewilderment in the passes and the hills, crying and mourning. The entire camp and equipment of Dārā and of his men were plundered.

As the night was dark and the passes were full of smoke of the gun-powder, the flight of Dārā remained unknown in both the camps, particularly in that of the victorious army, and fighting continued for two or three watches at some places in the entrenchments. For instance, Asad Kh̲ān and Hus̲h̲dār remained engaged with the enemy in a musketry duel till they came to know about the flight of the enemy and the evacuation of positions on the hill by his men. From among the followers of Dārā S̲h̲ukoh, 'Askar Kh̲ān, Sayyid Ibrāhīm and a party of others who also did not know anything about the flight of the ill-starred fellows, remained like a slaughtered animal for about one watch in the night. Muḥammad S̲h̲arif *alias* Qilīj Kh̲ān the *Mīr-Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī* of

1 He had kept them on the bank of the Anasagar tank.

Dārā, was mortally wounded by an arrow which had struck him in the abdomen, and died on the next day. Sayādat Khan, the son of Shāhnawāz Khān, had also received three or four wounds from arrows and bullets, but his wounds were healed. 'Askar Khān, Sayyid Ibrāhim and some other officers of Dārā, with wounded bodies and sad hearts, having lost every thing except the clothes which they wore, presented themselves before the Emperor through Ṣaf Shikan Khān, with humble words on their tongues; they became the receipients of Imperial favour.

To the fair-minded persons having experience of war it is clear that the fighting of four battles against such crocodiles of the river of self-respect and the lions of the jungle of bravery, every one of whom could be called the Rustam of the day when on the field of battle, and remaining firm in positions in the midst of incidents of the revolution, which have already been narrated and thereby discomfiting the enemy forces when they were about to score a victory, cannot be attributed but to the grace of God and 'Ālamgir's good fortune.

In short, after hearing about the fight of Dārā and the blowing of the breeze of victory, 'Ālamgīr opened his tongue in the praise of the Real Emperor (God). Then he expressed his sorrow on the death of Shāhnawāz Khān and Shaykh Mīr and issued orders that their dead bodies should be taken to the sacred precincts of the tomb of Haḍrat Khwājah Mu'īn al-Din and buried there in all honour. He himself also went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of that chosen among the saints, and paid sums of money to the attendants of the mausoleum, and halted at the bank of Anasagar for three or four days.

A sum of one lakh of rupees was given to Raja Jai Singh and 30,000 to Bahādur Khān, who along with other experienced men were assigned the task of pursuing Dārā for a second time. The Emperor conferred upon them *khil'ats*, horses and elephants

when giving them leave to depart. Raja Jaswant Singh being ashamed of his crimes, which were beyond reckoning, had not enough courage to appear at the Court. However, at the request of Raja Jai Singh, the Emperor issued a new *farmān* of forgiveness and consolation; the government of Aḥmadābāḍ was conferred on him and his *manṣab* of seven thousand with 7000 horse was restored; besides this, he was given a *khil'at*. Nawras Begum, the wife of Shāhnawāz Khān, and his sons, in consideration of his relationship and his past services, were shown favours. Amīr Khān, the brother of Shāykh Mīr, got a *khil'at* of mourning, besides substantial promotions and other favours. One hundred elephants and other stores of Dārā fell into the hands of the Imperialists. A number of people who had been thrown into prison at Ajmer by Dārā on the suspicion that their loyalties were with the victorious Emperor were now made free and received Imperial favours. Tarbi'at Khān, in spite of his having fled away before the arrival of Dārā Shukoh, was forgiven and restored to his former office of the *Ṣubahdār* of Ajmer. On 4 *Rajab*, as a mark of respect for Ḥaḍrat Khwājah Mu'īn al-Din, 'Ālamgīr went on foot to his tomb; and then he started on his way to the capital.

It was now reported that Shujā', shocked by the approach of Prince Muḥammad Sultān, made vain efforts, struggling like a slaughtered animal, and fled towards Jahāngīr-nagar (Dacca) while Mu'aẓẓam Khān entered Monghyr. Orders were given for the beating of the drums of victory. When encamping at Fatḥpūr, *pīshkash* of 'Ādil Khān with a letter of congratulations on his success was presented to His Majesty. On the last day of *Rajab* the Emperor entered Agra with regal pomp and show. On the same day was presented the letter of Khān Dawrān, the *Ṣūbahdār* of Allahabad, containing the auspicious news that the fort of Chunār which had been seized by Shujā' during the stormy period of disorders created by Dārā, was recovered by the Imperial forces.

An account of the celebrations of the second coronation, the issuing of new coins, the recitation of the khuṭbah (in his name) and the assumption of the title of Bādshāh-ī-Ghāzī.

As the real and second coronation of the most selected of the descendants of *Ṣāḥib-Qiran* depended on the total liquidation of his opponents and rival claimants to the throne, on 24 of *Ramaḍān* 1069 A.H. which, reckoning from the day of his first victory, was the beginning of the second year of his reign, he issued orders that the doors of rejoicing and enjoyments should be thrown open to all the well-wishers of the State. The doors and walls of the apartments near the Imperial residence, the *Dīwān-i-'Ām* and the *Ghusl-khānah* (Council Chamber) were all decorated with carpets, brocade and cloth woven in gold and silk thread. So much of the imported gold cloth from the various regions (*wilāyāt*) and tapestry from Ahmadabad, and from Europe as well as other countries was used that merchants belonging to the seven climes reaped enormous profits. The coquetish singers with thousands of blandishments were present at the gatherings, and by their varied tones and rhythms they lent colour and excitement to the music and dancing parties.

Verse :

The musician carrying his tambourine looked like a mace-bearer; why then should not the army of sorrows be humiliated ?
The string of the guitar emitted sparks ; the fingers of musicians became roasted meat.

The throne, inlaid with jewels, which for a long time had been waiting for this auspicious moment, being puffed up (*bālidah*) with the honour of kissing the feet of the Emperor of the universe[1], opened the tongue of sarcasm on Jupiter and Saturn ; and the *minbar* (pulpit of a mosque) owing to the honour which it gained by the proclamation of the title of Abu al-Muẓaffar Muḥī al-Dīn

1 *Khusraw-i-Zamīn wa Zamān.*

Muḥammad Awrangzīb Bahādur 'Ālamgir Ghāzī from its surface raised its proud head so high as to touch the sky itself.

Change in the inscriptions on coins

In the former reigns the gold mohurs and silver rupees had the *Kalimah-i-ṭayyib* on one side and the names of the rightly-guided[1] Caliphs (*Khulafā-i-Rāshidīn*) on the other. The Emperor ordered that, as the silver and gold coins, (*dirham wa dīnār*) are often left in improper places and come under the feet of the polytheists, their inscriptions should be replaced by the following couplet *(sikkah)* :

" Struck the coin in the world like the shining sun,
The Emperor Awrangzīb 'Ālamgīr.

On the rupees '*mihr*' (sun) was replaced by '*badr*' (moon).

Verses :

Due to the glorious coining by the Emperor who resembles the sun,
The silver pieces were impressed with stars.
Owing to the issuing of his coins a tumult arose in heavens,
The gold on being coined became the conqueror of the world ('*ālamgīr*).

Ceremonies and Awards

As both the victories had been won on Sundays it was declared to be the day of weekly celebrations. If I were to give the details of all the rewards and gifts that were given on the day of the coronation, my account will become lengthy. I shall therefore content myself with making brief references to a few selected persons. Besides trays full of silver, gold and jewels distributed

1 The first four caliphs of Islam, namely, Ḥadrat Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Uthmān and 'Alī.

among the musicians and the needy people, five lakhs of rupees were given to Pādshāh Begum[1], four lakhs to Zib al-Nisā Begum, one lakh and sixty thousand to Badr al-Nisā Begum and one lakh and fifty thousand to Zubdat al-Nisā Begum[2]. Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam who was present at the Court, was given two lakhs of rupees besides a sword set with jewels, and an elephant from those reserved for the personal use of the Emperor with silver trappings. He was also promoted to the *manṣab* of ten thousand with five thousand horse. Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān who was engaged in the pursuit of Shujā', was given three lakhs of rupees with jewels and an elephant. Two lakhs of rupees for Prince Mu'aẓẓam and one lakh for Prince Muḥammad Akbar were set apart as they were in the Deccan. The *Amīr al-Umarā* received a special *khil'at* with four gold embroidered cloaks, a dagger with pearls studded in its handle, two horses with golen trappings and enamelled saddles. Fāḍil Khān *Khān-Sāmān* got a promotion of one thousand with five hundred horse and became the holder of the rank of four thousand with two thousand horse. Rai Rayan, who had been trained and presented at the Court by Sa'd Allāh Khān and who was functioning as the *Nā'ib Wazīr*, was given the title of *Rājah Raghunāth*. More than thirty thousand of the known persons were honoured by the grant of *khil'ats* and promotions. The celebrations continued for two months and a half[3]. Every night there was a display of skill in fire-works and illuminations. Many chandeliers and lamps known as *gulbarī*, *chaman* and *ṭāqbandī* were lighted. On the banks of the river

1 Pādshāh Begum: Jahānārā. She had throughout been a partisan of Dārā, and particularly so during the War of Succession. Nevertheless 'Ālamgīr on assuming power treated her most magnanimously and always showed her the respect due to an elder sister.

2 Zīb al-Nisā, Badr al-Nisā and Zubdat al-Nisā, were the daughters of 'Ālamgīr. It appears Khāfī Khān forgot to mention Zīnat al-Nisā who was given two lakhs of rupees. See Kāẓim, p. 368.

3 According to Kāẓim the Emperor ordered the celebrations to be continued till the 10th of *'Īd al-Aḍḥā*. See p. 370.

below the Fort the decorated and illuminated boats enterained the sight-seers with the beating of drums.

Mullā Shāh who was a well-known recluse *(gūshāh nashin)* from Kashmīr and was the spiritual guide *(murshid)* of Dārā Shukoh wrote a chronogram of the coronation in verse, which was not without a touch of *taṣawwuf* and a reference to the insincerety of the devotion (*irādat)* of his perfect desciple (*murid-i-kāmil*).

Verse :

The courtyard *(ṣaḥn)* of my heart opened like a sun flower, because the truth appeared and swept clean the dust of falsehood.

(My heart) composed the chronogram of the coronation of the truth-knowing monarch[2] ; *Ẓil al-Ḥaqq*," and by God it spoke the truth.

In the report about the events in the eastern regions it was mentioned that Ihtimām Khān *alias* Muḥammad Qāsim was killed n the battle against Shujā'.

Restoration of lunar calendar and other Reforms

Since the time of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the official and regnal years were being reckoned as having begun from the 1st of *Farwardī*,when the sun enters Aries, to the end of *Isfandyār* ; and this was given the name of *Ilāhī* era. As this system resembled that of the monarchs of the Magians and fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his anxiety to uphold the *Sharī'ah*, directed that the

1 The actual phrase is *īn ra ḥaqq guft* ; this may also be translated as God (*Ḥaqq*) said this. In the *'Ālamgīrnāmah* (Bib. Ind.) the opening phrase is *ṣubḥ-i-dil* (the dawn of my heart) instead of *saḥn-i-dil*.

calculation of the regnal years and anniversaries of the coronation should be made in accordance with the Arabic lunar year and months. For official purposes also a preference was to be given to the lunar year and months.

The festival of the (solar) new year was discontinued. Those who have studied mathematics and astronomy, and are acquainted with history know that, though the Magian (term) *Nawrūz* and the Magian names of the months, from *Farwardī* and *Urdī bihisht* to *Isfandyār*, are on the tongues of the people, yet they have become out of place *(judā mawḍū' gashtand)*. They follow the system of ancient Persia only, beginning their almanacs with the Magian month. The *Nawrūz* which is celebrated on the first-day of *Farwardī* in Kirmān and in the port of Surat by the Magians has no relation to this *(*Mughul*)* *Nawrūz* which is also called the *Nawrūz-i-Sulṭānī*. The official year and months in Īrān and Tūrān are reckoned according to the calendar of ancient Persia. The *Nawrūz-i-Sulṭānī* is celebrated in most of the parts of Persia and India and even by the rulers of Tūrān, Balkh, the dome of Islam, and Bukhārā up to the present day. In Hindustān calculations (of the duration) of the four seasons, and of the summer, winter and the rains, and the autumn and spring harvests, the collection of corn and fruits of each season, the payments to the holders of *jāgīrs*, and *manṣabdārs*, are made according to the solar year and months. To calculate them by Arabic (lunar) months is extremely difficult. But on account of his piety, the religious-minded Emperor did not want the anniversary of his coronation to be called *Jashn-i-Nawrūz-i-Sulṭānī* because, of its resemblance with the Magian (term of) *Nawrūz*[1].

In the beginning of the same year the Emperor conferred a *manṣab* of one thousand with 200 *sawār* on Mulla 'Īwaḍ Wajīh, a

1 Kāẓim definitely says that the shift from the solar to lunar calendar was made by the orders of Shāhjahān. The celebration of the *Nawrūz-i-Sulṭānī* was abolished by 'Ālamgīr. See pp. 388, 389; also see 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Bādshahnāmah* (Calcutta, 1867), Vol. I, p. 128.

reputed scholar from Tūrān, who was getting a stipend of fifteen thousand rupees since the time of S͟hāhjahān, and invested him with the duties of *iḥtisāb*, a party of *manṣabdārs* and *aḥadīs* was placed under him and he was ordered to bring to an end the evil practices of drinking and gambling, and public worship of idols.

Dārā's wanderings in Gujarat and Sind

What remains of Dārā's sad affairs may now be related. After his defeat in the battle of the pass (in the hills) near Ajmer, he fled towards Ahmadabād, as has been narrated by the truth-telling pen, accompanied by his son, Sipahr S͟hukoh, his wife and his daughter, taking with him some jewels and gold mohurs, and a few domestic servants. The rest of his treasure, equipment and necessary baggage, and female slaves borne by twelve elephants and horses were put in charge of some old and new servants, and a few trusted eunuchs ; they were to follow him as quickly as possible. In this state of confusion, however, after marching four or five *krūhs*, all of them extended the hand of plunder and extortion on that God-given (*K͟hudādād*) property and began to quarrel among themselves. Every one of them seized whatever he could, and loaded the camels and quick-footed mules with their heavy plunder in cash and kind, which they had brought down from the loaded elephants. Instead, they placed on the elephants some of the women, having forced them to come down from the camels and stripping them of their ornaments. They took the road to the jungles and carried the looted property wherever they could. The eunuchs could not stop them from committing these excesses ; they lost heart in this state of confusion. In dread of the pursuit by the Imperial forces they thought that they could save their honour and that of the women only by taking them on the elephants to Dārā. Accordingly, with a thousand fears in their hearts they advanced in that direction in the darkness of the night, and marching continuously through the jungles they

were able to join Dārā after covering the distance in one day and one night.

That wanderer in the valley of misfortune (Dārā) reached the vicinity of Ahmadabad after eight days, after wandering in the jungles and having been plundered, in utter bevilderment and astonishment and without any baggage. The officials (*mutaṣaddīs*) at Ahmadabad had already heard about the victory of 'Ālamgīr and the flight and defeat of Dārā ; except Sayyid Aḥmad Bukhārī[1] who was his *Nā'ib Ṣūbahdār* none of them threw his lot with him. (Nāy), out of foresight they combined together, and giving out that they wanted to hold consultations with regard to the reception of Dārā Shukoh, they went to Sayyid Aḥmad and imprisoned him in his own house. They then jointly decided to stabilize the administration of the city, and proclaimed Muḥammad Awrangzīb 'Ālamgīr as Emperor. They also declared their intention of offering resistance to that wanderer of the valley of astonishment (Dārā). When he (Dārā) came to know that he was being preceded (lit. received) by misfortune everywhere, he abandoned the idea of occupying the city and went to the parganah of Kārī, two *krūhs* from Ahmadabad. From there he appealed to Kānji Kulī, who was one of the notorious rebels and robbers of that district, for help.

Verse :

It is want, it is want, it is want,
That makes the temper of a lion like that of a fox.

Kānjī helped him out of Gujarat and took him to the *ta'alluqah* near the territory of Kachh. In the meantime, Gul Muḥammad, one of his servants, whom he had appointed *ḥākim*[2] of the ports of Surat and Baroach, had joined him with fifty horsemen and two hundred foot musketeers. The zamindar of Kachh had, on the

1 He was the brother of Sayyid Jalāl, the *Sadr-i-kul*, in the time of Shahjahan. See Kambuh, II, 359.

2 He was a *Fawjdār*. See Kāẓim, p. 411.

occasion of the first visit of Dārā to Ahmadabad, in view of the future prospects of both, offered the hand of his daughter to Sipahr Shukoh ; he had entertained him and paid due respects. Dārā expected help and friendship from him, but he (the zamindar) paid no attention to him in this journey marked by misfortunes ; in fact he behaved in an indifferent manner, as if he did know him at all.

Verse :

At the time when fortune favoured him,
The armour looked like felt before his arrow ;
When he was not favoured by luck,
His arrow could not pass through silk.

At last, after trying in vain, for two or three days, to win over the zamindar he resolved to proceed to Bhakkar, with tearful eyes and a heavy heart. When he reached the frontiers of Sind, Fīrūz Mewati, who was with him and had shared his misfortunes, now separated himself from that ill-starred person and proceeded to Delhi. The unfortunate Dārā then proceeded to the country of Jāwiyān[1]. The people living in the desert tried to blockade his passage and capture him ; after some fighting and struggle, however, he managed to escape and reached the territory of Makshiān. Mirzā Makshī, the chief of that tribe, came forward to receive him. He took him to his house and entertained him, and then he offered to guide him on his way to Persia and said that he would himself escort him to Qandahār, which was twelve stages from there. Mirzā Makshī strongly advised him to adopt this course. The unfortunate Dārā, however, because of his false expectations of recapturing the throne and the crown, and his vain ideas of reconquering the country and ts treasure, declined to accept the offer, and decided to proceed to the *ta'alluqah* of

1 Chānd Khān in *'Ālamgīrnāmah*, p. 412. Sarkar on the authority of Masson's *Kalat* calls it "Chandi tribe". See Vol. II, p. 204.

Malik Jiwan, the zamindar of Dhandar[1], who had since long been under a debt of obligation to him, and used to profess loyalty and devotion in his letters and messages[2].

Verse :

When a man's fortune becomes dark,
He does what is of no avail to him.

Dārā betrayed by Jīwan

When Dārā reached the place of that wicked (*bad kirdār*) zamindar, Malik Jīwan, he came out to receive him like unexpected death.

Verse :

Death came forward and stood in his way;
It pulled the victim of the trap of annihilation towards itself.
The victim went happily with raised skirts;
The death brought the sword of hatred out of sheath.

The guest-killing (*mihmān-kush*), ungreatful host took him to his house, lodged him there and offered hospitality. During the two or three days (that Dārā remained there) his wife Nādirah Begum, the daughter of Parwīz who had been suffering from dysentry, passed away in consequence of these happenings, as they (the husband and wife) were deeply attached to each other. The deceased lady had become emaciated on account of anxieties. A mountain of sorrow was added to the heaps of Dārā's afflictions and his grief increased. In the days of adversity man loses reason ; this was why Dārā paid no heed to consequences and sent her coffin

1 Elphinstone has mistaken the name of the man for that of his country. He calls him "the Chief Jun on the eastern frontier of Sind." The *'Ālamgīr-nāmah* calls him "Malik Jiwan Ayyūb an Afghān" and the name of his estate is given as "Dādar" or Dhādhar. In the *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* it is Dhāwar.

2 Jīwan had committed an offence and was ordered to be put to death by Shāhjahān, but Dārā had intervened on his behalf and saved his life.

to Lahore to be buried in the tomb of his spiritual guide, Shāh Mīr, in the custody of Gul Muḥammad, who had remained loyal to him during the darkest days of his misfortunes and who did not wish to separate himself from him, and Khwājah Ma'qūl, whose presence (in his camp) with a few others still meant something.[1] Now only a few good-for-nothing servants and eunuchs had remained with him. After the mourning was over, it was decided that (Dārā) with cash and kind, should start next morning for Qandahār under the escort of Malik Jīwan, with the intention of going to Persia. Malik Jīwan apparently behaved as if he intended to escort Dārā Shukoh to the frontiers of Persia, but he had been inwardly planning to improve his prospects and position by trampling under his feet his claims on his gratitude of so many years; now he got his chance. He escorted his guest for some *krūhs*, and then leaving his brother with some clever persons and a few robbers belonging to that territory in the service of Dārā, he took permission and withdrew on the pretext of making preparations for his journey to Persia, promising to return and rejoin him after two or three stages. His brother, with the forces which he had with him, suddenly fell upon Dārā and made him prisoner, not giving him, a chance even to move his hands and feet. Along with Sipahr Shukoh and his followers they brought Dārā back to that "faithful" and "good-natured" host (Malik Jīwan) and kept the party under guard in the place selected by him. Malik Jīwan now informed Raja Jai Singh and Bahādur Khān Kūkah, who had been ordered at Ajmer to go in pursuit of Dārā, of his good services. He also wrote a letter to Bāqir Khān, the *Fawjdār* of Bhakkar, containing an account of his wise plans and sent it through a very swift courier. Bāqir Khān immediately sent a fast camel-rider with a petition to the Emperor and the letter of Malik Jīwan. 'Ālamgīr was told about it; he read the letter and spoke about it to his trusted councellors; but he did not

1 The deceased had left a will desiring to be buried in Hindustan, *A.N.* p. 413. Bernier's statement that Nādirah had taken poison to end her life cannot be accepted as it is not supported by any reliable historian.

make it public until its confirmation (*khabar-i-thānī*) and did not let his tongue or lips betray his joy ; nor did he issue orders for rejoicings until he saw with his own eyes the letter of Bahādur Khān, containing congratulations and a report of the capture of Dārā through the efforts of Malik Jīwan. He (Bahādur) had also mentioned that having obtained the desired object he was returning to the Court along with Malik Jīwan. About the end of the month of *Shawwāl*, at the instance of the Emperor, the beating of drums started in celebration of the happy occasion, the ceremonies having been extended till 'Īd-i-Ḍuḥā. When the news spread, people opened their tongues cursing and abusing the ill-famed Mālik Jīwan.

In this year the *Amīr-al-Umarā* Sha'istah Khān was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of the Deccan, and Prince Mu'aẓẓam was called back to the Court. For Mālik Jiwan a *khil'at* and a *farmān* granting him *manṣab* of one thousand and two hundred *sawār* were sent to Bahādur Khān.

In the meantime a report was received that Sulaymān Shukoh had entered the territory of the zamindar of Srinagar and was living under his protection. Raja Rajrup Singh was ordered to write to the zamindar of Srinagar, by way of advice, that in view of his own interests he should turn Sulaymān Shukoh out of his territory, otherwise he would be trampled under the Imperial wrath.

The reports of the eastern districts said that Shujā' at the time of his departure from Akbarnagar to Bāndah, on coming to know of the intended desertion of 'Aliwardi Khān, had put him and his son to death.

In the middle of *Dhi al-Hijjah*, Bahādur Khān brought Dārā Shukoh and his son Sipahr Shukoh as prisoners to the Court. The Emperor issued orders that the father and the son, chained as they were, should be seated on an elephant and brought into the capital by the Lahore Gate, so that they might remain exposed to the onlookers ; they were to be

paraded through Chandni Chowk, Bazar Sa'd Allah Khān and the streets below the citadel, and then they were to be taken to Khiḍrābād in Old Delhi and imprisoned in the building of Khawaṣpurah. Bahādur Khān, after having lodged the prisoner in the said building, came to the Court and received unlimited favours from the Emperor.

On the following day when Malik Jīwan, who now held the title of Bakhtyār Khān, entered the city and passed through the streets, a party of the vagabonds, some partisans of Dārā, artisans from the lanes and bazārs, and the sight-seers belonging to every community (*qawm*), who followed one another and had crowded the streets, showered abuses on him (Malik Jiwan) and his companions and threw upon them so much of filth, stones and bricks that some of them were severely wounded, fell on the ground and died. Many other people also received injuries. Bakhtyār Khān who had several shields over his head managed to make his way through the angry crowds and succeeded in reaching the palace and presenting himself at the Court. It is said that on that day there was great commotion in the city, and it appeared as if the mother of Time would give birth to a new and great disturbance and the market of turbulence would become brisk. If the *Kotwal* with his men had not arrived at the scene and put down the disturbances not one of the companions of Malik Jīwan would have escaped alive. The women threw from the balconies and roofs of the houses so much of rubbish and earthen cups filled with urine and filth at the Afghāns (companions of Jīwan) that some of the onlookers were also injured. On the following day the *Kotwal* made investigations about the originators of the mischief. It was reveaeld that an *aḥadī*,[1] Haybat by name, had taken the audacious initiative of creating disturbances in the entire city; he was condemned to death under a *fatwā* (judgment) of the '*Ulamā* and executed. Next day being the last day of the sacred month of *Dhi al-Hijjah*[2] (September, 1659) orders were given that

1 *Aḥadīs*: Gentlemen troopers.
2 26th day according to Kambuh.

Dārā who had over-stepped the limits of *Shar'* and had brought infamy to the name of *Taṣawwuf*, should be beheaded in accordance with the legal practice (*riwāyāt*) of the *faqīhs*. After the execution, his dead body was placed in the howdah of an elephant and was paraded again through the streets of the city (?) alive, and dead (*zindah wa murdah*) and exposed to the eyes of the on-lookers, many of whom shed tears over his fate. Having been thus exhibited it was taken to the tomb of Humāyūn and buried there.

Verse :

If the revolutions of Time had given stability to the Throne of Dārā (Darius),

Nobody would have seen his crown placed on the head of Alexander in this world.

Verse :

The pleasure of this world is no more than nocturnal pollutions,

O heart ! Why dost thou pollute thyself by thinking about it.

Orders were also issued that Sipahr Shukoh should be taken to the fortress of Gwalior and imprisoned there[1].

1 Dārā's execution has been called a judicial murder by some of the modern writers. It is however difficult to accept this view. Dārā's apostasy from orthodox Islām was an accepted fact. He had for years been denouncing Islām, taking shelter behind the argument that he hated *Islām-i-majāzī* (unreal Islām), but in practice he did not show any regard even to the basic principles of the faith. Many of the believers in Islām fail to offer prayers or observe fasts with regularity, but none goes to the extent of declaring that he is above all this because he has attained knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of God as Dārā did. The machinery of law in the States governed according to the *Shar'* does not condone apostatic actions and statements. The case of Manṣūr is too well-known to be related in detail. He was a pious and highly respected Ṣūfī but on his uttering words which in the eyes of the *Sharī'ah* were tantamount to apostasy he was sentenced to death. If the utterances of a Ṣūfī like Manṣūr, whose piety and selflessness were beyond doubt, could not be condoned how could Dārā, a wine-drinking and woman-loving Prince, expect mercy at the

Abolition of Taxes

Owing to disturbances and the movement of large armies for two years in different parts of the Empire, particularly in the northern and eastern territories, with the failure of monsoons added to them, the prices of grain had gone up. With a view to alleviate the condition of the people (lit. creatures of God, and out of sympathy for their misfortunes, 'Ālamgīr ordered the remission of *rāhdārī*[1] which was collected on every passage (*guzar*), border town and ferry and brought lakhs to the Imperial treasury. He also remitted *pāndarī*[2] cess, which was levied throughout the Empire and was paid monthly or annually by way of rent for every bit of ground in the bazār or on the roadside, in the shop or the stalls on which business was transacted by the tradesmen and artisans, from the butcher, the wine-brewer and the green grocer to the draper, the jeweller and the banker. As a matter of routine every one of them paid something and the total revenue thus realised and deposited in the treasury came to lakhs of rupees. Other lawful or unlawful taxes (*abwāb-i-mashrū' wa nā māshrū'* which were remitted (by the Emperor), included *sar-shumārī buz-shumārī*[3], *bargadi wa charā'ī* (grazing tax) on the *banjārahs* (wandering grain dealers), *taw'ānah*[4] *ḥāṣil* (cess) *on 'urs gatherings and Hindu jātrahs* held annually at the sites of Hindu temples in different *parganahs*, far and near, where lakhs of people assembled every year and carried on business ; besides these, cesses on spirits and intoxicants, gambling dens, brothels (*kharāb-khānah*)[5], the fines, *shukrānah* (amount paid

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hands of orthodoxy ? For a detailed discussion see my *Prince Awrangzib* (Karachi, 1962).

1 Toll.

2 Pāndarī : a cess on the sale of articles of food brought from outside.

3 A tax on goats. The printed text has "*barshumārī*". (برشماری), obviously a misprint.

4 Perhaps some sort of voluntary contribution.

5 It may mean a tavern or a brothel or both.

by way of thanks), the fourth part of the debt realised from the debtors by the creditor with the help of the state officials and other imposts—in all, more than eighty taxes which brought in crores of rupees to the public treasury were abolished throughout Hindūstān. In addition to these remissions, the tithe on corn, which was permitted by the *Shar'*, and brought twenty-five lakhs of rupees to *Daftar-i-Diwānī* was remitted as a relief measure to lessen the hardships caused by the rising prices of grain. For the enforcement of the orders of the Emperor (regarding these remissions), mace-bearers (*gurz-bardār*) and *aḥadīs* were despatched to the various provinces. The real fact however is that although the Emperor out of his kindness towards the people, had issued orders for the abolition of these cesses and had given a strict warning with regard to their enforcement, yet, with the exception of *pāndarī,* the major portion of which was realised in the capital and at the important seats of government, his directions were not faithfully carried out. As to other cesses (*abwābs*) in spite of the Imperial orders, the *Fawjdārs, jāgirdārs* and zamindārs did not withhold their hands from these exactions for two reasons. Firstly, no fear and dread of severe punishment (*siāsat*) had remained in the hearts of *Fawjdārs, jāgīrdārs* and zamindārs, in the reign of 'Ālamgīr throughout the territories of the Empire. Secondly, the revenue officers, through indifference or want of consideration or with a view to economise expenditure made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwah* (salaries) of the *jāgīrdārs* and payments of salaries were made after the deduction of the cesses. The leading *jāgīrdārs* on the pretext that incomes from these cesses had already been shown in the statements of their salaries and owing to their avarice and their habits of extortioning money, continued to collect the *rāhdāri* and many of the abolished imposts; and they were even cruel enough to increase them. Whenever the reports (of such incidents in the *parganahs* reached the Emperor, he punished the defaulters by reducing their *manṣabs* and the delegation of fault-finding (*mu'ātib*) mace-bearers. The latter, however,

accepted money and returned after enforcing the orders for a short period. After a few days, through the intercession of their patrons and the machinations of their agents the former *manṣabs* of the offenders were restored. So in most cases the arrangements for the remission of taxes were not enforced. It was particularly so in the case of *rāhdārī*, which in the eyes of God-fearing and pious men is not only a prohibited cess, but is also a source of mischief and inconvenience to the travellers; large sums were realised under this item. In most parts of the Empire of Hindustan, the *Fawjdārs* and *jāgīrdārs* collected and are still collecting these taxes from traders and poor travellers and needy way-farers with greater harshness and tyranny than was practised even before. The zamindars, seeing that no inquiries were made, began to extort more money in their jurisdiction than was collected by the Imperial officers on the roads directly under them. By degrees matters came to such a pass, that in course of transit from the factory or port of origin to their final destination where they were consumed the prices of commodities became double their original cost. Owing to the villanies (*samājat*) and oppressions of the toll-collectors and zamindars, the property, honour and lives of the thousands of travellers and other respected persons have been ruined, particularly the mischievous Marathas of the Deccan, after and before the peace, which I shall mention in the account of the reign of the martyred Emperor, Farrukhsyar, and other zamindars on the frontiers, have carried their violence and oppression in the matter of *rāhdāri* to such an extent that it can not be described in words. However, I wish that God Almighty might give the just Emperor control over these vicious (*bad-'āqibat*) men so that he might be able to punish them for their misdeeds and subject them to severe punishment ; (perhaps only then) the oppression in the collection of *rāhdāri* would completely disappear.[1]

1 The account of the excesses of the toll-collectors and zamindars is probably based on the conditions prevailing in the middle of the eighteenth century when Khāfī Khān was writing his book ; in any case conditions were not so bad in the time of 'Ālamgīr.

An account of the campaign against Shuja'; his winning over Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān to his side and offering his daughter in marriage to him.

Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān's Desertion

As has already been stated Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān had been placed under the guardianship and command of Mu'aẓẓam Khān and had been ordered to go in pursuit of Shujā'. In the course of this pursuit several battles and major actions were fought. Ultimately, however, Shujā' managed to reach Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), where he started reorganising his army and artillery. Although the royal forces had won victories in the two or three major actions that had been fought, a reference to which will make my account lengthy, Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān was not very happy, because the control over the Imperial army and the appointment of *Amīrs* to various posts were in the hands of Mu'aẓẓam Khān. Shujā' having come to know of this, conceived the idea of winning the Prince over to his side by means of tricks and treachery. He sent to him messages, letters and presents of a type which could act as a trap and means of winning over inexperienced youths, and thus succeeded in shaking the Prince's loyalty to his father. He strengthened the thread of his deceptive policy to such an extent that the Prince consented to accept the hand of his daughter who had been engaged to him earlier. By this and other deceitful messages he completely shattered the firmness and loyalty of the Prince. 'It is well-known that the youngsters usually do not like the friendship, association and advice of the experienced old men and are inclined more towards the company of the unaccomplished and reckless people; this becomes the cause of their loss of judgment, prestige and self-respect. During these unfortunate days, owing to the disruptive activities (*darham andāzī*) of a group of flatterers, opportunists and selfish tale-bearers, misunderstandings between the Prince and Mu'aẓẓam Khān continued to increase. Ultimately matters reached such a stage that influenced by the magical songs

of the enemies (*naghmah-i-afsūn-i-mukhālif*) and the harmony of the voice (*dam-kashi*) of Arab and Ajami friends, the Prince resolved to join Shujā' ; and having formed this idea, which was far from the right path he sent a secret message to him through his selected and confidential men at the end of *Ramaḍān* in the beginning of the third year of the reign. Accordingly, in the late hours of the night the Prince, accompanied by Amir Qulī, the *Dārūghah* of artillery, Qāsim 'Alī *Mīr Tuzuk* (the master of ceremonies), who were the prime movers in this mischief, along with some eunuchs and domestic servants and with as much of treasure and jewels as he could lay his hands on, embarked on a boat to cross the Ganges which lay between him and the enemy. When Shujā' heard the news he considered it to be a gift and a blessing from God. He sent his son, Buland Akhtar, with Jān Beg, one of the most trusted servants, with some boats and a large number of *kahārs* (porters), to receive the Prince and bring his treasure and baggage from the banks of the river.

When the Prince reached the other bank of the river and Shu'jā's men also re-crossed it and started carrying his treasure and baggage, the secret became known and was communicated to 'Mu'aẓẓam Khān. The mischief-laden news travelled from tent to tent and became the talk of the old and the young ; it affected the morale of the army and most of the Imperial servants lost heart and began to waver (in their loyalty). Mu'aẓẓam Khān, though greatly worried and disturbed in his heart, apparently tried to show that the presence or absence of the Prince made no difference ; he did not lose presence of mind. Perfectly calm and maintaining his usual dignity he mounted his horse, inspected the entrenchments, encouraged the troops and did all he could to counteract the effects of this unfortunate incident. But the rainy season having set in, owing to the rising waves, the collection of water on all sides, and depressing effects on the hearts of the people, the morale of the army became very low ; no other plan came to the mind (of Mu'aẓẓam Khān) except that he moved to a spacious and elevated place thirty *krūhs* away from Akbarnagar in order to

provide facilities to his soldiers for passing the rainy season there, along with Dhū al-Fiqār Khān, Islām Khān, Fidāī Khān, Āghar Khān, Raja Indar Sen Bundelah, and other loyal and experienced servants of the Emperor, who had arrived with reinforcements for his army, a little earlier. Dāwūd Khān the *Ṣūbahdār* of Bihar, who had been ordered to reinforce Mu'aẓẓam Khān, started from his place to join the camp, as soon as he came to know of this occurrence. However, owing to excessive rains and the floods in the rivers he was forced to make a halt. The news that Dilīr Khān had been ordered (to take the reinforcements) and that he had already started from the Court also reached the camp.

Surprise attack by Shujā'

The army of Shujā', with the help of the boats again managed to reach Akbarnagar and launched a surprise attack on Mu'aẓẓam Khān, taking him completely unawares. In spite of Mu'aẓẓam Khān's efforts the Imperial army suffered a defeat because of the lack of cooperation and disunity in the ranks of the reinforcing units; many of its men became panicky. Mu'aẓẓam Khān on receiving information himself came out with a contingent of forces belonging to the Centre and encouraging those who had been wavering made a counter-attack on the enemy's forces. In this charge two or three of the bravest of his officers, such as Isfandyār Khān, Nūr al-Ḥasan and Girdhar Rathor, were killed or wounded, but the balance of victory was in favour of Shujā'; and the same was the case in most of the actions fought, until the rains ceased and the level of water in the beds of the rivers and the floods abated. Dāwūd Khān now joined the Imperial army and the news of the approach of Dilīr Khān also reached the camp. Thus every day Mu'aẓẓam Khān was receiving additional strength, until Dilīr Khān joined him with two or three thousand sturdy Afghān warriors. He was received by Mu'aẓẓam Khān who honoured him by giving him pieces of cloth, horses, elephants, jewels and cash. To be brief, Shujā', on returning to Akbarnagar, married his daughter to the

Prince and gave large sums of money, jewels, Arab and 'Irāqī horses, elephants with gold, silver and enamelled trappings, in dowry to his daughter. It was decided that after enjoying a honeymoon lasting a few days, Prince Muḥammad Sultān would return to the army.

Shujā' started preparations for a battle with Mu'aẓẓam Khān. He rearranged his army and artillery, obtained a few thousand boats, because fighting in these regions mostly depended on them and usually took place in the rivers, and then attacked the Imperial forces. If I were to give the details of the clever strategy and supreme efforts put in by Mu'aẓẓam Khān when the rains were over and Dilīr Khān had joined him my account will become lengthy. In short, within fifteen or twenty days several major actions were fought, in all of which the Imperial forces emerged successful. Shujā' fled from the field, and continued the war in the form of night attacks with the help of the boats. In these clashes Yakkah Tāz Khān and several other important officers of the Imperial army were killed; marvelous acts of bravery were performed by Islām Khān, Fatḥ Jang Khān and Dilīr Khān, and Dawūd Khān, particularly when Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, assisted by Buland Akhtar, the son of the unfortunate Shujā', had joined the enemy forces. From both sides great efforts were made and soldiers rejoined the fighting again and again after having been pushed back. Many a war boat sank or was captured as a result of bombardment by the artillery. Of all the battles fought I shall briefly describe only one, which was not devoid of wonders. On the opposite bank of the river Ganges the army of Shujā', under Buland Akhtar, with some other brave warriors and a world-disturbing artillery, had taken position at a ferry where the water of the river was shallow and fordable, and having made preparations for a battle, it was waiting for the approach of the Imperial troops. A scouting party of the advance guard of Mu'aẓẓam Khān, commanded by Āghar Khān, reached the bank of the river, where at some places the water was chest deep; they had put wooden poles in the bed of the river to

mark the site where it was fordable. The army seeing the depth of the water and the showering of the bullets by the guns of the enemy did not dare to cross the river. Nevertheless, Āghar Khān spurred his horse into the river, and after him Dilīr Khān drove his elephant into it. Then the son of Dilīr Khān, riding his horse, and some other brave men, decided to sacrifice their lives and attack the enemy's position by throwing themselves into the river to face the bombardment and fire of his guns. Seeing this the entire army trying to emulate them threw themselves into the water and fire and began to move between the poles that had been put up in the river bed. There was incessant firing from the enemy's side, giving the soldiers no chance even to open their eyes, and any one struck by a bullet could not help falling down with his head going under the water; then no trace was left of him. Due to this tumultuous crossing of the river by the forces and as a result of the shocks of the trampling of the horses and the elephants, the wooden poles put up as sign posts were uprooted and owing to the exertions of the soldiers and animals the sands at the bottom of the river was removed from its place and thus no part of the river was left in a fordable condition. Many soldiers and horsemen were drowned in the ocean of death. In this tumult the son of Dilīr Khān was devoured by the waves of the river; he went under water and died along with his horse, leaving no trace behind. Owing to the whirring of the rockets, the shower of bullets and the spreading of the smoke of gun-powder, the father could not be recognized from the son and a brother could not look to the condition of his brother. The whole river had become red with blood. Some of the men were safely taken across by their horses while others who knew swimming and had not been injured by the bullets or rockets also succeeded in crossing the river safely.

Āghar Khān, who was on his horse in front of the elephant of Dilīr Khān, striking with his sword, right and left, attacked and dispersed the foot soldiers and troopers of the enemy. Suddenly, an excited elephant, urged by its driver, attacked Āghar Khān.

That fighter with the elephant replied by striking his sword on his trunk. The elephant (in its turn) took Āghar Khān and his horse into the grip of his trunk and threw both of them on the ground in such a way that the rider fell at a distance of ten paces from his horse. Both of them received injuries and the intestines of the horse were ruptured. Āghar Khān, stood up in the heat of the moment, and with great ability jumped on the back of his horse and wanted to attack the elephant again. But as his horse had lost all energy and he knew that attacking the black calamity (elephant) meant sacrificing his life uselessly, he turned round and came from behind the elephant near the driver of the elephant and brought him down with a blow of his sword. Then he jumped from his horse to the neck of the elephant, but as he could not get hold of the driving hook (*kajak*) the beast got out of control, and he did not know what to do. At this moment one of his servants told him to take his dagger from the waist (belt), unsheath it and then thrust it into the soft portion of the elephant's ear. At this juncture Dilīr Khān, who had been observing the exploits of Āghar Khān and was only at a distance of ten or twenty paces from him, drove his elephant to his side, applauded his deeds and went round him, like a devotee. Āghar Khān said : "I have captured this elephant for your Excellency. I hope you will ask your elephant-driver to take this elephant to your stable, and spare a horse for me." Dilīr Khān again showered praises on him and said : "Let this elephant be with you". He also gave him two Arab and Turki horses. Dilīr Khān asked one of his elephant-drivers to sit on the neck of the elephant. Āghar Khān seated himself on a horse, and with a body of the brave Mughuls and Afghāns advanced forward to face the enemy. Seizing the bow in his hands he raised the tumult of war to the sky.

Verse :

The battle cries rose from every direction ;

The slashing of the swords was heard from every side,

You would have said that the wind showered arrows constantly ;

The whole world was raining swords.

After repeated clashes and skirmishes, two or three officers of Shujā's army with a large number of unknown persons fell on the ground, and some of the Imperial troops also were killed, having borne the wounds of distinction. The vanguard of the enemy fled away, and the son of Shujā', unable to remain firm, took to flight and did not stop till he reached his father.

Mullā Umīdī, a poet expert in composing excellent verses extempore, was not on happy terms with Dilīr Khān. He wrote the following satire on the death of his son, instead of eulogizing his deeds, intentionally changing his Persian style so that he might not be suspected of having composed these verses, and sent them to Dilīr Khān.

The verses are:

The son of Nawwāb Dilīr Khān fell down from his horse and went away (died),

For a moment he broke wind on the beard and head of the father and went away.

As the father was riding on the elephant and the son was on a pony,

Surely, he out of shame showed anger on his father and went away.

He was like a whirl-wind and had gathered straw and grass,

In the middle of water he coiled round himself like dung and went away.

In spite of a misleading change in style Dilīr Khān later, came to know who the real author of the lines was, and decided to arrest him. Mullā Umīdī made an escape and joined Shujā' 's camp. After sometime through the intercession of Mu'azzam

Khān he appeared before Dilīr Khān with his hands bound by a handkerchief. Dilīr Khān gave him a reward in cash and a *khil'at* and included him among his favourites (*maṣāḥib*).

In short many severe actions were fought between the opposing parties on the banks of the small streams and the Ganges, in the war boats, near Tāndah, one of the famous towns of that district, which had become the residence of the Prince after his marriage. A large number of well-known persons were killed or wounded on both the sides.

'Ālamgīr visits the theature of war.

Now I write something about the Court. On hearing the reports of the desertion of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and his going over to the side of Shujā' and also about the devotion and efforts of Mu'aẓẓam Khān, the Emperor, as a measure of precaution and for administrative reasons thought it advisable to proceed in person to the eastern theatre of war. Accordingly on 5 *Rabi' al-awwal* of the same year he started in that direction. At this time at the request of Muḥammad Amīn Khān and I'timād Khān alias 'Abd-al-Qawī Khān, the title of *Mahārājah* was again conferred on Raja Jaswant Singh. The Emperor proceeded on his march, visiting sites, administering justice and going on hunting excursions on the way. On the 22nd of the same month Prince Mu'aẓẓam and Wazīr Khān returned from the Deccan; they were granted an interview and received favours. An order had been given for the preparation of a golden howdah, like a bungalow in shape; this is an invention of 'Ālamgīr. The *Khānsāmān* had it prepared and presented before the Emperor. He ordered it to be placed in position on an elephant and sat in it. The *Dārūghah* of the gold works (*zargar-khānah*) and the goldsmiths who had prepared it were rewarded with a *khil'at*, promotion in rank, an elephant and cash. At one of the camps on the Ganges, he stayed for a week.

Prince Mu'aẓẓam's Marriage.

In the middle of the month of *Rabī al-thānī*, the daughter

of Mirzā Sanjar Najm-i-Thānī of Khurāsān named Nūr al-Nisā Begum, was married to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam ; (the usual) ceremonies were performed and presents were given by the Emperor to the bride and the bridegroom.

Prince Muḥammad Sulṭan returns to the Imperial Camp

About this time came the news of the return of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān from the camp of Shujā' and his rejoining Mu'aẓẓam Khān. I give a short account of this incident. The Prince, owing to the devilish ideas and misguidance, which are an essential characteristic of youth, and false delusions, had fallen into the trap of Shujā'. At last he was able to realize the evil consequences (of his action) ; in spite of becoming a culprit in the eyes of his revered father. he could easily foresee the fate of his unfortunate uncle and the risk of losing both his honour and faith in supporting a cause which was sure to end in shame. He had no option but to regret the wrong course of his action and began to consider the possibility of returning to the side of his father. He was with Shujā' at Akbarnagar, while his wife was at Tāndah at a distance of one or two stages. At this time he received a report of the illness of his wife. On the pretext of looking after her, he took permission from Shujā' and came to Tāndah. (From here) he sent a secret message to Islām Khān who was with the Imperial troops on the other side of the river, and informed him of his intention. He requested him to send some troops with other requirements at a specified time to help him in his flight. On the 6th of *Jumāda I* he rode his horse and declared that he was going out for fishing. He arrived at the bank of the river with some servants, a few eunuchs and jewels and gold mohurs which he could manage to bring. He took four boats and moved in the direction of the ferry, where Islām Khān, according to his instructions, was waiting for him. On coming to know of this, Shujā' 's men also seized the boats and started pursuing him. They reached the place where Islām Khān had taken position with his artillery, offered resistance to

the Prince and attacked the boats of their opponents. Both sides started firing. The Prince however reached the other bank along with his wife and attendants. Two or three bullets struck one of the boats which was carrying some domestic servants and stores of the Prince and had remained behind because of its heavy load. Some of the men and women who were on that boat were drowned, but the majority of them were saved by the boat-men on the arrival of the boats of Islām Khān. When the news (of the arrival of the Prince) reached Mu'azzam Khān, he became very happy and immediately sent a small tent and breakfast with fruits for the Prince. After three days, he came to see the Prince and expressed his joy. He immediately sent a letter to the Emperor with a petition from the Prince.

On the Prince's rejoining the Imperial camp Shujā' was greatly perplexed and began to think of flight; nevertheless some stiff actions were fought between the two armies. In the meantime, fourteen lakhs and fifty thousand of rupees reached Mu'azzam Khān from the treasury of Monghyr. This gave a fresh encouragement to the soldiers to stake their lives. Shujā', overcome with fear, left the extensive country of Bengal to Mu'azzam Khān, as will be described hereafter, and started for the vale of extinction. Before his (Shujā's) flight Mu'azzam Khān, in compliance with the Imperial orders, sent Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Irādat Khān who was the moving spirit of this plot of the Prince and was therefore under the displeasure of the Emperor, to the Court, under strict guard, in the custody of Fidā'ī Khān and some other devoted servants. When it was reported to the Emperor, he ordered Allah Yār Khān, the *Darūghah* of the mace-bearers, to meet the Prince on the way and arrest him as well as Irādat Khān. He was to take them in the boats by the river route to Salīmgarh, one of the fortresses of Old Delhi and imprison them in it. Fidāī Khān subsequently received a *farmān* to bring Irādat Khān to the Imperial Court. On reaching the Court, Fidāī Khān received favours. Irādat Khān was deprived of his *manṣab* and his attendance at the Court was forbidden.

'Ālamgīr's Letters to Shāhjahān

Many a letter was exchanged between Shāhjahān and Emperor 'Ālamgir, containing complaints from one side and excuses provoking anger from the other. It would not however be in conformity with the brevity of my narration to reproduce them here; moreover, I could not get the copies of the letters of Shāhjahān. I shall, however, reproduce *verbatim*[1] the text of two or three epistles written by the Emperor to his revered father, from which the subject matter of Shāhjahān's letters could be guessed.

I. Letter written in reply to an epistle from Shāhjahān for a eunuch to be placed at his disposal for writing his letters.

"After discharging the obligations of devotion I submit the following to your grace: the receipt of a *farmān* (epistle) written entirely in your august hand on the 5th of this month in reply to the petition of this humble disciple (*murīd* has honoured him). By reading what had been written by your pearl-showering pen, which puts jewels into a string, his eyes received illumination and his heart was filled with joy and happiness. The Exalted Almighty is to be thanked that your noble and blessed person is in peace and good health. O spiritual guide (*pīr-i-dastgīr*), may you live long! this humble being forced by the dictates of Fate, has fallen into a dangerous whirlpool and has been involved into a number of visible and invisible difficulties; what can he write about his shame and regret, as there is nothing which is not known to Your Majesty. He always prays to God that He might favour him with a chance of pleasing your angel-like heart and give him an opportunity to make amends and offer excuses for the past short-comings, so that he might do some thing and render some service to you with a view to please the real *Qiblah wa ka'bah*. He has hopes that in your kindness and patronage of the insignificant slaves and persons, you will remember this sinner in your

1 Sarkar's remark that Khāfī Khān has reproduced the letters inaccurately (Vol. III, p. 132n.) is not incorrect. For a correct version of these letters see Sayyid Najib Ashraf, *Ruqq'at-i-'Ālamgīr* (Azamgarh, n.d.), pp. 211-26,

prayers, for welfare, which in fact would be an encouragement for service and loyalty to his benefactor. He has already written to you about the initiative in and happening of certain matters in a moment of urgency; and how can he not be ashamed of them? A eunuch for writing your epistles has been ordered to present himself before you whenever he is sent for."

II. Letter written at the time when Shujā' was defeated by 'Ālamgīr for the first time and had taken to flight, before the capture of Dārā Shukoh.

The Emperor was keeping a watch (*girift wa gir*) on the messengers. Shāhjahān wrote a letter to the Emperor, containing advice and admonitions. It also contained a reference to the *Ābdār-khānah* and *Ghusl-khānah*, which had been closed. By chance a letter written by Shāhjahān to Shujā' in Hindi had also fallen into the hands of the Emperor. He wrote the following reply to a letter from his revered father.

"After discharging the obligations of devotion and loyalty, I submit to your majesty that the letter in your own handwriting written after a very long time cast the shadow of its arrival. I read the writing which was a treasure of good fortune for me. I came to know of the state of affairs described therein. You have inquired about the censor on your correspondence. It may not remain a secret to your river-like heart that whatever was done by this disciple in the early stages (of the conflict) was in accordance to what had been ordained by Divinity. He did that in the belief that your majesty being the perfection of wisdom and most of your time having been spent in experiencing the ups and downs of the life, you will consider it to be a decree of the Fate and would not try to ruin the affairs of this humble disciple and brighten the chances of others who were not supported by the Divine grace. He wanted that as soon as the troubles were over he would try his level best to gain your favour and thereby attain happiness in both the worlds. Though it was repeatedly reported to him that the rising of the dust of disturbances and

confusion in the affairs of the people was due to your initiative and that it was at your instance that his brothers were exerting themselves (in opposing him) and wasting their lives, he paid no heed to what the people talked about and had no idea of abandoning the path of devotion (to you). But, as the reports of your majesty's intention (towards him) had been incessantly pouring in and they were confirmed by the letter written in Hindi to Shujā', which, it is evident, became the cause of the ruin of his family, this disciple was convinced that your majesty did not like him and that you were still trying to regain and restabilize (the position) that had been lost, and that you wanted that his efforts directed towards the enforcement of the commandments of the True Faith and the administration of the affairs of the State, should be wasted, and as you are not prepared to abadon these ideas under any circumstances whatsoever, and as you still insist on pursuing them, in view of the demands of precaution and foresight and being affected by the occurrence of unpreventable disturbances, he was unable to give a practical shape to what he had in his mind. As to the truth of this statement God Almighty is his witness. Under these circumstances the heart of this disciple shall not be in peace until the two disturbance-seekers (Dārā and Shujā'), who have for a second time acting in a shameless manner taken to flight, leave the frontiers of the Empire or, through the Grace of God, are captured and made to stay with their third brother (Murād)[1].

Verse :

So long as the head of a claimant of the throne is on his body,
The body of the country will remain clothed in the garment of disturbance.

"After the affairs of my enemies, with the help of God, are settled in one of the two ways, the precautions taken by me would

1 This statement is important ; it indicates that Ālamgīr did not have in mind the idea of killing Dārā ; rather he would keep him as well as Shujā' in prison. Dārā's execution was not a pre-planned "judicial murder".

become unnecessary. With regard to the *Ābdār-khānah*, which was mentioned in your letter I beg to submit that, as your Grace always remains in the Palace, what is the use of supplying water to (the channels) of the *Ghusl-khānah* ? The seal put on the store of your clothes was because of the dismissal of Khwājah Māmūr. When another officer will be appointed your clothes will, as usual, "be at your disposal without any hitch".

III

Letter in reply to a letter written by Shahjahān forgiving the faults of 'Alamgir and the despatch of some jewels of Dārā Shukuh's robes that had remained in the palace,

'Alamgir wrote :

"After discharging the duties of loyalty, I submit that your gracious letter containing forgiveness (for my faults) which you sent in reply to the humble petition of this disciple reached here at the most auspicious and august moment. I was very much pleased to receive the happy news of forgiveness for my offences and faults. It filled me with great hopes as regards the gracious kindness of the fault-forgiving and excuse-accepting guide (*murshid*) and leader (*qibloh*). Thanks to God, that your Grace, in consideration of equity and appreciation of merit, has preferred forgiveness to revenge and has rescued this total sinner (*sarāpā gunāh rusiyāh*) from the abyss of grief and misery in both the worlds. His firm hope from the mercy of God is that in future no unworthy action, (even) as a matter of policy, will be done by this humble disciple. God, the knower of the secrets of the hearts, making whom [P. 105] a witness to lies and falsehood is an act of unbelief (*kufr*) according to Islam and is condemnable in the eyes of all other faiths, knows that this disciple never acted and is not acting against the will of your Grace, under the influence of those who love disunity, and considering himself as the *nā'ib* of your Majesty, continues to perform the onerous duties of this important office. But to mention this fact of *naibship* would not have been

in the interest of the administration of the Empire, nor would it have satisfied the people, so for the sake of the Empire and its people it was inevitable for me to act in a manner which was never in my mind. And God knows what amount of shame has been felt by me on this course of action. God willing, as soon as peace is established in the Empire and the dust of disturbances settles down, all your desires shall be satisfied in the best way and to your heart's wishes. How can this disciple, who has devoted the best part of his life to seeking your approval and serving you, tolerate that, for the sake of the trifles of this fleeting world, the august days of your Grace, to the securing of whose happiness my life, wealth and children are devoted, should not be spent in perfect peace, and the people of your palace should be separated from your service? Shujā', not knowing the value of peace, came to Allahabad with evil intentions, and created disturbances. This disciple, though he had not even taken breath after satisfying himself in regard to the elder Prince (Dārā) started for this part of the country on the 17th of this month, placing his trust in the grace of God, the Real Helper. He now hopes that, under the guidance of God, the help of the Prophet and the internal blessings of your Grace, the helping guide (*pir-i-dastgīr*), he shall soon be free from this business, and then shall do nothing which would not be in conformity with your august wishes. [P. 106] It is well-known to your Grace that God Almighty bestows his trust on one who discharges the duty of looking after the affairs of the subjects and protecting the people.

It is manifest and clear to the wise men that a wolf cannot do the work of a shepherd, and that no person with low spirits can discharge the great responsibilities of government. Sovereignty means protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism. In short, God will deliver your humble disciple from all feelings of shame (خجالت) in respect of your Grace. In acknowledging your pardon of his faults and offences, and the presents of the jewels of Dārā Shukūh, (this disciple) offers his thanks for your kindness and mercy."

I have heard it from a trustworthy narrator who was the *Pishkār*[1] of the *Mushrif* of the *jawāhar-khānah* (jewel-room) that Dārā Shukuh, with the knowledge of Shāhjahān, had deposited jewels and pearls worth 27 lakhs of rupees belonging to the members of his family in the jewel room of the Palace inside the Fort when leaving it (for the battle of Samugarh). After his defeat he got no time to recover and take them along with him. Shāhjahān, after some contention, requisition and demand sent these pearls and jewels with a letter forgiving the faults of the Emperor, willingly or unwillingly, as has already been mentioned. He however retained with him one rosary of pearls, all the hundred beads of which were round and of the same weight and colour and which had been secured after a considerable search and had cost four lakhs of rupees ; its *imām* (central piece) also was procured with great difficulty. This with a small looking glass (*ārsi*) of diamond he always wore round his neck. When, during his internment, Shāhjahān preferred to lead a retired life the Emperor sent a message to him to the effect that "such costly things (lit. gifts) form part of the Imperial robes in the days of kingship, but in a life of retirement their use is against the ways of piety". The eunuch who was sent to demand [P. 107] them behaved in a clumsy manner. Shāhjahān was greatly annoyed ; he took out the *ārsi* from his neck and handed it over to the eunuch. As for the rosary, he said, "I used to repeat my prayers on its beads. Now I will give it after pounding the pearls in a mortar". When the eunuch heard these harsh words, he returned and reported the whole affair to the Emperor. The rosary was not demanded and remained with Shāhjahān till his death. Other matters that came up between the Emperor and Shāhjahān are too insignificant to be mentioned.

1 *Pishkār* : more or less like a private secretary.

CHAPTER II

EARLY REFORMS AND CAMPAIGNS

Regnal year 3

The third year of the reign viz 1070 H.

Account of the affairs of Shujā'.

The (advent of) third year of the reign which began on the 24th of *Ramaḍān* was celeberated in such a way (that the Palace) became a true model of the garden of paradise ; on every side of that the world-illuminating house of pleasures (*'ishrat khāna-i-ālam āfrūz*) and also within its precincts, venus-faced singers, dancers like houris and heart enchanting musicians, created a tumultuous life of enjoyments on the occasion.

Verse :

The voice of the musicians and the notes of instruments, were in perfect harmony in this gathering of joy.
On every side the coquetish and the enchanting dancers were busy in dancing and stretched their hands to snatch the heart.
From the handsome mouth of every singer came the sound of "*tahe tahe*" like the sound of "*Qul Qul*" that from the narrow necked decanters.

The *Salāṭīn*[1]. the Amirs, the scholars, men of piety and musicians were rewarded according to their ranks and status with promotions, elephants, jewels, enamelled ware, and cash. Many trayfuls of gold coins and jewels were showered on the head of the good-natured Monarch and large numbers of gold and silver eoins were distributed in *in'āms* and gifts. Out of these thirty thousand rupees were given in charity to those who deserved help.

1 *Salāṭīn*: a general term of the princes not in direct line of the reigning monarch.

Khushhāl Khān Kalāwant,[1] the chief musician, was weighed in silver coins which came to seven thousand rupees. [P. 108] This amount was given to him in reward. I shall deviate from the path of brevity if I write the details of the *pish-kash* and offerings presented before the Emperor to be showered on him and of the promotions and gifts, cash or kind, that were given to the *Salāṭīn*, the ladies and the Amīrs. Three hundred and sixty *khil'ats* awarded to the Amīrs were counted ; and who could count the number of those given to the servants of the Palace, musicians and artisans ? The celebrations and enjoyments were in full swing till the 10th of *Shawwāl*.

During these celebrations despatches from Mu'aẓẓam Khān were received, communicating the happy news of repeated victories over Shujā', and his flight to the country of Rakhang (Arākān) and the complete evacuation of Bengal by the enemy forces. The news doubled the joy in the cleberation.

Shuja's Flight to Arākān :

A brief account of the affairs of the unfortunate Shuja' may be given. After a number of engagements, every one of which ended in his flight he had two boats loaded with his personal effects, vessels of gold and silver, jewels, treasure and other parapharnalia of roylaty; the ladies of the palace clad in veils (*burqa'h*), along with their servants were also put into the boats, in greaty hurry and distress. Twelve elephants were loaded with other necessary stores which were to be carried to the boats. However, the Imperial forces were pursuing him close on his heels and a part of his baggage was plundered by the vagabonds (اوباشان) of both the armies, and a considerable quantity of it fell into the hands of the men and soldiers of Mu'aẓẓam Khān. What ever was not plundered was seized and confiscated. Mu'aẓẓam Khān issued orders that every attempt should be made to recover the plundered articles and deposit them with the confiscated property. Seeing this condition, in which neither a stranger nor a relative has the power of bearing the blows of

1 *Kalāwant* : i. e., a professional singer.

misfortune, and in which [P. 109] even the shadow of a man leaves him owing to the loss of power as in the darkness of night, most of his men deserted him, and many of them plundered the baggages and harassed the women that were left with him.

Verse :

When a person falls under the displeasure of God.
The entire world puts its feet on his head.
When they see that the hand of good fortune supports him.
They put their hands on his head and praise him.

The son of Shujā' foreseeing the (inevitable) loss of his prosperity and the decline of his affairs had started a friendly correspondence with the Rājah of Rakhang, and had cemented, according to his ideas, the foundations of this friendship by sending him gifts and presents. He was unaware of the fact that when the affairs of a person fall into the abyss of disgrace and disrepute is pre-destined for him, not even an intimate friend, son or child can protect him from misfortune ; what (can be said) of a person who is an enemy in faith as well an in matters of this world ?[1]

Verse :

When good fortune turns her face away from a person.
The fear of death takes hold of his head.
He does only that which brings him regret,
He follows the path which leads him to disgrace.

When he (Shujā') saw that no friend was left on any side, and those of his followers and men whom he considered to be his friends in adversity had also deserted him he thought of occupying a fortress near the frontier of the Rājah of Rakhang and so he requested him to help him. The details of this story are painful. Ultimately, unable to materialise this plan and filled with humility and shame he was forced to throw himself into the trap of the treachery of the

1 Evidently the reference is to the Rājah of Arakān, who was not a Musl and whose relations with the Mughuls were not cordial.

wretched unbelievers of that region. According to a version widely known (قول‌ـ‌مشهور) in that district, he disappeared and nobody could find [P. 110] his trace. At the close of his unfortunate career, only Sayyid 'Ālam, who belonged to the family of the famous Sayyids of Bārhah, with some of his followers and Sayyid Qulī, with twelve followers, not more than forty in all, discharged the obligations of friendship and devotion to him.[1]

Of the celebrations of the lunar year and the despatch of the expedition against Rājah Karan.

During these days the weighing ceremony according to the lunar calendar also fell about the same time as the annual celebrations of the anniversary of the coronation. The Emperor, with the sun for a crown and sky for the throne, sat like the shining moon in the sign of libra. The doors of enjoyments and pleasure were opened on the happy people under the influence of the sign of the flute-playing Venus. With great pomp the Emperor sat in the balance and gave a new honour to gold and jewels, which were distributed among those who deserved help.

Verse :

Owing to the good fortune of being weighed against the Emperor having a noble character ;

Gold became more respected and the pearls got new honours.

When the Emperor sat on the pan of the balance it looked as if,

The sun sat on the horizon upto his waist.

Bādshāh Begum (Jahān Ārā) presented a string of pearls and five rubies of the value of two lakhs and eight thousand rupees, and Rūshan Ārā Begum gave two thousand gold mohurs at the time of

1 According to *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, "when Shāh Shujā' was informed of (Sulṭān Muḥammad's desertion), he lost heart and with some of the Khāns and forty or fifty faithful servants, he embarked in a boat and proceeded to Mecca. From that time to the present year, 1081 H., no one knows whether he is alive or dead'.

offering congratulations. Muḥammad Muqīm offered jewels of the value of fifty thousand rupees. I do not propose to write the details of the offerings of the Amīrs and rewards given as usual to the musicians and to the poor. On the occasion of these celebrations Mu'aẓẓam Khān got the title of *Khān Khānān*, with an increment of 3000 *du-aspah*[1] and *si-aspah* in his *manṣab*. His rank now rose to 7000 with 7,000 sawar ; of these 5,000 horsemen were *du-aspah* and *si-aspah*. He was appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal with full powers of appointments and dismissal of the officers of that region. A *khil'at*, jewelled sword, two elephants, one male and the other female, with gold trappings and other [P. 111] gifts were also sent to him. Najābat Khān, who for the fault of killing (تقصير كشتن) Ma'mūr Khān had fallen under displeasure since the fisrt celebration and forbidden to present himself at the Court with arms, was now allowed to appear with them. Rājah Karan, who had left the Deccan, during the illness of Shāhjahān, at the persuasion of Dārā without proper orders (from Awrangzib), and had not been able to present himself at the Court owing to this act of shamefulness, now offered, on account of his short-sightedness, evasive and perfidious excuses in reply to the Imperial orders. Amīn Khān, with nine thousand horses, was therefore sent to punish him. The Rājah's son, Kesar Singh, due to his farsightedness, had separated himself from his father and preferred to remain in the Emperor's retinue. He now made a request to be allowed to accompany Amīr Khān to overthrow his own father.

Account of the origin of mischief created by the ill-natured Sīva

Whatever I have heard from trustworthy persons in the Deccan and from among the Marathas of that region about the origin of the accursed Sīva (Shivaji), of low origin (بداصل مردود) is that the line of descent of his ancestors could be traced to the Ranas of Chitor.

1 *Du-aspah* : A horseman having two horses.
Si-aspah : A horseman having three horses,
Yak-aspah : A horseman having a single horse.
Nim-aspah : Two horsemen having one horse.

With the tribes of the Rajputs, in fact with all the Hindus, it is an accepted fact that to have a son by a woman of different caste or from a slave-girl is condemnable and inauspicious. For this reason if in the days of youth and due to sexual urge a child is born to a man by a woman of a different caste (*ghayr-i-kuf*) it is automatically condemned to the life of a slave or a slave-girl and is not entitled to inherit property from his or her father. Even if the mother of the child is of a nobler caste than the father she cannot be (regarded as) married to him because she does not belong to his caste. If, on account of love, a man keeps such a woman as his mistress and a child is born to her, it is looked down upon and is brought up as a bastard and can be married only to a person of the same status. [P. 112] For instance, if the daughter of a grain-merchant (*baqqāl*) marries a man of a lower caste or if a Kayesthā or a Khatri cohabits the virgin daughter of a Brahmin the child born to them would be a slave or a slave girl.

Origin of the Bhonslah family :

It is said that one of the ancestors of the wretched Sīva, through whom he is known as a Bhonsla, lived in the country (اطراف ملک) of the Rānā (of Chitor) and had illicit relations with a woman of another caste and of bad origin and had according to the custom of his tribe kept her as a mistress without marriage. She bore him a son. Because of the taunts of his kinsmen he kept the child concealed in a secluded place in the hills in the charge of a wet nurse, who was appointed for him ; thus he was brought up, away from the eyes of the people. His father and mother wanted him to marry a girl of his own caste but on account of his intense love and affection for his mistress he did not agree. Subsequently, when the secret of their love was disclosed and the fact of their child being brought up in a secluded place became the commou talk of friends and foes, he secretly took the boy from the place where he had concealed him and carried him along with his mother to the Deccan. On entering a strange land, in spite of the false rumours that he had a son from a woman of his own caste,

no Rajput of pure descent agreed to have marital relationship with him. He was therefore obliged to marry his son in a family of the Marathas, who also claimed to be connected with those Rajputs who were not well-known. In the seventh or eighth generation from that man of noble birth was born Sahu Bhonsla. The origin of Bhonsla popularly known as Ghonsla according to a tradition is this : In Hindi *ghonsla* means a house having very limited space. As that lawfully born boy of pure descent had been brought up in a narrow place which was uitimately intended to be changed, he came to be known as Bhonsla. Another version which is different from this has also been heard.[1]

[P. 113] In short, when the entire territory of Niẓām al-Mulk came into the possession of Shāhjahān (صاحب‌قران ثانی) and friendly relations were established with 'Ādil Khān (of Bījapur), the latter made a request for the exchange of some districts which lay in the neighbourhood of *Khujastah-bunyād* (Aurangabad) and formerly belonged to Bījāpur but had been captured by the Imperial officers, with the ports of Jīwal, Bābal,

1 Shivaji's ancestry is one of the controversial problems of Maratha history. When Shivaji wanted to fulfil his ambition of wearing a crown an objection was raised that not being a Khatri he could not, in accordance with the Hindu Law, be allowed to assume kingship. A very learned Brahmin Gaga Bhata, was brought from Banaras, and was asked to declare him a Kharti. "After holding out for some time", writes Sarkār, "he (Gaga Bhata) became compliant, accepted the Bhonsla pedegree as fabricated by the clever secretary Bālājl Avji and other agents of Shiva and declared that this Rajah was Khatriya of the purest breed, descended in unbroken line from the Maharanas of Udaipur, the sole representatives of the solar line of the mythical hero god Ramchandra" Sarkar, *Shivaji* (4th ed. 1948) p. 201.

"The clever secretary" took advantage of the story mentioned by Khāfī Khān and by a stretch of imagination put the Bhonslas into the line of the Rajput Rulers of Udaipur. Gaga Bhata, like so many scholars known to history, disgraeed his learning and his high status by accepting the fabricated geneology, of course, in return for a handsome reward. Nevertheless the 'clever' secretary's reference to Udaipur indicates that the version given by Khāfi Khan was not without foundation.

Danda Rājpuri and Chākna in the Konkan; these (had formerly belonged to Niẓām al-Mulk but) had been taken possession of by 'Ādilshāh, being adjacent to his territory in Konkon, known by the name of Tal-Konkan. These districts were full of jungles and hills covered with dense forests and lay on the coast of the sea. This request was accepted. After the exchaage of these territories both the Konkans became part of the kingdom of Ādil Shāh of Bijapur.

Shivaji's early life and career :

Mullā Aḥmad, whose ancestors belonged to the noble Arab immigrants who had migrated to Konkan on account of the tyranny of Ḥajjāj, the Umayyad, and had come to be called as Naw-ātyas[1] (new immigrants), was a highly influential courtier (*az muqarrabān*) of Bijapur. He was distinguished for his internal and external accomplishments and had received three *parganahs* in *jāgīr* in that district. About the same time the two *parganahs* named Poona and Sūpā,[1] were given to Sahu Bhonsla as his *jāgir*. The ill natured Shivaji was the manager of these two *parganahs* on behalf of his father; he had settled there to administer the *jāgīr* and had full authority over its affairs. Being distinguished among his men for bravery and firmness and being almost the son of a devil as far as fraud and cheating were concerned, he had settled down as a zamindar in those regions, where the tops of the hills [P. 114] touched the skies and which were covered with jungles full of thorny and unproductive bushes; he had started the construction of buildings and the raising of hill forts and mud fortresses, which are known as *gadhis* in the Hindi of Deccan.[2] About this time 'Ādil Khān of Bijapur fell ill

1 Sūpā : about sixty miles south east of Poona.

2 Very little is known of the early life of Shivaji. However, some facts have been mentioned by authentic writers and a brief life story can be reconstructed on their basis. Of the numerous stories woven round his activities by later writers very few can be accepted as reliable. Shivaji was born in 1627 in the hill fort of Shivner. He was given the name after the godess Shivai devi before whom his mother had prayed for the future of her unborn child; it is interesting that his father had been named Shahji after a Muslim *darwish*. In 1636 the fort of

and suffered from some bodily disease. Owing to his protracted illness great chaos and confusion arose in his kingdom, which is the largest *Ṣūbah* in Hindustan, both from the point of view of extent as well as revenue. As at the same time, Mullā Aḥmad thought of presenting himself before the Emperor S͟hāhjahān and withdrew his forces from his *jāgīr* of Konkan the wretched Shiva finding the country without a ruler, and being a man of ignoble birth besides possessing a dashing courage began to make bold encroachments upon the territories of other jagirdars. The roots of his mischief (thus started) and that of his descendants, as will be related hereafter, still exist on the face of this land ; in fact it is extending over the entire territory of the Deccan.

Shivaji starts his plundering raids :

Whenever Shivaji came to know of a populated and prosperous town he attacked it, plundered its inhabitants and took it into his possession. Before the *jagirdārs*, in those troublous times, could make an appeal to Bijapur for justice, the petition of that wily mischief-monger would reach the Court (of Bijapur) with many presents and offerings containing excuses that a certain *maḥāl* could yield more revenue and that owing to this or that fault of the *jagirdārs* and revenue officers, he had to go and punish them. He also offered to pay an increased amount for the lands if they were attached to his own *jāgir* or were included in the *K͟hālṣah* of the King (and extrusted to his charge). He used to send these petitions to one or the other of the influential courtiers at Bījapur, who in these chaotic days did not

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of Shiner was ceded by Shahji to the Mug͟huls and his wife Jijabai and her young son were taken to Poona to live there under the care of the manager of the *jāgīr*, Dādāji Kond-dev. Shahji had married a second wife and lived with her at Bangalore, completely ignoring Jījābā'i and her son. In 1640 or 1641, Jījā went to Bangalore and secured the *jāgīr* of Poona for Shivaji from an unwilling father. It was to be managed by Dadaji; when, however, he died in 1647, Shivaji assumed full powers in his *jāgīr*. To this K͟hāfi K͟hān makes a clear roference.

bother about one another's activities. Later, when the report of the *jagirdārs* were received they produced no effect and none of the corrupt officials (متصدیان رشتی) took any notice [P. 115] of them. The territory of the Deccan has never been free from mischief and distrubances and its officials, the people and the soldiers owing to evil influences of the land itself suffer from the disease of jealousy, stupidity and lack of wisdom and are in the habit of ruining their own honour, property and the country by striking the axe on their own feet. The men at the helm of affairs were caught in the trap of avarice ; besides this the country was in a state of distrubance and the machinery of Government was not all right. Thus orders favourable to this rebellious mischief-monger, entrusting the charge of those territories to him, reached him. Gradually matters reached such a stage that he became one of the most notorious rebels ; he collected a large number of selected robbers from among the Marathas and girded up his loins to capture the well-known strong forts. The first fort captured by Shivaji was Chandan.[1] He, then, occupied and captured other forts which were without stores and had no experienced *Qil'ahdārs* and officers to guard them. During this period a revolution took place in the Kingdom of Bijapur : Sikandar 'Ali 'Ādil Khān II, about whose origin there were some doubts, became the king of Bijapur in young age in place of his father. The mal administration and confusion in the country of Bijapur had increased all the more because of Prince Auraggzib's campaign under orders from Shāhjahahān besides to other disturbances and revolts. The accursed Shīvajī gained strength every day, and occupied all the forts of that region and in course of time he became master of dignity and resources. After collecting troops, treasure and wealth he became hold and defied the Rulers of Hindustan and Bījāpur ; with

1 Grant Duff gives a different account. He writes that the first three followers of Shivaji were Yessjee Kunk, Tannaji Maloosray, and Bajee Phasalkar. With their assistance he took the fort of Torna 20 miles from Poona, "by means, the particulars of which are not known". See Grant Duff, Vol. I, pp. 1?9-10.

this object he took shelter in the heart of the mountains and jungles full of trees and started plundering the country and the roads far and wide, both on land and (near the) sea. He made the fortresses of Chakna and Rajgarh,[1] the seats of his permanent abode. After requisitioning [P. 116] a number of boats he occupied some islands and built forts on them. He thus became the master of forty forts, and supplying them with provisions and military stores, he openly and fearlessly raised the standard of revolt. He became one of the notorious rebels of the Deccan.

Shivaji treacherously murders Afḍal Khān, 1659

When Sikandar 'Alī 'Ādil Khān reached the age of discretion and devoted his attention to the administration of the Kingdom, he wrote letters and despatches (to Shvajī) but without any effect. He therefore directed Afḍal Khān to march against him at the head of a large army to chastise him. Afḍal Khān who was one of the leading and brave Amīrs of Bijapur reached his territory and reduced him to distress. When that evil minded rebel saw that open war or shutting himself up within the fortress would not serve his purpose, he resorted to fraud and fox-play. Through some trustworthy intermediaries he expressed his repentence and made a request that he might be forgiven for his sins. After negotiations conducted by deceitful Brahmins it was settled that Shivaji accompanied by three or four servants without arms would come down to a fixed place below the walls of his fortress and pay his respects to Afḍal Khān. Afḍal, Khān, on his part was to come to the foot of the fortress in a palanquin with four or five servants without arms. After the paying of homage by Shivaji and an agreement between them he would confer upon him a *khil'at* and allow him to go back. Then Shivaji would entertain him to a feast and offer him *pish-kash* and presents before his departure for Bijapur; and after being satisfied he would attend upon Afḍal Khān on his way back to Bijapur. That designing rascal by sending various presents and fruits of that region to Afḍal Khān and by conducting

1 Rajgarh : Near the sea-coast, about 120 miles south of Bombay.

himself in perfect humility and submission before him completely captured his heart and thus caught him in the trap of fraud. The Khān took his deceptive actions to be genuine and adopted none of the precautions which the wise have commended. [P. 117] He sat in a palanquin and came unarmed to the foot of the fortress, at a fixed place, having posted all his attendants at a distance of an arrow-shot. The deceitful traitor now came down from his fortress on foot making a demonstration of supplication and humility from a long distanee. When he came near the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made confession of his guilt and begged for forgiveness; in perfect flattery and deception making his whole body tremble he said that the Khān's servants who accompanied his palanquin and were armed should be kept at a distance. (Shivaji) had a weapon, called '*bichhwah*' in the language of the Deccan, on the fingers of his hands; it was concealed in his sleeve in such a way that it could not be seen. He had kept his men fully armed and hidden from sight inside and near the caves, the ravines and hill tops, scattered all over the surroundings. He had posted his trumpeter on a stair case and given him these instructions; "I will not give my enemy any chance (of escape) at the time of interview from this murderous weapon. When you see the signs of the murderous attack from a distance, you should not care as to what has happened to me but should inform the army by blowing your trumpet." Further, he had given orders to his troops that as soon as they heard the sound of the trumpet, they should rush at once from all sides and fall upon the camp of Afdal Khān and do their work as best as possible under the circumstances.

Afḍal Khān, who was being dragged by the collar by his unexpected death to the place (of interview), relying on his own courage and seeing that the unarmed Shivaji was coming in that state of fear and trembling, considered his presence to be equal to absence. He therefore ordered the few men who were near his palanquin

1 Literally it means 'scorpion'. This weapon is also called '*Van Nakh*' or tiger's claws.

to move away from him. As soon as that experienced and perfect traitor reached near Afḍal Khān he threw himself weeping at his feet. When he wanted to raise his head and put the hand of kindness over his back [P. 118] and embrace him, Shivaji with perfect dexterity thrust that hidden weapon into his abdomen in such a way that he had not time even to sigh, and thus killed him. The trumpeter, according to his orders, blew a blast of truimph to inform the troops, and from every side, corner and foot of the hills, horsemen and foot soldiers rushed forth in countless numbers, fell upon and destroyed the camp of the ill-fated Afḍal Khān and started killing and plundering his men.

The blood-thirsty murderer rushed back from that place in safety and joined his own troops. He ordered them to proclaim safety of life to the fleeing and disheartened soldiers. He took possession of the horses, elephants, treasure and all the baggage and stores. He also offered service to the troops (of the Khān) and won them over. Thus he acquired greater dignity and force, much larger than before.[1]

When this news reached 'Adil Khān at Bijapur, he sent another army under the command of Rustam Khān, a brave and expereinced officer (سپه سالار). In a battle fought near the fortress of Parnālah Rustam Khān was defeated.

In short, through such victories, in which this wretched man was always favoured by the traitrous sky which patronizes only the mean fellows, he, (Shivaji) continued to add to his strength and stability.

1 The treacherous murder of Afḍal Khān by Shivaji was of course, only one of the many of Shivaji's murderous attacks on his opponents. It has however become one of the most notorious murders in the history of the sub-continent because in recent years attempts have been made by several Hindu writers (I. N. Sarkar being among them) to prove that the Maratha chief had killed the Khān in self defence and they have thus tried to accuse the Muslim general of treachery. But Shivaji's treachery is so open, and described with such clarity in the contemporary works that a detailed discussion is unnecessary. The attempt of Hindu leaders, like B. G. Tilak, to make a national hero of Shivaji is no more than a political stunt. It has however created some confusion and for a Hindu historian it becomes almost impossible to make an objective study of the action of Shivaji, now that he has become a national hero.

He built forts and ceaslessly tried to add to the prosperity of the territories usurped by him and the ruination of the country belonging to Bijapur. He used to attack the caravans at long distances and seized for himself the goods and the women (*nāmūs*) of the people. But he made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they were not to descerate mosques and the Book of Allāh, nor seize the women. Whenever a copy of *Qur'ān* fell into his hands he would keep it in all respect and honour and handed it over to some of his Muslim servants. No one from among his men had the courage [P. 119] of casting an eye on women of Hindus and Muslims captured by them. Shivaji always tried to keep them in safety and protection till they were ransomed by their relations on payment of a suitable amount. However when he came to find a slave-girl, he treated her as if she had been purchased by him and appropriated her to himself. He had made regulations to the effect that whenever a place was plundered, the belongings of the poor people, the copper money, and brass and copper utensils became the property of the man who seized them. As regards other articles, silver and gold coins and uncoined gold and silver, ornaments, silk cloth and jewels, no one had the courage to make a deduction from them even to the extent of a *dām* or *dirham*. All the officers and commanders had to declare what they had seized and it was deposited in the Treasury of that wretched fellow.

When the news of his successes reached the Emperor he issued orders to Amir al-Umarā (Shā'istah Khān), the *Ṣubahdar* of the Deccan to punish him and uproot him.[1]

The Campaign of the Amīr al-Umarā to punish Shivaji

On receiving orders, the Amīr al-Umarā, at the end of Jumadā I, 1070 H. (end of January 1660 A.C.) started from Aurangabad to punish the wicked Shivāji. Leaving Mumtāz Khān as his *Nāib* at *Khujastah-bunyād* he marched towards Poona and Chākna, which

1 Khāfi Khān has given a connected story of Shivaji's rebellion against the Mughuls without taking into consideration the break at the time of 'Ālamgīr's accession to the throne.

at that time were the abode and asylum of Shivaji. On the 1st of *Rajab* of the same year, he reached Seogaon, one of the *maḥāls* in the territory of that accursed fellow. Shivaji who was at that time wandering near the town (*qaṣbah*) of Sūpa vacated it and fled away in another direction as soon as he heard the news about the Amir al-Umarā. The Amīr al-Umarā took the town without opposition and bloodshed, and placing it in the charge of Jadu Rāi he instructed him to guard it (against Shivaji) and continue sending provisions for the Imperial army. [P. 120] That dirty and daring (free booter) posted his troops with orders that they should plunder and ravage every place where the army of the Amīr al-Umarā appeared; accordingly they started the mischief. When the Amīr al-Umarā came to know of this, he detailed four thousand horses under experienced officers to escort (the provisions to the royal army) in turn. Every day and at every stage the Deccanis of the wretched Shivaji swarmed from all sides, attacked the camp like robbers killed or carried away men, horses and camels or whatever they could lay their hands on, before the troops became aware of it. The Imperial forces pursued them as far as they could and with their sharp swords and the help of unerring musketeers and archers brought the brains out of their heads ; they fought as they fled and dispersed in different directions ultimately reaching Poona and Sivapur, which was founded by that dog (Shivaji).

The Siege and capture of Chāknah (*Chakun*) :

With brave horsemen he wrested both the places from Shivaji, entered Poona and made it his residence. From Poona he rode to the foot of the fortress of Chāknah.[1] He carried out a close inspection of the towers and bastions of the fort and assigned (to his men) the digging of trenches around his own army,

1 "The fort of Chākun is a square enclosure with bastioned fronts and towers at the four corners. The walls are high, with a ditch 30 ft. deep and 15 ft. wide all around. The only entrance is in the eastern face and passes through five or six gate way. Beyond the wall there is an out work of mud with a ditch the remnant of a very old fortification". Sarkar, IV, p. 45.

erection of ramparts and towers and throwing mines and digging a ditch around the fort. Thus they surrounded the fort like the stone of a ring and tried to reduce it. In spite of the excessive rains, which fall day and night continuously for five months in that region and do not give men a chance even to take out their heads from their houses, and the density of clouds, which change the bright day into dark night, sometimes making it necessary to light the lamps, as one person cannot see another although present in the same gathering, and in spite of the fact that muskets and gunpowder had become unuseable and the strings had fallen from the bows, a determined effort was made [**P. 121**] and by continuous bombardment the walls of the fort were breached. This caused confusion and perplexity in the ranks of the mischief-mongers. In the darkness of the night the ill-fated men of the garrison sallied forth from the fortress and fought with conspicous boldness. Sometimes, the forces of the doomed unbelievers from outside and inside the fort made attacks in broad day light with such a force that they shook the trenches. After the siege of the fort had lasted fifty six days, a bastion under which a mine had been thrown from the side of Amir al-Umarā, filled with gun powder was blown up when it was fired. The stones, bricks and men flew into the air, and looked like somersaulting pigeons. The brave Muslims, keeping the shields of the protection of God before their faces, made an assault and girding up the loins of courage and effort decided to risk their lives. As the infidels had taken shelter behind the rampart of earth inside the fortress as well as in the high and low places and were determined to meet the attack, the whole day was spent in this effort, and many soldiers of the Imperial army were martyred. The life-sacrificing *g̲h̲āzīs* (brave warriors) not prepared to bear the infamy of flight, passed the whole night in a severe struggle without food and sleep and in continuous fighting until day-break. The moment the world-conquering (*'ālamgīr*) sun took his head out from the window of the East, the brave and warlike fighters of the Imperial army and its fort-capturing soldiers made, by repeated attacks, a large number of unbeleivers the fodder of their swords, arrows and spears and sent them to hell. Ultimately, as a result of the great exertion the

Muslims captured the outer fortifications (حصار) of the fortress. Those (of the defenders) who had escaped (death) moved to the citadel in a state of great fear. In this assault besides Sappers and Miners and others engaged in the siege of the fort, three hundred brave (جانباز) men of the Imperial army [P. 122] were killed and six hundred horsemen and foot soldiers gained the honour of being wounded by the stones, bullets, arrows and spears. As in the citadel also they were reduced to extremity, they appealed through Rão Bhao Singh for mercy and surrendered the fortress to the custody of the Imperial troops and joined the Amir al-Umarā. Next day the Amir al-Umarā entered the fort and inspected its various sides, the treasury and the provisions stored there; after this, leaving Uzbeg Khān there he proceeded to punish the accursed Shivaji. The Emperor on receiving the report changed the name of Chāknah into Islāmabād and ordered Ja'far Khān who was in Mālwa to help the Amīr al-Umarā.

The weighing ceremony of the forty-first solar year corresponding to the third regnal year. Some other incidents at the Capital.

The weighing ceremony of the 41st year (of the Emperor's life) was arranged on 11 *Rabī'-al-Awwal.* According to the usual practice of the past years the musicians and those who deserved rewards received gifts in gold and jewels and the door of happiness and joy was opened for all the world. Besides lamps of different varieities, twenty thousand candles in globes were used for decoration and lighting.

In the course of these celebrations a petition was received from the Amīr al-Umarā that the fort of Parenda had been captured by the Imperial troops without any fighting through the good fortune of 'Ālamgīr. Almost at the same time the report was received that Karan Singh, for whose chastisement Amir Khān had been sent, after making vain efforts, had offered his submission and made a request for the safety of his life. His two sons, Anūp Singh and Padam [P. 123] Singh, who were with him, presented themselves before Amīr Khān and had started for the Court trusting in the forgiveness of the forgiving Emperor.

Capture of Sulaymān Shukuh.

And in these days of rejoicing it was reported that Prithi Singh, zamindar of Srinagar, in whose hilly regions the unfortunate Sulaymān Shukuh had taken refuge (and had been staying) for a long time and whose territory was being overrun by an Imperial army under the command of Tarbiyat Khān, had sent a petition, through Rajah Jai Singh. It contained a request for being forgiven for his old and recent short-comings and an offer to surrender Sulaymān Shukuh. The Emperor sent Kunwar Rām Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, to fetch Sulayman Shukuh. On the arrival of Kunwar Ram Singh, Sulayman Shukuh came to know of the intentions of his host. He made a desperate attempt to save his life, and ultimately allowing Muḥammad Shāh Kūkah, who had remained with him, to be killed (in the attempt), he surrendered himself to be made a prisoner.[1] He started for the Court in the custody of Kunwar Rām Singh and Tarbiyat Khān, reaching there on 11 *Jumāda al-Ūlā* 1070 H. Under royal orders he was presented at the Court through Ilāh Yār Khān and Mu'tamad Khān, eunuch. (The Emperor) out of limitless mercy forgave his sin and with his own jewel-scattering tounge granted him security of life and gave consolation to the distressed heart and life of that fellow. He was ordered to be sent to the fortress of Gwalior along with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān who was in the fort of Salīmgarh. They were sent with Mu'tamad Khān who was now appointed commandant of the fort of Gwalior. Medini Singh, son of Prithi Sing, zamindar of Srinagar, who had come with Sulaymān Shukuh, was presented to the Emperor; he was given 35,000 rupees, one elephant and ten horses and was appointed *manṣabdār* of two thousand with

1 Khāfi Khān has not described the incident in a straight-forward manner; Muḥammad Kāẓim's account is more clear.

When Kunwar Rām Singh arrived in Garhwāl, Prithi Singh sent his men to bring Sulaymān Shukuh as a prisoner. Sulaymān offered resistance; Muḥammad Shāh Kūkah with a few others was killed while he himself was captured alive". *'Ālamgir Nāmah*, p. 601.

one thousand horses. At the request of his father, Medini Singh was allowed to stay at the Court. A robe, (*khil'at*) a pair of *pūnchi*[1] and *arbasi*[2], and an elephant for Prithi Singh were given to his son. [P. 124] Rajah Kiran Singh having presented himself at the Court and offered respects was forgiven for his guilt. He was given a *manṣab* of three thousand with two thousand horses and was awarded the title of Rao Karan along with other favours. He was then despatched to the Deccan.

The arrival of three Ambassadors was reported: they were Qāsim Āghā who was sent by Ḥusayn Pāshā the governor of Baṣrah with a congratulatory letter and some 'Irāqi horses, Ibrāhīm Beg, the envoy of Subhān Quli Khān with a letter and presents of Turan, and Budāq Beg envoy of Īrān with a letter and some horses, who had reached Multan. After a week the arrival of envoys was reported to the Emperor. When Ibrāhīm Beg, the envoy of Tūrān. was presented at the Court, the Emperor gave him 11000 rupees with a belt and embroidered waist-band and a *khil'at*. As he had been ill, at the time of his arrival he died shortly after. As regards Budāq Beg, the envoy of Shāh 'Abbās, the Emperor appointed Abdāl Beg to be his host; orders were also sent to Tarbiyat Khān the Governor (حاکم) of Multān, and Khalil Allāh Khān, the *Ṣubahdar* of Lahore, and other officers to entertain the envoy of Iran, whereever he arrived, in keeping with the Indian practice of extending every kind of hospitality.

'Ālamgīr orders free distribution of food :

Owing to the disturbed conditions created in the Empire by wars and disorders, the movements of troops in different directions and in addition due to the scarcity of rains the rise in prices became the cause of dejection among the people. The scarcity of food stuffs grew every day and the poverty of the destitute people increased to such an extent that most of the *parganahs* became

1 An ornament generally worn by women on the wrist. In Mughul days it was used by men also as a mark of decoration.

2 Arabasi, a garland of jewels worn by men round their neck.

desolate. Large crowds of people from distant parts of the country and from the vicinity of the capital took the road to the city. (The result was that) the destitute and beggars thronged the lanes and streets of the city, bringing all activities of the citizens to a stand-still ; it became difficult and hard for the people to survive. When a report was submitted to the Emperor he ordered that besides the permanent public distributing centres [P. 125] of cooked and uncooked food,[1] ten other free feeding houses (*langar khānah*)[2] in the city and twelve in the towns situated in the vicintity of the capital and at *mazārs* (tombs of the *Shaykhs*) should be set up, and God-fearing and honest superintendents be appointed to supervise them. Orders were also given to the leading Amīrs down to a *Monṣabdār* of one thousand, to open feeding houses according to their rank. As has already been stated, new orders were issued about the collection of food-grains and the remission of land taxes, and revenue collectors (*sazāwalān*) were appointed (to enforce these orders.) At last a change (for the better) appeared in the condition of the people.

Celebrations at the commencement of the fourth regnal year corresponding to 1071 H. (1661 A. C.).

The celebrations on the occasion of the commencement of the fourth year of the reign fell in 1071 H. According to the practice of every year, the necessary work of decoration was carried out by (expert) workers. The apartments assigned to the various Amīrs for decoration with brocade and *bādlah*[3] were decorated so nicely that each one of them became a model of the garden of Pleiades.

There were arrangements for music on every side and corner, and musicians with graceful manners and handsome faces (حور لقا) and singers with sweet voices kept the gatherings active by their varied

1 *Bulghur Khānah* ; *Khām wa pukhtah* : *Bulghur* (lit bruised barley or wheat) ; also a dish made of the same.

2 Elliot renders it as houses of entertainment.

3 A specie of eloth preparred with gold thread.

tones : grief disappeared entirely. The musicians with their *rubābs*[1] and mandolins carried their soft melodies to the ears of the lute-playing Venus on the third heavens, particularly because in these days of joy the good news of the birth of a Prince, Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, reached the Court ; the new-born was named Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn. Thus double rejoicings began to shower forth from the doors and walls of the world-illuminating hall of rejoicing.

Verse :

> The musical tones of the dancing sweet-hearts captivate thousands of hearts in one motion.
>
> [P. 126] The movement of the hands of the heart captivating dancers took away light from the lamps of patience.

The Emperor issued orders that from this year onwards these celebrations were to start on the 1st of *Shawwāl* when, due to *'Īd al-Fiṭr*, the gates of rejoicing are opened in the houses of the rich as well as the poor. The rejoicings were to last upto the tenth day of that month.[2] It being impossible to give a detailed account of the offerings (*nithār*) and presents made to the Emperor or of the money given to the Amīrs and musicians, I now divert to another subject.

Reports were received that on the arrival of Budāq Beg in Multān Tarbiyat Khān entertained him to a feast and presented a sum of Rs. 5,000 to him in addition to other gifts. When he reached Lahore, Khalīl Allāh Khān entertained him luxuriously according to the custom of Hindustan. Four hundred plates, most of them being made of silver, and seven hundred dishes, full of sweets and fruits, with perfumes and other accessories were placed on the

1 *Rubāb* : "a four-stringed instrument in the form of a short-necked guitar, but having a surface parchment instead of wood".

2 The celebrations used to commence on the 24th *Ramaḍān*. 'Ālamgīr thought, and rightly so, that the Muslims could not participate in the festivities during the month of fasting. He therefore ordered the dates of the celebrations to be shifted to the next month. See *'Ālamgīr Nāmah*, pp. 613-14.

table. The meat dishes along with the plates of silver and costly porcelain[1] were handed over to the attendants of the Ambassador. He also gave him as present 20,000 rupees in cash and seven pieces of costly silk cloth and utensils set with jewels. Before the arrival of the Ambassador at the Court, melons of land irrigated by subterraneous canals (*khurbūzah-i-kārīz*), and other varieties of fresh and dry fruits sent by the Shāh and Budāq Beg himself were placed twice before the Emperor. When the report of the coming of Budāq Beg was made to the Emperor he ordered that Asad Khān, Sayf Khān and Multafit Khān should receive him outside the city and present him at the Court. After the ceremony of his appearance at the Court and the presentation of the letter (of Shāh of Īrān), a *khil'at*, enamelled dagger, a tiara[2], perfume[3], betel leaves with tray and *pāndān* made of gold were given to him. The mansion of Rustam Khān was furnished by the Government and assigned to him for residence. On the fourth day he was ordered to attend the Court to offer gifts and present ; sixty-six **[P. 127]** 'Irāqi and Arab horses with ornamented trappings having pearls and turquoises, one round dazzling pearl weighing 37 carats, whose price was estimated at sixty thousand rupees by the jewellers and other presents from Iran whose consolidated value came to five lakhs of rupees, were presented on behalf of the Shāh; besides these, horses, camels, mules and other gifts were presented on behalf of Budāq Beg. On the day of presentation, one female elephant and 60,000 rupees were given to Budāq Beg and 10,000 to his attendants. On the second day, 50,000 rupees, an enamelled dagger, betel leaves, perfumes, with a gold tray, a *pāndān* and a musket were given to Budāq Beg and 13,000 rupees were given to his *Taḥwīldār* (store keeper) and other attendants. On the day of *'Īd al-Aḍḥā* the Emperor gave him three *ashrafīs* weighing 700 tolahs, and three rupees weighing 500 tolahs, to Budāq Beg. On the day of his

1 *Ghūrī* : A kind of porcelain which breaks the moment poison is put into it.

2 *Jīghah* : An ornament of jewels worn in the turban.

3 *Argajah* : A compound of perfumes.

departure 100,000 rupees with other enamelled utensils, two elephants, one of them being a walrus (*fīl-i-daryā'ī*) were given to Budāq Beg. The consolidated value of these gifts was five lakhs of rupees, in cash or kind, for the Ambassador and 50,000 rupees for his followers. As to the reply to the letter (the Emperor) said that it would follow and would be sent through one of the officers of the Court.

'Āqil Khan resigned his *manṣab*; the Emperor sanctioned an annuity of 50,000 rupees for him.

Desertion of Champat Bundelah.

Champat Bundelah had since the days of Shāhjahān, adopted the course of a rebel and taken to highway robbery; and in spite of the despatch of armies against him neither his revolt was suppressed nor could the tree of his life be cut (killed). However, at the time when the world-conquering Emperor was marching from the Deccan towards the capital, Champat presented himself before him and having expressed repentance and promised not to repeat his past misdeeds, he attained the honour of joining the army and accompanying the Imperial servants to the Panjab during the course of Dārā Shukoh's pursuit. [P. 128] From there, being misguided by the innate wickedness of his nature, he deserted the army like a sinner and taking the path of flight, reached his old place and resumed to the profession of a brigand. During the period of disturbances caused by Shujā' and Dāra Shukoh he increased his plundering activities in the neighbourhood of Malwa.

Verse:

A bad natured man (*bad guhar*) is never loyal to anyone.
A man of bad origin never fails to do a bad deed.

In the past, Subh Karan Bundelah was deputed to punish him, but with no result. Then Debi Singh with some other Amīrs was despatched to exterminate and destroy him. Being unable to offer resistance to him he sought asylum with other zamindars and like a fox he fled away and took refuge in the hills and caves: Thus he was passing his days there, when by the good fortune

of 'Ālamgir he was captured. His head was struck off and brought to the Court. Under orders it was put on the gibbet of retribution so that the people could point to it with their fingers.

Verse :

I have often seen in this world, full of troubles,
That the result of evil is nothing but evil.

Prince Mu'azzam's marriage

The daughter of Rāja Rūp Singh was married to Prince Mu'azzam. The marriage festivities were arranged in a way that the beholders in the upper sphere with a thousand eyes were completely absorbed in seeing the show. Inside the fort and on the roads of the *Chawk* Bāzār several thousand chandeliers were kindled and illuminations were made in novel ways of lighting the heaven and earth.

Verse :

Because many candles and torches were lighted,
The Earth itself became like a torch.
The lamps illuminated the world in a way,
That not a single man was left in the world with a dark fortune (*tīrah-rūz*).

The Emperor conferred on Prince Mu'azzam, pearls and enamelled utensils valued at two lakhs of rupees, besides this he gave 100,000 rupees in cash along with an elephant, horses with gold-embroidered trappings [P. 129] at time of *sihrā*[1] salutations. When the marriage procession was passing through the streets of the city, fire-works, prepared by experts in this art, were displayed in a way that the Earth was spread over with flowers and the sky glittered and appeared to be full of bright stars. The noise created by it reached the highest sky. When the Emperor saw the face of the

1 *Sihrā* : Strings of flowers and pearls and jewels tied together to a strap and fastened round the forehead of the bridegroom at the time of the marriage ceremony. The bridegroom salutes his elders who give him gifts. This is called *taslīmāt sihrā*.

bride[1] he gave her ornaments worth a lakh of rupees, and nine thousand rupees were given to the musicians.

Jaswant Singh goes to the Deccan to crush Shīvāji

Mahārāja Jaswant Singh was ordered to proceed from Aḥmadābād to the Deccan to join the Amīr al-Umarā and help him in crushing the evil-natured Shivāji. Quṭb al-Dīn Khān, the *Fawjdar* of Jūnāgadh was directed to look after the affairs of Aḥmadābād till the arrival of a new *Ṣūbahdar.*

Dāwūd Khān subdues the Zamīndar of Balādan

In the same year orders were given to Dāwūd Khān to reduce the territory of Balādan in the province of Bihār ; the zamindar of the place had three forts in his possession and owing to the revolt and oppression of that wicked unbeliever all the inhabitants of that province were living in distress and planning to migrate. If I describe in detail the efforts of Dāwūd Khān and other officers who helped him in subduing that place I shall have to abandon the path of brevity. In short, as a result of great efforts, in which the pious men received martyrdom and the wicked went to hell, several thousand horsemen and foot soldiers were killed or sent to the abode of perdition and in which great courage was displayed, the place came into the possession of the supporters of the august State. When the report of this event was placed before the Emperor he honoured Dāwūd Khān and his followers with the award of promotions and other honours which distinguished them among their rivals.

In this year Amīr Khān, on the transfer of Mahābat Khān was posted to the *Ṣūbahdarship* of Kābul. Fāḍil Khān the *Mīr Sāman* came from Agra with jewels, pearls and enamelled utensils worth sixteen lakh of rupees [P. 130] and presented them to the Emperor on behalf of Shāhjahān.

On receiving the news of the death of Khalīl Allāh Khān, the Emperor went to his house and tried to console Amīr Khān,

1 *Rūnumā'ī* : The showing of the face is a ceremonious action. Every one who sees the face of the bride gives her something as a gift.

Rūḥ Allāh Khān, and the wife and daughter of the deceased and honoured them with unparalleled favours.

Eighty elephants belonging to Shujā' sent by the Khān Khanān, were presented before His Majesty. Three hundred and fifty five bucks that had been captured alive in the course of a hunting expedition were out of mercy set free in the jungles under the orders of the Emperor.

An account of the expedition to Assam under the command of the distinguished and august Amīr, Khan Khanān Mu'aẓẓam Khān

The country of Assam is adjacent to the north-eastern borders of Bengal; the ways of living of its inhabitants, their laws and creed, as well as the climate of its territories are among the wonders of the world. It covers a long range of hills, its length being about 200 *jaribi kruhs* and its breadth, from the hills in the north to those in the south is nearly eight days' journey. Most of its territories lie along the banks of the river (Brahmaputra). It is said that it is the homeland of Pirān Wīsah,[1] the *Wazīr* of Afrāsiyāb. The Rajah of that country claimed his descent from Pīrān Wīsah. In the beginning they were Magis and fire-worshippers but in course of time they adopted the false faith of the idol worshippers of Hind. The inhabitants of that country are men in form but apes in character. Most of the people remain naked. The nobles of the country put on a silk sheet, produced in the same country. They know nothing about shoes and turban. To the north of that forest land is the country of Cathey (China). Elephants are found in large uumbers in the forest; and aloes wood, musk and gold dust are the principal products of that country. [P. 131] The scarcity of salt is so great, that even the faces of men and women of that country are without salt. In fact they do not resemble human beings and are notorious for their bad features and bad habits. The chief grains of that country are a poor (کندہ) quality of

1 Firishtah has given the story of Pīrān Wīsah's expedition in his introduction. This portion of his work, however, is not considered authentic. The account of Pīrān Wīsah's visit is also legendary. For details, see Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 553-54.

rice, and *māsh*[1] ; other kinds of grain are scarce, particulary wheat which is brought to that country from other regions in gift and presents. The chief product is gold dust which is the main article of trade and business as well as of the revenue paid by the villages. The revenue paying people *(ri'āyā)* pay their revenue in gold dust instead of cash. After the conquest of the country by Khān Khānān, the persons who were appointed on behalf of the leading zamindars to collect gold dust were counted, and they were 20,000. It was the hereditary duty and profession of every person to offer one tola of gold dust annually to the Government of the Rajah. The writer of these pages has seen many a time the gold dust which is brought by the Chinese merchants to the port of Surat for sale. The produce of that region also consists of coconut, betel-nut, pepper, varieties of sugar cane, bananas, mangoes and pineapple. They are grown there in unmeasurable quantities. Tall horses and donkeys are not found in that region and do not survive ; and if brought (from other places), they fetch high prices. Small sized horses called *kawnt* and *tāngans*, *qisṭās*[2] and *farsh-pari*[3], are sent as presents to other places. The infidels of the region, unlike those of other parts of Hind eat the meat of all animals, whether they are eatable or not, and they do not hate and keep away from eating the eaten or half-eaten food of the Muslims. When a leading zamindar or a rajah of that country dies they dig a large *dakhmah*[4] in the earth, and in it they place his wives, servants and also his horses, carpets, gold and silver utensils and rice and other grain, that is used in that region by living people, and ornaments used by the women [P. 132] and men, as well as perfumes and fruits, sufficient to last for several days. They make an under-ground chamber and take all things there and place round the dead body ; they call them provisions for his journay to the next world, and close the door of hopelessness against his face.

1 *Māsh*—Black gram used as pulse.

2 *Qisṭās* : Scales or ornaments hung round the necks of horses or bulls.

3 *Farsh-i-Pari* : a kind of soft cloth.

4 *Dakhmah* is a circular structure on which fire-worshippers lay their dead.

The men of Khān Khānān's army, as will be described later, unearthed a large amount of wealth and appropriated it. Several lakhs of rupees and a large quantity of grain were taken by the Khān Khānān from this wealth of the dead and distributed among the soldiers.

Mir Jumlah's campaign

The zamindar of that region which is adjacent to the territory of Kamrups and has connections[1] with it, had been in revolt and creating trouble for the last twenty years. The province of Bengal being in its proximity, they often ravaged its territories, and capturing the cultivators paying revenue to the Emperor and a large number of Muslims, carried them as prisoner to their own country where they were plundered and beaten and where their faith was subjected to humiliation. In the time of Shāhjahān (حضرت اعلی) Islām Khān, *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal, had made preparations to warn and punish these wicked people and had collected (for this purpose) a large army and stores. But it was at the same time that he was ordered to relinquish this post, and was called to the Court and appointed *Wazir*; thus the proposed expedition could not be undertaken. After that Shujā' took refuge with the zamindar of Rakhang, one of the Zamindars of that region. When nothing was heard of him, the Khān Khānān settled the affairs of Jahāngirnagar and other territories (تعلقه) of Bengal, and decided to lead an expedition to that country, and busied himself with the collection of army and stores for its conquest. The Rajah of Assam and the zamindar of Kuch Bihar named Bhim Narayan,[2] had a common frontier, and an ancestral enmity and rivalry existed between them. [P. 133] When the news of the intention of Khān Khānān spread, the confidence of both of them was shaken, and each of them sent letters to him expressing his own allegiance

1 باهم دیگر مواصلات دارند

2 Persian histories name him as Bhim Narayan or Prem Narayan. His real name is Pran Narayan.

and, explaining the evil activities (ناهنجاری) of the other; again each sought his protection and induced him to destroy the other. They did not realize that when the storm af calamities visits the house of one's neghbour, one should think that one too was doomed.[1] The Khān Khānān sent the petitions of both the rebellious zamīndārs to the Court of the Emperor. In reply he received orders to uproot the tree of (the life of) both the evil-natured ones. The Khān Khānān with a view to capture their forts, provided himself with artillery, and boats (نواره) on which often depends the capture of the forts of that region, as well as material for battles on land, and started for that country. The exploits, the battles and the strategy of war followed by that lion of the jungle of bravery will remain engraved on the pages of time. He cut down forests, and made passages in that hilly region which was full of trees so high that even the bird of imagination could not fly across them. Thousands of unbelievers in that *dār al-ḥarb*[2] were sent to the house of perdition and a large number of the soldiers of the Imperial army earned martyrdom. He had the call to prayer (اذان), which had never before reached the ears of the animal-like[3] dwellers of that land, recited loudly from every temple of that forest and became the cause of destruction of the tree of life of these unbelievers. It would require a separate volume if all the details are described. But as already promised, I will write a few sentences, giving an acount of the exploits of that Rustam of the day (Khān Khānān) for the enjoyment of the ears of the listeners and readers (of this narrative).

It is said that first of all [P. 134] he resolved upon and made an effort to ravage (شکار) and conquer Kuch Bihar, the country of Bhim Narayan. As the term 'Narayan' according to the false belief of these people, is synonymous with *Ism-i-A'ẓam*, although there is

1 The printed text has خانه و همسایه ; I prefer خانه همسایه .

2 *Dār al-Ḥarb* lit. land of the war; it is used for territories ruled by the infidels where Muslims are not allowed to fulfil their religious obligations.

3 *Dadd-Nihād* : lit. of the animal species.

no comparison between the two and to them there is no god (lit. creater) superior to him, all the idols worshipped there are carved and set up in his name. Every Rajah who becomes the ruler of that country adds by way of blessing "Narayan" to his name. On the coins struck in that country the figure of their god is carved, and they are given currency with the name of *Narayani*. The Rajah of that place, intoxicated with the wine of carelessness, had given the power and responsibilities of administration to his permanent *wazīr* and spent all his time in ease and luxury. The Almighty God, to make them perfectly ugly, has created the soil[1] of their country as impure as their hearts. The people of that conntry exceed each other in ugliness, but they pass their days. The ruler, therefore, passes his life after the manner of all dissipated men, in buildings, gardens, with good carpets and tanks, and in beautiful houses in the company of attractive musicians who come there from different places. The points of their arrows, and swords are tempered with poison and a wound received by a person at their dirty hands swells immediately; the wounded person does not survive it. The treatment of this poison lies in eating and rubbing on the wound *kasīrū*, the tasty root of a kind of grass of that country. It is one of the delicious fruits of Hindustan, and is available in the markets in Delhi and its vicinity.

In short, that brave commander, at the time of starting on his expedition, ordered that boats filled with war material, should proceed by the route of the river under the command of Muḥammed Muqim, while Mukhliş Khān and Iḥtishām Khān, along with parties for reinforcement, were left in Akbarnagar and Jahangīrnagar. [P. 135] There were three routes leading to the country of Narayan: two of them had been blocked by them by different methods. The third was a jungle route full of poisonous snakes and trees so high that even the bird of imagination could pass through them only with difficulty. The people of that country had for want of time, and owing to their sense of security, because of the

1 *Khamīri-gill-ān zamin.*

density of trees and difficulty of passage, not been able to guard it (the third route). The Khān Khānān, by chance, took this very route and with his personal strength and planning combined with the help of God, he started in that direction. On entering that dreadful jungle, where the smell of blood reached the brains of the blood-sucking warriors, he was able to cross the difficult route with the help of thousands of hatchet-bearers, countless diggers and the striking of the tusks of the elephants moving like mountains. In spite of the necessary equipment with which he was provided that respectable commander thought it wise to walk on foot and taking a hatchet and a spade in his hand, he helped the other people. The several thousand followers of that commander, who were all hard-working young men, did not spare the use of their swords and other powerful weapons of different kinds of arms. The *sāl* trees which were a great obtsacle were removed from their path with the help of experienced warriors. Whenever they came across a river difficult of crossing, or deep water they helped each other and thus these brave warriors accustomed to fighting in jungles and mountains, crossed them. On the way at every post in the hill (پشته کوه) or a fortress raising its head to heavens, when those wicked people tried to check the advance of the lion-hunting warriors they were duly punished and took to flight.

Flight of Bhim Narayan

At last (the Imperial army) reached the capital and the fort of that accursed infidel. Bhim Narayan, [P. 136] seeing the danger from the deluge of the forces coming like the waves of the sea, fled to the jungles and mountains, with his family and children, and the city was captured without the use of arrows, swords and spear. In the beginning every body plunderd whatever he could; later, however Sayyid Muḥammed Ṣādiq *ṣadr* of Bengal was directed to issue prohibitory orders that nobody was to touch the cash and property of the people, and he should go personally and establish order everywhere. He was asked to confiscate the treasure of Rajah Bhim Narayan, break the idols and introduce the laws of Islām. Sayyid Ṣādiq issued strict prohibitory orders

so that nobody had the courage to break the laws or to plunder the property of the inhabitants. The punishment for disobeying the order was that the hands, ears or noses of the plunderers were cut. Sayyid Ṣādiq busied himself in giving protection to the life and property of the subjects and the destitutes. First of all the head and face of the big idol of Narayan were broken by one stroke of the pick-axe and the strong arm of Islām ; subsequently the hands and feet of other idols were separated from one another; then they climbed over the roof of the temple and the *a͟dhān* proclaiming the Faith of Muḥammad was loudly recited in all directions. It reached the ears of the terror-stricken people of that country. After this once again the prohibitory orders were issued and the proclamation of amnesty reached the ears of the *muqaddams*[1] and peasants. The houses and the property of the people who had fled were kept as trust and with great care. When the news of this mercy shown by that good-natured commander, despite the fact that the land was *dār al-ḥarb*, to the life and property of the people spread in the country, groups of people of different classes and types began to return and the deserted houses were again occupied.

Pursuit and capture of Bhim Narayan

Bhim Narayan's son Bishan Narayan, who was not on good terms with his father [P. 137] presented himself before the K͟hān K͟hānān, and accepted Islām at his instance. He offered to guide the (Imperial officers) in the capture of his father and his *wazīr*. Isfandyār Beg and Farhād Beg were ordered to go with him to arrest Bhim Narayan and his trusted administrator.[2] He also sent some other trusted persons with the guide, who was newly converted Muslim, and strictly warned them to be careful and cautious in making a search in the surrounding jungle and passes of the mountains. He sent to Jahangirnagar one hundred and six guns, big and small, two hundred and fifty

1 *Muqaddam*, Village headman.

2 کار پرداز صاحب مدار

zambūraks[1] and *ramchangis*[2] and equipment of artillery which had fallen into the hands.

Isfandyār, after great efforts, captured Bhola Nath, the *wazīr* of the Rajah, along with his entire family and a few of his supporters, and brought them before the Khān Khānān. Bhim Narayan took refuge with one of the old and experienced zamindars of that region. Close to the fort and the city of this chief (مرزبان) there was a narrow and deep ditch, on both the sides of which they used to fasten two chains of iron, equal in length to the span of the ditch, with pegs and trunks of strong trees. These could be removed whenever they wanted. Between those two chains they had smaller chains tied together and fastened above the bigger chains; with their help the people could cross the ditch. Throughout the day the soldiers (متردين) catching hold of the chain made an exertion to cross the ditch, and at night the chains were drawn up. The Khān Khānān changed the name of the capital of the Rajah, which had eighty-nine *parganahs* grouped in five *chaklahs*—with an income of two lakhs of Naryanis, to 'Ālamgīrnagar and [P. 138] left there Isfandyar who was one of those possessing knowledge of that country, with two revenue collectors, fourteen hundred horses, and two thousand musketeers. Qāḍi Tīmur was appointed the *dīwān* of that territory and sixteen centres of settlement were established. He then started for the conquest of Assam.

Conquest of Assam

The Khān Khānān placed Dilīr Khān in command of the advance guard and Āghar Khān at the head of the vanguard and directed Mīr Murtaḍā to proceed onward in front, with his artillery. Keeping the boats near the army at every place, he entered the dreadful forest full of dense and thorny trees and uneven routes. In spite of the hardships of the journey, which

1 *Zambūrak* Muskets and Carbines having a big bore but a barrel of small length used for throwing charges heavier than bullet, at a close range.

2 *Ranchangi* (رام جنگی)—A small kind of gun, a mortar.

made it difficult even for the wind to pass through that jungle, the famous commander along with other useful and brave men girded the loin of determination, and as on the previous occasion, assisted by the hatchet-bearers and the cutters of the forest trees (عمله جنگل بری) he busied himself in carefully and cautiously cutting the trees with battle axes and other weapons, and thus broadening the pathway of the jungle for the men of the army ; he proceeded on his journey by stages. They put to flight the mischief-making hillmen of that region who would appear and come before them from different directions to their right and left. Though some of the ape-faced forest-dwellers of that country, who had been captured, promised with certainty to guide him on a route free from hardships, the experienced commander did not trust their word and did not abandon the passage alongside the river, nor parted with the boats. Wherever they came across a marshy rivulet full of muddy water, they cut the branches of the trees and bundles of bamboos cut and plenty of grass was spread over them ; and the men of the army passed over it in large numbers as smoothly as a wave. Thus, with the help of the boats, the army moved on at a slow speed travelling half or one *kruh* (at a time). The Khān Khānān, [P. 139] with a view to console and encourage the soldiers, would often walk on foot, supported by his sincere followers, constantly reciting the following couplet of Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāżī.

Verse :

Though the journey is full of perils and the destination unknown.
Do not be, disheartened for there is no road which has no end.

And in spite of all these exertions and efforts the army could take rest only either in the evening or sometimes in the afternoon. As in that country there was constant danger of night attacks (شب خون), on reaching the stages that lion of the forest of bravery would not sleep, but remain active throughout the night and keep the *kotwal* and other ease-loving people on the alert. At last they reached the foot of a hill whose peak touched the heavens and on whose top they had constructed two forts.

They were garrisoned with 20,000 men, among whom there were musketeers and archers; they had with them other military equipment. It was pointed out that the seat of government was at a distance of one month's journey from this place. There were three hundred and eight war-boats at the foot of the hill.

The first encounter with the Assamese

The army stopped at a distance of two *kruhs* from the hill. The Khān Khānān ordered his troops to remain alert and cautious when encamping. They were told to light the fire-works (ماه تابی) frequently. He ordered the boats to anchor opposite the boats of the enemy lying at the foot of the hill. The army was then ordered to dig trenches at different places and make necessary preparations for the capture of the forts. To keep a hold on the lines of communications so that the Assamese might not reinforce the people in the forts or make night attacks, he posted officers with many horsemen and foot soldiers near every fortification of the hill and at every vulnerable point on the difficult pathways. He posted Āghar Khān at a point, from where there was the greatest danger of the coming of reinforcements. It so happened that Āghar Khān had to face an attack launched by three or four thousand foot soldiers and muskteers of that country, [P. 140] who surrounded the Mughul forces from all directions, but that lion of the forest of bravery offered a courageous resistance, and although Āghar Khān's men were fewer in number and the enemy was being constantty reinforced he killed many of his men. A few of the Mughul horsemen also received martyrdom or were wounded. At this time a poisoned arrow struck the foot of Āghar Khān causing immediate swelling and acute pain. (Nevertheless) by launching a Rustam-like counter attack he repulsed the enemy; some of the Assamese were captured alive. By the grace of God Almighty after this (defeat) those wicked savages were so much over-awed by the brave fighters on land as well as on the river that they lost heart. These panicky and terror-stricken people fled away in the hours of the night through every nook and corner. As they mainly depend for their

fighting on the infantry and river battles and as on land their hundred armed foot soldiers were put to flight by ten unarmed horse men (of the Imperial army) most of them came down from their hill (forts) and reached their war-boats with the intention of offering a river battle to the Imperial flottilla. Accordingly they took out many a boat which had become unserviceable or had sunk under water, and embarking on them they prepared themselves for a battle.

The next day when the world-roaming boat of the sun appeared at the horizon over the waves of the ocean and cast its shadow on the land and the sea, the brave commander, as soon as he received the information, mounted (his horse) in all his bile-rending dignity and pomp, and proceeded in the direction of the fort with the intention of fighting those low-born and ill-fated people and somehow or other managed to reach the boats with a number of his artillery-men and equipment. Another detachment of the soldiers was posted on the bank of the river so that they could come to the help of the boats, whenever needed. This action of the commander caused terror in the hearts of the carpenters (تخته بند) [P. 141] of the river of bewilderment. The boats now moved from both the sides, and in consequence of the falling of shells and bullets from the guns and muskets, and rockets thrown from the boats made the waves of the river noisy and rise high above the surface . From the land also the whirring of the fire-showering rockets carried the message of sudden death to the ears of the cowards. As from both the sides (i.e. land and river) the efforts of war made by the fighters of Islam shook the hearts of the men of the enemy on land and water, and the thunder of the guns and muskets combined with the resounding of the hills struck their ears, and the smoke of gun-powder covered the river like dark clouds of the sky ; for some time the over-powering could not be distinguished from she over-powered. The number of rockets in the boats of the infidels being small the fear of the prestige of 'Ālamgīr shook the hearts of those panick-stricken and wicked

people ; and after having made great efforts and suffered a heavy loss of life they raised the anchors of their boats in the river and took to flight.

The Imperial boats pursued them and sunk some of them by the shells of mountain-shaking guns and rockets. They were reduced to such straits that most of them, in the hope of reaching the banks of the river by swimming, threw themselves into the water and became the food of the crocodiles and fishes. Some of them owing to the bombardment took their boats to the opposite bank and disembarking from them, sought protection behind the rocks at the foot of the hill and the trees of the forest. A small number who safely reached the bank by swimming in the water fell into the hands of the lion-hunting warriors and were made captives. One hundred and forty boats full of ammunition for artillery, one hundred and forty guns, along with some Assamese who had lost all courage were captured by the Imperial troops. The two forts also fell into the hands of the brave soldiers without any battle. Thus strong positions, and high mountain forts full of troops [P. 142] were captured with such ease because of the enemy-crushing prestige of 'Ālamgīr and efforts of that famous commander.

The Khān Khānān, after offering thanks to God and inspecting the surroundings and the interior of the fort, left an officer, 'Aṭā Allāh by name, with provisions and troops[1] at that place, and then directed his attention to the conquest of Kurthi which, also, was one of the strongholds[2] of the blood-sucking Assamese. After suffering great troubles and hardships of the way, as have been mentioned before, the Khān Khānān covered one stage after the other, and reached a place where there were two forts on each side of the river facing each-other, each claimed rivalry with the sky in height. There (soon) appeared between the forts boats full of all sorts of war material. It was reported that there

1 مصالح جنسی و نقری

2 مکان های قلب

were a lakh of Assamese foot soldiers in the forts and the boats; but owing to the prestige of the victorious Emperor and the tactics and efforts (of the troops) fear and awe entered the hearts of those wicked people. Without using the sword or spear on the land, they raised their war cry on the river and evacuating both the forts, took to flight as was usual with them; the forts were captured. The Khān Khānān inspected the interior and the outer (defences) of the two forts, and then offering thanks to God Almighty, he left parties to gaurd them aud resumed his onward march. As usual by the help of the fortcapturing heroes wherever they reached with the shock of the hoofs of the horses of the lion-hunting and mountain treading warriors, horsemen and the advance of the elephants, and the attacks of the life-sacrificing Mughuls, particularly that distinguished hero of the battle-field, Aghar Khān who was always in advance of Dilīr Khān. These brave fighters on water, who could fight even the lions, made the men of that region restless like quicksilver in their efforts to take to flight, although they were holding their boats and forts [**P. 143**] like ants and locust (i.e. in countless numbers). Many places and strongholds, by a detailed description of which I am not causing trouble to my pen, were captured by the Imperial forces. As some experienced commanders were left to guard the occupied places and many had gone to ravage the country and perform some important duties, the strength of the main army was reduced. Though against one thousand Imperial horsemen 20,000 of their foot-soldiers were like a flock of goats who run away from a lion or a wolf, yet they were bold in surprise attacks by night and taking the soldiers unawares. By way of caution and care the Khān Khānān often remained on patrol like a Kotwal himself. Except for the earlier part of the night when he intentionally went to sleep, while all others were awake, considering this rest to be a blessing, he did not close his eyes during the night particularly in the last two *pahrs* till day-break. On the other hand the other officers who were posted at different places were plundered and lost

their lives and were wounded in large numbers owing to the sudden and bold attacks launched at midnight or later in the night by those mischief-mongers. The (Imperial) troops were ruined and their equipments destroyed in the night attacks and charges of those wicked people. It is not possible here to describe in detail the losses suffered by the Imperial army. Indeed the holding of command which is a dangerous duty, does not depend merely on courage or [P. 144] the number of troops. Due to the great caution observed by the Khān Khānān a large number of troops remained alert throughout the night in different corners and places of the camp and spent the day in marching.

Capture of Bhimgarh

One day before the army reached the vicinity of the fort of Bhimgarh, which was the biggest of the high forts and the seat of government of that district a great commotion was caused in its ranks by a strong wind, the gathering of dark clouds and a severe downpour of hail and sleet which continued for several hours. They fell on the heads and faces of men and on the backs of quadrupeds like a celestial calamity, and wherever they struck they wounded the people, causing great disturbance and discomfort in the army. Many people died of wounds and the blowing of intensely cold wind. Some boats sank in the river because of stormy waves. However they passed that day and night in this condition. When they reached the foot of the fort, they encamped within the range of cannon shot. Since the fort was noted for the strength of its fortifications, all the leaders (سرگروهان) of Assam with innumerable followers, who had been driven away by the striking swords of the Muslim army, had taken shelter in it. About three lakhs of foot soldiers who had taken a vow to fight against the army of the Khān Khānān, were waiting for the approach of the Imperial forces. The armies of the Sharqī Kings[1] had been destroyed repeatedly at the foot of the fort. Consequently

1 Sharqī Sulṭāns of Jaunpur, 1394-1479.

the hearts of the men of the victory achieving army became a little anxious when they heard about the concentration of enemy forces and noticed the height of the great mountain. On reaching the place the Khān Khānān encamped there and began to encourage all the soldiers. He assigned to Dilīr [P. 145] Khān and other active (کارطلب) Amīrs the task of constructing the fortifications and ramparts. For three days and nights the Assamese showered from the fort, cannon balls and bullets and heavy rolling stones, killing and wounding many a man and quadruped. They gave the Imperial forces no time to construct the ramparts and digging the trenches. On the fourth night they made a big (عظیم) night attack and cries of 'catch and kill' were raised on all the four sides of the Imperial army and the camp, the brave and experienced warriors lost courage.[1] On that night Dilīr Khān made indescribable exertions ; many people were killed or wounded and some of the animals on the outskirts of the camp fell into the hands of the enemy. On the side of the enemy also many people were sent to hell by the Afghāns of Dilīr Khān and the Rajputs followers of Raja Bir Singh. Subsequently, Dilīr Khān and other experienced warriors decided not to give time to the wicked Assamese to get themselves besieged, and making the shield of the help of God the means of their protection, they launched an attack. With this intention they recited the prayers for success in the enterprise. They posted some experienced spies on the out-skirts of the fort to find out a passage for the assault. In the meantime one of the newly converted Assamese miscreants, who had served the army before this expedition for a long time and had always boasted of his loyalty and information about the fortification of the fort, appeared before the Khān Khānān through the mediation of one of his friends, and said, "As I know the details of all the accessable and inaccessable paths and also the ways of the misguided people of this country, I request you to appoint me the guide of the army at the time of assault." The Khān Khānān, in spite of his long experience, foresight and caution, became a victim [P. 146] of

1 زهره شیر مردان مصاف دیده را آب ساخت

his treachery and appointed him the guide of the army. When Dilīr Khān and other brave officers girded the loins of determina tion for the asault that wicked Assami sent a message to those inside the fort that he would lead the Muslim army in the direction where the passage was difficult and the ditch was deep, and thus bring them within the range of their arrows and in their trap. At midnight they took the route to their destination. When they were in front of the gate in the centre of the wall, which was as strong as a mountain, that miscreant asked Mīr Murtaḍā, the commander of the artillery, to engage the enemy by the incessant fire of *ramchangis* and muskets so that they become negligent in guarding the passage on which he was leading the asaulting troops. The object of that wicked person was that the ammunition of the artillery which they had taken along with them would be wasted in the bombardment of that mountain wall. A Mīr Murtaḍā started firing from his artillery like the flash of lightning, deadly bullets and fire-balls began to fall like showers from above the fort, and a large number of men were killed and received martyrdom. And then, before the dawn of the day, he led Dilīr Khān to the ditch in which water had no limits like the sea of Oman. From above, the Assamese plied every possible deadly weapons, and bullets, fire-balls and stones began to shower from different sides. The victory, achieving warriors, in spite of seeing sure death and losing all hopes of life, fought steadfastly like Rustam, particulerly Dilīr Khān and Āghar Khān who came down from the horses and swam across the ditch in great excitement and zeal. Entrusting themselves to the care of the Real Protector and with full trust in His Sacred Being, they drove forward their elephants through excessive fire and water and did full justice to the conduct of those who sacrifice their lives. Showing no regard to the showering of the balls of calamity [P. 147] some cowardly Afghāns tried to explain to him that matters had reached a crisis, and there was no hope of escape from water and fire. Even if they would be saved from drowning in this fierce ocean, there would be no other alternative but to strike their heads against stones and to waste their lives uselessly. Sound judgement

dictated that there was still time to make a retreat to their camp and again consider over the means of capturing the fort. But Dilīr Khān, the fire fighter, could not tolerate the infamy of flight and considered the honour of martyrdom a mean of salvation in both the worlds. He shouted at his elephant driver to drive the elephant forward. Many Afghāns and other brave warriors, like Āghar Khān and Qarāwal Khān, with some others, followed that brave warriors, reciting the *takbīr*[1], and plunged into the water.

Verse:

He raised an unsheathed sword
He cut off the heads of the crocodiles.
There was fighting up and down, and
The brave men fell like drunkards on all sides.

Every one who was struck by the bullet of death sunk his head under water, never to raise it again. A large number of men received martyrdom. In this condition, the damned guide who was thinking of making an escape and whom the followers of Āghar had kept in chains, was struck by a bullet and drowned in the sea of annihilation. Many crocodile of the sea of bravery received eternal fame by being hit by bullets or stones. Three or four bullets and stones hit Dilīr Khān's coat of mail but they did not reach his body and became cold and ineffective. At last in the company of some lion-hearted swimmers of the river of the fire of fighting he swam up to the foot of the fort, where the bullets could not reach. Through his own courage and the help of his brave comrades, Dilīr Khān used scalling ladders of valour and made a charge like a hawk in search of prey, and reached the top of the mountain-like wall (of the high fort). [P. 148] After reaching the top of the wall, he fought so bravely that if Rustam, son of the Dastān,[2] had heard even a bit of that story and if he had opened his lips to tell the

1 *Takbīr i. e.*, calling الله اكبر (Allāh is Great).

2 Dastān was the name of Zāl, the father of the legendary Iranian hero, Rustam, whose name has become proverbial for bravery.

truth he would have said that he did not like the name of Rustam for himself. If Afrāsiyāb[1] had witnessed that valour and bravery, he would have bitten his finger with his teeth out of astonishment. In short, those brave men fought with the desperate infidels at close quarters. Though the infidels far outnumbered the life-sacrificing and brave warriors some of them fell under the blows of their swords. From outside the fort the drum of victory resounded and large number of the infidels began to flee. Other brave warriors in the company of Mīr Murtaḍā, and another party of noted fighters hastened to the help of their life-giving comrades who had gone ahead without loss of time. The Assamese from every nook and corner took to flight in rows after rows. In the course of their flight many infidels were sent to hell. The Khān Khānān observing this clear victory and the bravery of the warriors went to Dilir Khān after the capture of the fort and embraced him, praising his valour. Then he praised all others and offered two *rak'ahs* of thanks-giving prayer. He ordered it to be proclaimed that nobody should touch the property or the children and the women of the people and should not make the children and women captive. Many thousands of those unworthy men who were captured were put in chains and were sent to grind gunpowder and prepare other ammunition for artillery in some other factories where thousands of men worked on daily wages. They say that the Khān Khānān was destined to win victories because of his good intentions i.e. in spite of gaining possession of the captured and conquered forts and strong-holds [P. 149] in the enemy country (دارالحرب) he protected the women and children of the vanquished people. He was very particular in stopping excesses over them. He used to say that women and children were not to be held responsible because they were forced to obey the tyrants; they were therefore to be forgiven. After that he ordered the demolition of temples and the calling of *adhān* of the Faith of Muḥammad. He also ordered the confiscation of the property and the artillery. He had the Imperial subjects, who

1 A legendary hero of Central Asia.

had been imprisoned by the Assamese, released and sent them back to their homes after making arrangements for their travelling expenses.

When the news of the capture of this fort through the courage and bravery of the warriors reached other forts in Assam, the people there vacated the houses, burnt their stores or threw them in water, sunk their guns in the water and began to collect boats. They collected nearly 800 boats full of artillery ammunition, attacked the Imperial boats unawares and started the fire of battle and bloodshed. They surrounded the boats of the followers of Khān Khānān from all sides. On that day about one hundred of the Imperial boats had gone out on important business in different sides and were scattered, and Zayn al-Ḥasan, the *Dārūghah* of the boats had come to the Khān Khānān. The boatsmen had no officer in-charge of the boats: Owing to the superior numbers of the boats of the infidels, the Imperial boats were reduced to great straits. Despite this they showed great firmness and fought bravely for four or five *pahrs* and tried their utmost. The distance between the Khān Khānān and the boats was about three *jaribi*[1] *kruhs* yet, and the boatsmen had no time and opportunity to send the news (of this sudden attack) to him. It was after two watches of the night had passed that the thunder of the guns of both the sides reached the ear of [P. 150] Khān Khānān; he concluded that the Imperial boats had been attacked by the enemy. Instantly, he sent Muḥammed Mūmin with his own artillery and drums in all haste along with Zayn al-Ḥasan. In accordance with the ways of a skilful commander he ordered that they should proceed as fast as possible and reach (the place of action) while it was still night. On reaching the vicinity of the place, they should beat the drums and blow the horns Muḥammed Mūmin, owing to the delay in collecting troops, could not reach near the boats during the night inspite of his best efforts. Muḥammad Mūmin and Zayn al-Ḥasan reached the place when the day was about to dawn. The ship

1 *Jarīb* is a chain for measuring land.

of the morning of the life of the boatsmen in the Imperial fleet was about to be changed into the evening of sinking, and the boat of their firmness was about to fall into the whirlpool of commotion and some boats had sunk in the sea of annihillation having been struck by bullets, and many others were on the verge of sinking, when the boats of the Imperial fleet that were scattered on all sides came back. At that very moment Mūmin and Zayn al-Ḥasan reached near the boats and asked the trumpeter to blow the trumpet signifying the arrival of reinforcement. When the sound (of the trumpet) reached the ear of the disheartened men of the Imperial fleet, it strengthened their hearts and distressed the enemy. Owing to the firing of muskets and small guns (*ramchangis*) and the whirring of the rockets the Assamese lost heart and the people of the Imperial fleet gained full eourage. When the reinforcements came in sight, the commander of the Assamese boats lost heart and took to flight. Certainly the strategy that an experienced commander adopts at the proper moment is better than an army of a lakh of [P. 151] horsemen under the command of a proud and inexperienced general.

Capture of the fort of Kahargaon

On receiving the news of the defeat of the Assamese fleet, the Khān Khānān offered thanks to God, and stayed for some days to make arrangement of surroundings of the fort. He constructed a big mosque in place of the temple and appointed commandant of the fort and then proceeded to the fort of Kahargaon, the seat of the government of those wretched people, where the Rajah of that country spent many days of his pleasure. The Rajah of the place sent an humble request begging forgiveness for his past faults and promising submission for the future, through some eloquent and wise (فیلسوف) Brahmins along with presents to the Khān Khānān. He sent repeated messages and petitions humbly expressing his helplessness, and making a request for the acceptance of tribute (پیش کش) promising to return to the high-road of obedience and praying forgiveness of his faults in the hope of peace. The Khān Khānān

realised from the tone of the message of that infidel that his request for peace was a trick not free from treachery and fraud, so he replied that if the Rajah was genuine in his professions and in seeking protection of his life and country he should surrender every thing, taken by him, from the province of Bengal, in cash or kind, and should also send his daughter to become an attendant of the Imperial household (پیش خدمتی) along with 500 elephants with fifty lakhs of rupees as *pish-kash*, and should also fix the amount of annual *pish-kash*. Only then his request for forgiveness would be forwarded to the Emperor with his recommendation. In the meantime a petition was secretly received from a Muslim of position who had been for a long time in the custody of the Rajah against a substantial amount of ransom. It contained the information that the Rajah having been terrified by the bravery and repeated blows of the city-destroying and fort-capturing armies, had [**P. 152**] sent a deceitful message to gain respite for an escape. Meanwhile he (Rajah) sent away as much in cash and in kind as he could in all directions. He sank the guns in water and released the elephants to go into the jungle and managed to flee to the desert of misfortune. The Khān Khānān on receiving this information, hurriedly mounted his horse and rode quickly to that place. With great care he went round the places, made necessary arrangements and stopped (the troops from) plundering, and ordered the confiscation of wealth and goods. About a hundred enemy boats without sailors, which were there, were added to the Imperial fleet. He demolished the temples ānd laid the foundation of mosque. A large number of Muslims and Hindus who were royal subject, had been in imprisonment for a long time, were released, provided with expenses of travelling and sent back to their homes. Two hundred and twenty guns and some lead that had been thrown in the water, were taken out and added to the Imperial artillery. More than one hundred mountain-like elephants and gold and silver valued at three lakhs of rupees and plenty of goods, besides that which had been plundered, were seized. Besides this, lead, gunpowder, nitric, sulpher, aloes, sandalwood, and stores of grain were collect

ed, and in such a large quantity that it required one thousand boats to load and carry them. In addition to the stores of grain lying on the land which could be traced by paper records, one hundred and seventy three wells full of grain and other buried stores were found after a long search. Some of these stores were weighed and each one of them contained not less than 10,000 maunds of rice, *māsh* (ماش)[1] and other food-stuffs. The Khān Khānan was very happy at finding these stores which became a source of the prosperity of the people and the army. He issued strict orders [P. 153] to keep intact one hundred and fifty stores for the rainy season which was approaching. The rest were distributed among his followers according to their status. He summoned the *muqaddams* and other revenue-paying persons of the territory, guaranteed their safety, conferred *khil'ats* on them, and as a mark of consolation remitted one year's revenue. He had the *khuṭbah* recited in the august name of the world-conquering 'Ālamgīr Shāh Ghāzi, and struck gold and silver coins in his auspicious name. He stopped the Narayani currency.

The Khān Khanān tried his best to capture the Rajah of that country, but the rainy season, which lasts continuously for five months and when the whole of the countryside becomes covered with water and the movement of troops becomes impossible, set in; and besides this he had to settle many revenue and political affairs, so he could not pursue the Rajah. In this connection it appeared from the words of the elderly people that gold and grain in large quantities that was buried under the ground with the deceased Rajahs and zamindars and which has been mentioned before, could be taken out with very little trouble. The Khān Khanān appointed reliable persons with many sappers who took out lakhs of gold and silver coins and a large quantity of grains. They were confiscated to the State ; this was in addition to what other people had found out and taken away. He assigned the duty of guarding Kahargaon and the collection of the arms and ammunition for the artillery, which is the best produce of that

1 *Māsh* ; A black coloured gram.

land to Mir Murtaḍā the commandant of the artillery and Rajah Amar Singh with his followers. In the same way he appointed the *dīwān* the *qāḍī*, the *amīns* settlement officers (ابادان کار) and *karuris*, from among skilled and honest persons and also appointed experienced *fawjdārs* at every place. He informed the Emperor of all these facts. He also sent ten or twelve gold keys, a map of that *wilāyat* and an account of the chief features of that country. Having set up *thānahs* [P. 154] at all places, the Khān Khānan established his cantonment at Mathrapur, at a distance of 3½ *kruhs* from Kahargaon, at the foot of a hill, on an elevated place, free from the danger of floods ; to pass the five months of rainy season. He also established outposts (تهانه) upto a distance of seven or eight miles, on all sides, around the camp, with sufficient troops under experienced officers in order to collect information and guard it against the night-attack of the Assamese. In spite of this the blood-sucking and man-tormenting (مردم آزار) infidels assembled in large numbers like ants and locusts on dark nights and made surprise attacks on the Imperial camp unawares, killing horses and men.

When the Emperor learnt the news of the conquest of the country and the forts and the killing of the infidels, through the letters of Khān Khānān and other repeated messages, he became very happy. He gave Muḥammed Amīn Khān, the worthy son of the Khān Khānān a *khil'at* and a *sarpīch* of brocade. Further, other favours conferred on Khān Khānān, on the receipt of the news, were his promotion, a *farmān* in appreciation of his services under the Emperor's signature, a special *khil'at*, a dagger, and an ornamented sword. This will be described in the account of the celebrations of the fifth regnal year.

An account of the events of the year V corresponding to 1072 H, containing the incident relating Murād Bukhsh and the journey of the Emperor towards Kashmir, the peer of Heavens.

The celebrations of the fifth year of the reign corresponding to 1072 H. commenced as usual on 1st of *Shawwāl*. Every one,

1 An ornament worn with the turban

whether a noble or common man got his share according to his fortune and position. The Emperor gave to Khān Khānān, for his good services and the conquest of Assam, [P. 155] one *crore dams*,[1] as *in'ām* and a promotion to the rank of one thousand du-aspah, and two elephants with silver trappings.

After the celebrations were over the king fell ill. When the news of his indisposition, within a week, spread around the capital, it became the cause of consternation among the people and led some mischievous rebels to create mischief. However, he recovered soon, and the weighing ceremony of the forty-sixth year of his age according to lunar calendar, along with his bathing after recovery of health, were held at the same time. The whole world was rendered prosperous by his benevolence. On the seventh of *Jumāda* I, he left for Lahore, on a visit to Kashmir, the model of paradise, for a pleasure and hunting trip. On the tenth of *Rajab* the Imperial tents were pitched near the city of Lahore. On the 4th of *Sha'bān* the Emperor entered the city and the fort, and sent his camp officer (*mir manzil*) with sappers to clear the route for Kashmir.

Execution of Murad

The author of '*Ālamgīr-nāmah* has deliberately neglected (قلم انداز نموده) the account of the killing of Murād Bakhsh. The writer of these pages will, however, write about it according to the research he has made on the basis of official records, or what he has heard from his father, who was one of the trusted servant of Murād Bakhsh, who, till the end of this affair (مقدمه) sat at the foot of the fort, planning to release him by means of a scaling ladder, and who did not care to join the service of Awrangzeb and who never tried to obtain service under 'Ālamgīr, and also what he (author) has heard from reliable persons living at the time.

When Murād Bakhsh was sent to the fort, Sarsan Bai,[2] his favourite mistress, was also sent along with him at the request of

1 The ratio of *dams* to a rupee differed from time to time ; roughly 40 or more *dams* were equal to a rupee.

2 Sarsan seems to be a misprint. Her name was Sarsati-bai. See, Sarkar, II.

tnat unfortunate person. Of the allowance fixed for the expense of that doomed prince one half was spent on supplying cooked food to the Mughuls who sat at the foot of the fort disguised as *faqirs* and others [P. 156] who came there as travellers. The Mughulsi disguise having resorted to various tricks fixed a scaling ladder on one side of the wall of the fort, and then informed the unfortunate prisoner about the time and place settled for his release after two watches of the night had passed, and ants and fishes had gone to rest. That simpleton, unaware of the deception and treachery of the deceitful sky, informed Sarsati Bai of his intentions and wished to take leave of her in these words : "If I survive and the sky helps me, I shall meet you again, otherwise I leave you to the custody of God." On hearing this, Sarsati Bai began to weep and cry and said : "To whom are you entrusting me now that you are going away". The guards and watchmen who were nearby became alert on hearing her cries. They lighted the candles and torches, and began a search for the scaling ladder, and ultimately discovered it. When the news was reported to the Emperor it was thought that the thread of the anxiety in keeping a claimant to the throne in custody should be finished. Under the guidance of some well-wishers the sons of 'Alī Naqī, whose father as has been mentioned was killed by Murād Bakhsh were incited to claim the blood of their father. The elder son, as an heir, refused to claim the blood, but the second one, under orders (اطاعت امر), filed a claim for the blood of his father, in the court. The Emperor showed (pretended) anger and ordered him to file the suit in the court of the *qāḍī*. When, according to the *shar'* the guilt was proved, the Emperor ordered in the month of *Rabī'-al-Thānī*, 1072 H. that the *qāḍī*, accompanied by the heir of the murdered man should go to Murād Bakhsh and declare that the murder had been proved according to the *shar'* and then put him to death. They have written a chronogram on his death "O, they have killed him by every pretext".[1] As the

1 Ai wai ba har bahana Kushtand. اے وائے بہر بہانہ کشتند
1+10+6+1+10+2+5+200+2+5+1+50+5+20+300+400+50+4 =1072

eldest son had refrained from claiming the blood of his father. The Emperor who knew the worth (of the people) gave him an appointment in his Court and showed him other favours.

Rai Singh's revolt suppressed

Puran Mal, [P. 157] the zamindar of Jam, died, and his son. Satar Sal, according to the custom of the zamindars and under orders (of the Emperor) took the place of his father. Rai Singh the brother of Puran Mal having been misguided by some of the wicked people of that place and by his own evil nature, collected some mischief-mongers around him. He killed Goverdhan Rathor, the maternal grand-father of Satar Sal and the chief controller of all the affairs (مدار المهام), arrested Satar Sal and imprisoned him along with his mother and some of his trusted servants.. He threw off the yoke of obedience to the Emperor and started creating mischief and committing brigandage. Quṭb al-Dīn K͟hān, the fawjdār of that district as soon as he received the report of his revolt sent his son, Muḥammad, with two thousand horse, to warn and uproot him. When Muḥammad reached the place, a battle was fought, in which one hundred and seventy infidels were killed and a number of them were wounded or taken prisoner, and some men of the Imperial forces also received martyrdom and were wounded. The wicked Rai Singh was also killed. The *wilāyat* was seized by the men of the Imperial forces, and Quṭb al-Dīn K͟hān became the recipient of Imperial favours.

End of the campaign in Assam : Āg͟har K͟hān leaves for the Court

Now, I am going to write a few sentences about the K͟hān K͟hānān and the end of the Assamese. The K͟hān-e-K͟hānān always appreciated the deeds of the brave men and showed them favours. The brave deeds and Rustam-like efforts of Āg͟har K͟hān and his followers were also liked by him and he was always thinking of rewarding him. But some of the Mug͟hul followers of Āg͟har K͟hān, had looted and plundered the property of the people after the conquest of the country inspite of his orders. This was not liked by the K͟hān K͟hānān who had issued strict injunction

against plundering [P. 158]. Accordingly he did not extend to the case of Āghar Khān the attention and help which is shown to his followers by capable commanders. So Āghar Khān often looked disheartened. One day, before the signs of the rising of the sun were clear, and it was the time when the Khān Khānān recited the *Qur'ān* and offered supererogatory prayers, Āghar Khān with Mughals fully armed, came to the door of his house. The door-keeper (چوب داران) had not the courage and strength to stop Āghar Khān who fearlessly entered the inner apartments of the house and came to the place where the Khān Khānān was busy in reciting his prayers (ادعیه) sitting on his prayer-carpet. The Khān Khānān was alarmed and feared at Āghar Khān's appearing before him in this way but soon showing courage he asked him in very kind and conciliating words, the reason of his coming at that unusual moment. Āghar Khān replied : "During these last days, we have not fallen short of our duties in risking our lives and performing the tasks entrusted to us, and praise be to God that owing to the never-declining prestige of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr and the efforts, exertions and bravery of a commander (سپه سالار) like you, the infidels have been crushed and trampled, in punishment for their evil deeds, the country has been conquered and nothing has now left to be done. We are sorry, that not a word of praise or encouragement has passed the lips of the appreciative commander in respect of us—worthless people. Consequently, our being present and not being present are equally useless, so we have come to seek your permission to go back. We hope that you will pray for our safe journey and issue us a permit to leave, so that we may go back to our master (the Emperor). The Khān Khānān apologized for his negligence in the past. and promised full compensation of the same in the future. but it was of no avail. Āghar Khān insisted, beyond limit, on the grant of permission for departure. The Khān Khānān [P. 159] tried to pass over it by bringing in the excuse that there was no *munshi* present at the time who could write the permit. Āghar Khān who had, brought the ink-pot and a blank piece of paper, put them

before the Khān Khānān and requested him to write the permit in his own hand. The Khān Khānān, seeing that truth was in his (Āghar Khān's) favour because he had himself seen difficult problems (کار دست بستہ) solved by his brave hands and realizing that he could not get rid of that brave person willingly or unwillingly, was forced to write the permit with his own hand. He put his stamp on it and handed it over to Āghar Khān. But he sent hasty orders in writing to all the fords and ferries that on the arrival of Āghar Khān, the boats should be tied up, and they (the boatsmen) should try their best not to let him cross, them. But wherever that river-swimming lion-hearted warrior reached and found that the boats and boatsmen were not there he plunged into the water along with his companions leaving the reins of his horse to the Guardian of land and sea and swam across them. In some of the deep rivers some Mughuls and his other followers, who, overtaken by death, were drowned in the water of the sea of death. He reached the Court, (حضور). But before his arrival a letter written by the Khān Khānān to Muḥammad Amīn Khān, *mir bakhshi* had been received by him. It said that although Āghar Khān, belonged to a high family and was an experienced and brave fighter and deserved every consideration and a promotion, yet due to the ignorance of youth and pride of the bravery he had taken leave in a rude way ; after his arrival at the Court, disciplinary action should be taken and he should be deposed from his *manṣab*, and only after some time he should be consoled and restored to his post and work be taken from him. Muḥammad Amīn Khān, acting on what the Khān Khānān had written, placed in his way the objection of the Emperor as an excuse, forbade [P. 160] his attendance at the Court for some days and removed him from his *manṣab*. Later he himself went to the house of Āghar Khān, brought him before the Emperor, recommended forgiveness for his mistakes, and had him restored to his former *manṣab*. He was then included in the detachment of reinforcements for Kabul and was sent there. His efforts in Kabul will be described later.

In short, the Khān Khānān, after the flight of the rajah of Assam, cautioned his forces at Mathrapur. The rainy season set in, and the army of the clouds moving like elephants from all sides from the valleys of the mountains, the thunder of clouds and the bile-rending flash of lightning in the frightening jungles, and the showering arrows of rains, and the falling of drops of water, made the *nālahs* and rivulets rise in floods, and they put on the armour of waves on their bodies and the helmets of bubbles on their heads. The rivers like swordsmen and waterfalls, like quiver bearers and the house-demolishing floods rushed from every side and covered the face of the earth with water. There was now no passage for the movements of troops and horses. The force of the floods around the camp was so great that the tents on raised grounds floated like bubbles. The wretched people and blood-thirsty Assamese, who were waiting for these days, came out from every nook and corner of the mountains and jungles and helping each other, they started making night attacks on the imperial *thānahs*; at some places, they appeared daily and plundered them. The lion-hearted warriors, owing to these terrible floods could not move from their posts, and tried to expel those devils back. Every week and every month they made four or five night attacks and destroyed men and horses, so that they gave martyrdom to a large number of men and carried away countless quadrupeds. Anwar Beg [**P. 161**], the *Thanedar* of Kuchhpur, and a large party of his companions were overpowered by them and put to the sword, so that there was no one, who was not killed or wounded. They boldly made several attacks on the camp of the *Sipāh-sālār*, but when the people took to fighting and many of them were either killed or taken prisoner and a number of Muslims had received martyrdom, they were defeated and put to flight. They made repeated attacks on the entrenchments of Dilīr Khān and severe actions were fought. On a dark night, when Dilir Khān was himself participating in the struggle and making brave and Rustam-like efforts. Farhād Khān, who was one of his brave officers, received two wounds from

poisoned arrows. Instantly his hand became swollen, with excessive and unbearable pain, but that destroyer of infidels did not retire from the battle or the pursuit of the enemy. Later when the Assamese took to flight, Dilīr Khān pursued them for three krohs in mud and water, killed many of them and returned to his camp. In the same way helped by the storm in the rivers, they made a night attack on the imperial fleet, seized a number of boats and stopped the provisions reaching the victorious army. Indeed their boldness was now beyond limits. Whenever and wherever these bad-natured and animal-like people forced their way, the brave and victorious men (of imperial army) not caring that their numbers were much lager than their own, fearlessly attacked them and defeated them. Mīr Murtaḍā, the commandant of Kahrgaon hearing the news of the disturbance caused by them became more careful continuing the night watch till dawn. Inspite of their repeated defeats in night attacks, one night they attacked with such a force that they were able to set on fire the wall [**P. 162**] of thin wood, which they make in that country in place of an entrenchment, and entering it they started plundering the camp. At last however by the help of God, the brave and life-risking warriors offered resistance and expelled them : and they fled away.

Asfandyār had been appointed permanent administrator (حاکم) of Cooch-Bihar, belonging to Bhim Narayan, which had been conquered before (the conquest of Assam). As the Rajah had fled to the jungles, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and other brave officers, were in the first instance ordered to make a search for him. Later on the *Dīwān* and the *Karoris* were appointed at different places. The officers of that territory, against the wishes of the Khān Khānān, had in these troublous days shown severity and high-handedness in settling the matters pertaining to revenue. Hence the people revolted and having assembled themselves they managed to reach near Bhim Narayan and persuaded him to return to his native land. They came out of the hills like ants and locusts and joined him and then attacked the two officers appointed by the Khān Khānān with great force. At first they sent a message to Muḥammad

Ṣāliḥ that in view of his own safety, he should take his hands off this country and proceed to the camp of the Khān Khānān" He paid no heed to this message and decided to fight. In the battle that ensued Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ along with a large number of his followers, very few of whom escaped drowning in the ocean of this calamity, received martyrdom. A similar message was sent by them to Asfandyār who had been appointed to look after the general administration of the country. As some frightening reports reached the ears of the terror-stricken Asfandyār he left the place and proceeded to Ghora-ghat near the border of Jahāngir-nagur, an imperial *Ta'lluqah*. The news, when it reached the Khān Khānān, added to his worries and disturbance of mind. In short, if the details of the excesses of those ill-fated infidels [**P. 163**] and the bravery which the warriors of the Islām demonstrated in removing their danger in the course of that season, are described, my account will become lengthy and will cause inconvenience (to the reader). But I will describe one of the acts of bravery that is not without some rare features.

After the receipt of the news of Muḥammad Beg being defeated by the Assamese, the capture of some of the imperial boats and the stoppage of the passage of provisions, the Khān Khānān posted Farhād Khān, Rajah Sujān Singh, Qarāwal Khān, and other troops to help him and to carry provisions for him. When Farhād Khān reached near Kahrgaon, it rained, without break, for one whole day and night. Owing to the rising of the river (Brahampūtra) and floods in the rivulets they had to remain standing for eight *pahrs* (day and night) in one place ; the horsemen had not even a span of ground to put their feet on, excepting their saddles. The footmen had to remain standing in water upto their waist. Some of them were drowned in the sea of death owing to the severity of floods, having no other alternative. The route of their march was closed and disappeared so that in spite of their best efforts they could not move a step forward towards their destination. Tīr Andāz Khān who was a *thanedār* in that part of the country and was to some extent acquainted with it, on learning

of this, rushed in great haste, and swimming along with some men, who knew the country, reached that place. He guided the way to Kahrgaon. After great effort they covered part of the way and reached a place where the wicked Assamese having dug deep lines and trenches and having erected fortification round them, were waiting for the wounded game and were ready for an action. In the meantime some war-boats also reached for the help of those wild miscreants. They started showering bullets from their [P. 164] guns and muskets and throwing rockets. The party waiting for their prey on the ramparts attacked from the other side, and surrounded the imperial troops with fire and water. Farhād Khān with others who had fallen in the whirlpool of perplexity did not know what to do. At last, with great difficulty, he along with life-sacrificing companions reached a place higher than water and there they were safe to an extent against cannon balls, arrows and spears. But as they had passed two and three days in water in great hardship, remained exposed to severely cold wind that was blowing; with no food and sleep, being surrounded by water they lost all hope of life. They were caught in a whirl-pool into which any prisoner may not be thrown. However they tried to remove the danger from the enemy. When the news reached the Khān Khānān, he was very much distressed : he sent Yakkā Tāz Khān along with Muḥammad Momin for their help. The two brave warriors who considered themselves peerless fighters tried their best but they could not reach Farhād Khān. They were helpless on the way owing to the overflow of water and opposition from the infidels. The brave warriors (Farhād Khān's party) passed one week, in the whirlpool of torture in mud and water, rendering their hearts into blood. Sometimes overpowered by sleep, they closed their eyelids while standing, and in this way passed their time. During the week, surrounded by water, the Muslims had, besides the blood of their hearts, nothing to eat except beef obtained by the slaughter of cows which they had with them which saved them from continuous starvation and was just enough to keep body and soul together ! They roasted it by blowing the

flames of their hearts on the palms of their hands and ate it wheather it was cooked or not. The Hindus, deprived even of this, passed their days in great distress. The infidels on all the sides inflamed the fire of fighting and did not give up [P. 165] obstructing their way and continued their attacks. Farhād Khān, with his followers, from fear of life and with a view to guard his honour tried his best to remove the danger of the enemy. As they knew that the attaining of martydom with honour is better than wasting life in mud and water, they, caring not for their lives and relying on the help of God, attacked those wretched persons. Between Rajah Sujān Singh and the men of the enemy there ensued a hand to hand fight with small weapons and even with blows and fists. Farhād Khān, personally went to his help and whispered into the ear of the Rajah that it would be right to draw the infidels from their boats by pretending defeat. The Rajah. intentionally retreated step by step and drew the Assamese towards himself, till some of them were separated from their boats ; being proud over their success they fearlessly advanced by quick steps. In this state, Farhād Khān, Qarāwal Khān with some of the followers of Āghur Khān, crying the *Takbīr*,[1] rushed to the help of the Rajah and attacked that party. They (the imperial troops) surrounded the enemy on all the sides, and half-starved though they were, showed remarkable bravery and courage. As the infidels of that country, without the help of their boats, are weaker than foxes confronted by the lions of battle, the plan of the warriors of the Faith came out successful, and within half a sidereal hour of fighting the infidels were defeated and became the fodder of the swords of the brave warriors of Islām. They became so helpless in the attempt to save their lives that no one could reach the boats ; nor could the boatsmen come to their help. The Muslim warriors cut down in all haste the banana and bamboo trees, which were growing on the banks (of the river) in large numbers and threw them over the mud to put their feet on and then bravely advancing forward they [P. 166] rushed at the boats (of the enemy) like lightning. Many of them

1 *Tdkbīr* : *Allāh Akber*, (God is great).

reached the boats boldly swimming (across the river) and destroyed the infldels by the blows of swords and spears, capturing about forty boats. Of the cooked or uncooked edibles found in the boats, the uncooked rice and the bananas were used by the Rajputs, the other things were distributed by the Muslims among themselves. They ate them and thus sprinkled water on the fire of hunger, with which they had suffered in the last few days. With an abatement of the showers of the rain the Musl:m army gradually gained victories, and whenever the (Assamese) made a night attack on central places (سر زمین هالے قاری) most of the infidels became the fodder of the bright swords of the brave Muslims, and on every side thousands of them were killed. Owing to the famine and plague, besides the infidels killed in fighting, so many Assamese went to hell, that it is impossible to assess their numbers. When the Rajah of that country was reduced to great straits and had no hope of saving his life from the hands of the Muslim warriors, he sent a wise and trusted servant, who knew the (Persian) language as a messenger expressing his humble submission with a petition requesting for peace, to the respected Sipāh Sālār. The Khān Khānān, demanded as before, the daughter of Rajah to join the body of the imperial slaves with three lakh tolas of Gold, and five hundred elephants in the current year, and one lakh tolas of Gold and one hundred elephants annually, in future.

The Khān Khānān also had in his service a person, who knew the language of that country and was an active man. The Khān Khānān also came to know of the good qualities of Bhukan, the wazir of the Rajah, who out of faithfulness, was making great efforts in the settlement of affairs between the two parties, but who had fallen into his disfavour on account of the erratic nature of the Rajah. The Khān Khānān sent his servant, the experienced Puranmal [P. 167] to Bhukan with a message full of truthful but harsh words. Bhukan received the messenger of the Khān Khānān very respectfully, and tried his best to clarify and explain the matter to the Rajah, and gave him his advice. But owing to a lack of judgment on his part, the talk of peace could not materialize.

In all places there the climate becomes unsuitable towards the end of the rains owing to a change of seasons, and does not suit most of the people, in particular the disposition of the travellers coming from distant countries ; it upsets their health, especially in hilly tracts and forest regions where poisonous trees grow in abundance. The roots of the poisonous trees are washed by water : and its effect is very quick on traveller who drinks it. The blowing of the winds on the blooming flowers of these trees which have the effect of a serpent's poison bring about a complete change in the climate of the country, and the travellers who are not accustomed to it suffer from its poisonous effects. Similarly between Khandesh and the port of Surat, about four stages on this side of the latter there is a river named Sāpan i.e. a female snake, whose water in the beginning of the *Kharīf*[1] season has the force of snake poison. Every travellar crossing that river, in that season even though he may not taste the water out of precaution, is sure to catch fever, because the climate of the country shows its effect in hundred percent cases.

I mean to say, that the Muslim army was attacked by different physical ailments such as typhoid fever and other fatal diseases, to such an extent that there was not a single tent in which even one out of ten occupants was left to look after the medicine and the diet of the sick. Fatal epidemic fevers besides other diseases had their effects. The dearness and scarcity of grains added to their physical ailments [**P. 168**]. Out of one hundred and seventy three stores of grains which had fallen into the hands of the men of the imperial forces only a few had been used by the Army. About the rest instructions had been given that they should be preserved and looked after for such a day (i.e. a similar occasion) (The contents) of many of the stores became rotten because owing to heavy rains the men of the army did not know how to save them, and the Assamese in the course of night attack dug water channels into (underground) stores and burnt those on the surface of land whenever they found an opportunity, and thus they were made useless

1 *Kharīf* : the autumn.

for consumption by men and quadrupeds. In the course of the current year owing to a state of disorder in the affairs there was no cultivation. Because of the scarcity of grain the condition of the troops and particularly of the poorer among them reached the verge of destruction. The life became short and the physical comfort and spiritual satisfaction of the soldiers became scarce and straitened. Every day thousands of them fell and gave their lives in great agony ; horses and cattle disappeared because either they died of hunger or were slaughtered for the food of the weak and the poor. Sometimes even the nobles (مردم عمده) slaughtered the horses and oxen which were about to die and roasted into *kabābs* the meat in their fat because other kind of fat, oil, and salt had disappeared, and ate them with rice and gravy and took pride in it. With the passage of time these things also became impossible to get. The continued eating of beef which causes bilious diseases added to the effects of unsuitable climate, the pressure of buyring the dead and nursing the sick men who were on the verge of death, the condition of the living persons became worse than that of the ailings ones. The greatest calamity was that all the *thanedars*, departed for the eternal world and those who were half-dead returned to the camp on the shoulder of two Assamese each.

The belief [P. 169] in magic and sorcery (of the people) of that region is more notorious than their infidelity. So, most of the diseases are treated by charms, the eating of *Kasirus*, a well-known fruit of that country, or lemons and oranges which are found there in abundance. As orange juice proved to be anti-bilious and suited the temperaments of the troops, it was used for treatment of the fever and other diseases, The men of the army became so disgusted and were so much overcome by diseases that most of the nobles (عمده) agreed among themselves to desert the K͟hān K͟hānān the *Sipāh Sālār*. The latter came to know of this, and began to make plans to meet it. Apparently he ordered the tents on the side of the Rajah's camp to be pulled down with a view to march in that direction tried to console his followers and gave them

hopes of peace and an early return. The *Mir Manzil* pulled down the front tent on the side of the Rajah's camp. As this news spread the Assamese gathered from all sides like ants and locusts and began to show boldness greater than before. Dilīr Khān was appointed to punish them. He slew and captured thousands of those wretched men. The Khān Khānān ordered that the heads of the slain should be tied to the necks of the captives and paraded in the camp. Then he sent them to the *thanas* to be put to death after being paraded there.

About this time Bhukan, the *wazir* of the Rajah due to his foresight and keeping in view the improvement of the affairs of the Rajah, in spite of his bad opinion about him, reached the camp of the Khān Khānān, like a fugitive. When the Rajah heard the news he captured his wife and children and imprisoned them and put some of them to death. At last through the efforts of Bhukan, because of the interests of both the parties, who were now ready for an amicable settlement, it was agreed [P. 170] that the Rajah should for the present surrender one lakh and twenty thousand tolas of silver, twenty thousand tolas of gold, fifty elephants and his ugly but fortunate daughter, for the service of the Emperor and fifty elephants (پنجاه زنجیر فیل) and one daughter for Khān Khānān besides cash and kind. Some customary presents were to be given to Dilīr Khān also who had acted as intermediary in the settlement of the terms. The Rajah put forth the plea of the desolation of the country and the plundering of his wealth as the causes of his crimes and inadequate service. As the Khān Khānān himself was suffering from a fatal disease and was on the verge of death and his nobles were forcing him to march from the region, and he was all the time concealing his disease, he agreed to conclude peace on the terms favourable to the Rajah. It was also agreed that some of the forts captured and some prosperous (معمور حاصل) towns adjacent to the borders of Bengal were to remain in the possession of the imperial officers. Until the receipt of *pishkash*, four of the nobles of the Rajah were to remain as hostages, called *ūl* in Hindi, with the Khān Khānān. The parties exchanged written agreements and all

prisoners in their custody were released. In the middle of *Jumāda I* of the fifth regnal year the Khān Khānān, *Sipāh-Sālār*, marched to Bengal with an army mostly of sick men, some of whom were on the verge of death while some of the nobles had already moved on the road to death. He marched through the *maḥāls* which were included in the *maḥāls of pish-kash*, with a view to punish Bhim Narayan.

Although he was himself suflering from a serions disease and most of his people were ready for travel to the eternal world, he in order to continue his efforts in the task assigned to him by his patron to the last moment, maintained composure, and concealed his disease and minimized it, and spent his time, day and night in organising the revenue and political affairs and encouraging his troops. **[P. 171]** With a view to re-conquer Kuch-Bihar and punish its Rajah he continued his march stage by stage, caring little that he was about to travel to the home of eternity. At last all possibilities of cure and hopes of life were lost and he was completely overpowered by disease. When he saw that the destined moment had come he despatched. 'Askar Khān with Rashīd Khān and other followers, on whom he had full trust and who were particularly enthusiastic in performing the duties assigned by the government, with war boats to punish Narayan at the end of *Shā'bān*. Calling them to a private meeting he gave them a few pieces of advice and recited the farewell prayer for them.

Death of Khān Khānān

On 2 *Ramaḍān* in the beginning of sixth regnal year, when they reached Khiḍarpur near the frontier of Kuch Bihar, the Khān Khānān on the border of Kuch Bihar left this mortal world for the place of eternal bliss. This sad news reached the Emperor (خلد مکان) at Lahore. As he was one of loyal experienced and obedient servants, the Emperor was deeply grieved by it. That servant is very fortunate in whose life-time his master is so much pleased with him (as the Emperor was) ; he had given him superiority over his son. In spite of the desertion of the Prince, he (Khān

Khānān) brought to a successful end an expedition against a claimant to the throne. And for a period of two and a half years in which he witnessed destruction every day, every week and every month he passed his time until he sacrificed his sweet life in the cause of his patron[1].

Regnal Year 6

(corresponding to 1073 H.)

An account of calamity that befell the Amīr al-Umarā (Shāyistah Khān) in the Deccan

On 1 *Shawwāl* 1073 H. (1663 A.C.), the annual celebration [**P. 172**] of the coronation was held on the banks of the Ganges. As the Emperor was very much grieved at the death of his experienced and loyal officer (Khān Khānān) some of the ceremonies were dropped. He sent Prince Muḥammad Mua'ẓẓam with Asad Khān to the house of Muḥammad Amīn Khān (the son of Khān Khānān) to offer condolences and asked them to bring him to the court. On his presentation (ملازمت) a robe of honour was conferred on him and he was granted promotions and other favours which gave consolation to his grieved heart.

Shevaji's night attack on Shāyistah Khān

In addition to the indisposition of the Emperor, the other sad news received at this time was from the Deccan about the night attack by the accursed Shivaji on the Amīr al-Umarā, in his own palace and the murder of his son Abu al-Fatḥ Khān and his being wounded. I am briefly describing the event the details of which I have heard from my father who was in the service (خدمت) of the Amīr al-Umarā in that journey and expedition.

After the Amīr al-Umara had occupied the forts and most of the towns (معموره) founded and seized by that clever dog, he killed

1 Even Sarkar (Vol. III, p. 178 et. seq.) who always criticizes the character and achievements of Muslim statesmen and generals, has praised the Khān Khānān. He writes: "He did nothing which does not reflect the highest credit on him."

many infidels and fought them with the power of his sword and sound strategy, and annexed most of the forts and important places to the imperial dominion. Then he went to the town of Poona and lodged himself in the *ḥaweli* constructed by that hell dog. From there he sent detachments in different directions to destroy his power and capture that evil-minded person. At that time he arranged the affairs in such a way that no *aḥadi*, particularly from among the Marhatas, with the exception of the persons in royal service, could enter the camp or the city armed or unarmed without a permit. No Marhata was appointed to take the care of the horses. In consequence Siva was so much struck with dread and had become so dispirited that he had retired into the inaccessible mountains and used to live in each place only for a week or a month.

[**P. 173**] One day, a body of Marhatas serving as foot soldiers came to the Kotwal and secured a permit for 200 unidentified Marhatas to accompany a bridal party. A beardless young boy dressed as a bride-groom escorted by a wedding party of Marhatas beating trumpets and drums of marriage entered the city in the early part of the night. In the latter part of the same day another party had been allowed to enter the town on the report that a number of the men of the enemy had been taken prisoners at one of the *thānahs* and were being brought by a party pinioned and bareheaded, holding them with ropes and abusing and beating them. Thus they had passed through the check-post, and entered the city. They all assembled at a place of a *maḥallah*, already agreed upon, and armed themselves. At the time when the *nawbat* (drums) of second *pahr* were being beaten, one of their parties reached a small window from the side of the kitchen which was close to the wall of the ladies apartment. This window was between Khawāṣpurah and the wall and had been closed up with bricks in earth, this passage was known to them. It being the holy month of fasting they found only a few cooks awake because they were preparing the early morning food,[1] and were putting the hearth, while all others were sleeping. As they knew the way, they could manage

1 *Siḥri* Food taken before day-break in the month of fasting.

to attack them unawares and made everybody, who was awake, sleep in death and killed in bed all those who were sleeping, not permitting any one to raise an alarm, and busied themselves in making a breach in the window of the palace. The noise of their pickaxes and the cries of the slaughtered men awoke a maid servant whose quarter (حجره) was behind the wall of the kitchen. She went to the Amir al-Umara and informed him of the noise of pickaxes and of the tumults outside. The Amir al-Umara [**P. 174**] interrupted her and said; "The cooks might have got up to prepare the *Siḥri* or to arrange the hearth," until other maid servants came one after the other informing him of the window being breached and their entry through the breach of the wall. The Amir al-Umara woke and jumped in great alarm and seized a bow, some arrows and a spear. In the meantime some Marhatas appeared in front of him on the other side of the *ḥawḍ* (*tank*), which was now between them. The Amir al-Umera shot an arrow at one of them. He rushed towards him and struck him with a sword; cutting off the thumb of the Amir al-Umara. At the same time two of the Marhatas fell in the tank which was full of water, while a third was struck down by Amir al-Umara with the spear. In this confusion, the maid servants, found an opportunity and carried Shāyistah Khān from hand to hand and then took him to a safe place. Another party of the Marhatas got into guard-house (*chawki-khānah*) and taking the gaurds unawares killed every one on his bed wheather asleep or awake and taunted them saying, "This was how you keep the watch." Some of them entered *Naqār Khānah*[1] and conveyed a message ascribing it to the *Amīr al-Umara* that the drums of *nawbat* should be beaten loudly. The noise of the drums was so high that no *Aḥadi* could hear the voice of the another. The war cries of the wretched ones were in addition to this. They closed the doors. At this moment Abu al-Fatḥ Khān the son of Shāyistah Khān, a brave young man in the prime of his youth heard the news. He rushed forward and after killing two or three men and wounding others attained martyrdom. One of the prominent

1 A place where drums are kept and beaten.

Jama'dars of the Amīr al-Umara, who had his dwelling behind his palace hearing the tumult inside and the blocking of the ways, leaving the stair case behind threw a rope ladder over the wall and jumped into the palace. As in age and weakness of body he resembled Shāyistah Khān [P. 175] to some extent they considered him to be Amīr al-Umara, and attacked him and killed him. They cut his head and also struck two wives of Amir al-Umara with their swords. One of them was wounded in such a way that her remains could be collected in a basket and were enshrouded and buried. The other although she had received thirty to forty wounds on her body survived since her last moment had not come. They did not engage themselves in plundering the wealth and property of the house and went away soon. Next morning Rajah Jaswant Singh who was the chief of the supporting army (کمکیان) came to see the Amīr al-Umara and offered an apology. The noble *Sipāh Sālār* uttered only one sentence: "I thought the Maharajah had been killed in the service of the Emperor because such a calamity has befallen me."[1]

Prince Mu'aẓẓam appointed Commander of the Deccan Campaign

When the Emperor received this report he censured both the Amīr al-Umara and Maharajah Jaswant, and entrusted the ṣūbehdari of the Deccan and the expedition for the annihilation of the accursed Siva to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam. The Amīr al-Umara was called to the Court,[2] later he was ordered to proceed to Bengal without presenting himrelf at the Court. Rajah Jaswant as formerly, was included in the supporting force of Prince Mu'aẓẓam.

'Ālamgir's visit to Kashmir

The Emperor then proceeded stage by stage towards Kashmir. On 1 *Dhu al-Qa'dah* in the middle of (the Persian month) of Khurdad he entered that beautiful country. After visiting the

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1 It appears that Maharajah Jaswant Singh encouraged Shivaji. Bhimsen says so in definite words. See Faruqi, p. 355; also see Sarkar, IV.

2 Shāyistah Khān left the Deccen in January 1664.

gardens and avenues of tulips of that heaven-like country he ordered the illumination on the banks of the Dal Lake and the boats. The enthusiasm of vocal and instrumental music was in addition to the beauty of the lake.

Rajah Raghunath, the *Nā'ib Wazīr* was caught in the claws of death. In his place, Fāḍil Khān, the *Khān Sāmān*, was entrusted with the robe of *Nā'ib Wazīr* and an ornamented ink-stand, but sixteen days after wearing the robe, he also died. This Fāḍil Khān, who was from among the noble and respectable persons of Khurasān had no equal in piety and good [P. 176] nature. He had a perfect knowledge of astrology. Most of his forecasts, written and submitted to Shāh-Jahān, and 'Alamgīr during his princehood, proved to be correct. Thus the injury received by *Khuld-makān* ('Ālamgir) in the end of the fortieth year of his reign at Khawāṣpūr in the Deccan expedition and which will be described at its proper place, was given in writing by him. After the settlement of the affairs of Kashmir and the punishment of some wild (جہالت كيش) Afghans of that area known as Niazi Afghans, for whose chastisement Fidā'i Khān had been appointed, the Emperor started for Lahore at the end of the month of *Muharram*. The soldiers and camp followers suffered great troubles and distress particularly at the stage of Pir Panjal, where the animals of the servants of the palace were struck by a calamity, and many men and innumerable quadrupeds fell down the caves of the hills and perished. The just and compassionate Emperor was annoyed to hear this and said: "It is against the dictates of sound judgment for the kings to come to this country for hunting and pleasure only except (when it is necessary) for important affairs of State".

In the reports from Ahmadabad, it was stated that a man of unknown birth, devoid of reason, had posed as Dārā Shukuh and had collected around him many misguided people from the desert (صحرا). He was creating trouble on account of his false pretence (خيال باطل). A large number of his followers were sent to hell by the sword and bravery of Mahābat Khān the *Ṣubehdār*

of that province. While he himself became a wanderer in the wilderness of disappointment.

During this year, Islām Khān, the *Ṣubehdār* and Kifāyat Khān the *Dīwān* of Akbarabad died. Ṣafi Khān the son of Islām Khān was appointed *Dīwān* of Akbarabad and Ja'far Khān was called to the Court to be appointed to the post of *Wazārat.* Nijabat Khān was appointed *Ṣubehdar* of Malwa in place of Ja'far Khān. The Emperor despatched Tarbiyat Khān, with a letter, and some jewels, [P. 177] and other presents from Hindustan of the value of six lakhs of rupees, to Shāh 'Abbās of Iran. From four thousander he was promotad to the rank of four thousand horse.

The Amīr al-Umara, after falling under the imperial wrath and his transfer from the Deccan, was ordered to proceed to the eastean provinces. From there he proceeded to Bengal to assume the charge of its *Ṣūbehdari.* At the stage of Panipat, Ja'far Khān presented himself (before the Emperor) and was granted the *Khil'at* of *Wizārat* and a decorated inkstand.

Mulla Yaḥya, the brother of Mulla Aḥmad Nowatia, the *Wazīr* of 'Ādil Khān of Bijapur, came to the Court ; he was granted a *manṣab* of two thousand with one thousand horse. The Emperor entered the capital on the last day of *Rabi' al-thānī.* 'Āqil Khān Khwāfī, was appointed *Darūghah* of *Ghuslkhānah* in place of Ilāh Yār Khān and granted a *Khil'at* and increment.

Regnal Year 7

(*correspanding to 1074 H.*)

From the despatches of Prince Mu'aẓẓam. the Emperor was pleased to learn the news of the birth of a son to him. The child was named Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn.

Jai Singh sent against Shivaji

From the reports of the Deccan the Emperor came to know that the wretched Siva had raised the standard of revolt and had gone beyond limits. He was gainning strength every day by plundering the *maḥāls* of the imperial territory

and looting the caravans of travellers in that region. He had occupied the sea ports of Jīwal[1] and Pābal[2] and other ports on the sea coast towards Surat. He was plundering the boats on the sea on their route to *Ka'bah.* He had constructed some ports in (the islands of) the sea and with their support he was creating serious troubles on land and water. He had also begun to strike copper coins and hun[3] (in his name) in the fort of Rajgarh. Maharajah Jaswant made an effort to destroy him but it was of no avail. On receiving the reports [P. 178] the Emperor despatched Rajah Jai Singh, with Dilīr Khān, Dāwūd Khān, Rajah Rai Singh Sodisa, Ihtishām Khān, Rajah Sujān Singh Bundelah, Pūran Mal, Zabardast Khān, Barq Andāz Khān and some other experienced warriors to punish and chastise that bad-natured person. Rajah Jai Singh was awarded a *khil'at* with a hundred horses, two elephants with gold and silver trappings and an ornamented '*padam*'[4] at the time of his departure. Dilīr Khān and his other companions received awards according to their position. Ḥājī Shafī' Khān was appointed *Dīwān* of the Deccan.

At this time it was reported that Najābat Khān the *Ṣubehdar* of Ujjayn had died. Wazīr Khān the *Ṣubehdar* of Burhanpur was appointed in his place, and Dāwūd Khān was made *Ṣubehdar* of Burhanpur. He was directed to leave his deputy at Burhanpur and start with Rajah Jai Singh on his expedition against Siva.

Regnal Year 8

(*corresponding to 1075 H.*)

Rajah Jai Singh, who was sent to uproot the ill-fated (خسران مآل) Siva reached Aurangabad *Khujastah-Bunyad* in the beginning of Sha'bān, paid his respects to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam and

1 Jīwal an old seaport south of Bombay.

2 Pābal (Panwal) 15 miles east of Bombay.

3 Hun a silver coin of the Deccan.

4 Padam a precious and rare jewell encased in gold worn in front of the Turban.

left for Poona. On reaching there he busied himself in settling the affairs of that region details of which will become lengthy, and despatched the supporting forces to ravage the country side and capture the forts of the enemy. And he himself proceeded to seize the forts of Pundhar[1] and Rūdmāl[2] [P. 179] which are the famous forts of Niẓām al-Mulk and the seat of the Government of that territory. The two forts were close to each other. Dilīr Khān was appointed commander of the vanguard, and was advancing forward, fighting with the unlucky forces of the enemy that were closing in upon him from all sides. Many infidels were killed and taken prisoner and their families and property were being seized by the victors (غازی), until Dilīr Khān encamped at a place, near and between the two forts within the range of cannon fire and took steps to capture them. The garrisons of the besieged forts performed the duty of defending them by discharging the guns, throwing the rockets and using other fire arms. After continuing the siege for a few days, the Afghans made an assault, reaching the base (کمرگاه) of the fort, before the arrival of the Rajah, set the wooden enclosure (باڑی) at the foot of the forts on fire and destroyed them. The mischeivous defenders continuously kept coming out of the forts and making sarties on the entrenchments and firing their guns from above the forts and throwing stones and fire-balls (آتش بازی). Rajah Jai Singh along with his son Kesar Singh, reached the site. Repeated attacks on sides and continuous plundering, a detailed account of which will take me away from brevity, placed the besieged in a critical condition. Every day they made an advance and took their entrenchment forward facing the hail-storm of gun and cannon bullets and fire-balls. When the bastion on one side was blown up by a mine, the foundations of the fort and the garrison were completely shaken. The fort conquering warriors made a great assault and reached

1 Purendhar In some of the MSS it is Noordhar which is evidenly wrong. Purandhar is about 20 miles south east of Poona.

2 Rūdmāl : It was one of the out walks of the port of Purandhar (Grant Duff, Vol. I, 204 and 207). In some of the MSS it is 'Urūdmāl.

the top of the fort and the besieged begged for peace. When the Rajah and Dilīr Khān had promised security of life for the garrisons of both the forts, their commandants [P. 180] came out and waited upon Dilīr Khān who conferred *khil'ats* on them and then sent both of them to Rajah Jai Singh. The Rajah took the arms of all of them and the imperial troops occupied the forts. In this assault eighty horsemen, some troopers and men engaged in the siege lost their lives and more than one hundred persons were wounded. After the occupation of both the forts, seven thousand horse under the command of Dāwūd Khān, and Rajah Rai Singh and others were sent to ravage the town of Siva's territory, which he had brought under control by usurpation or rebellion. Both sides made determined efforts, and for five months the imperial forces could not take any rest because of continuously encountering and fighting the enemy and putting the infidels to death, until they left no signs of life in Sivapur, which was founded by that wretch, and the forts of Kondanah[1] and Kanwarigarh. They seized innumerable cattle. Owing to the surprise attacks of the infidels, their raids and night attacks in the dark nights and the blocking of the routes and passes difficult to cross, their setting fire to forests full of trees, the task of the army of Islam became difficult. A large number of men and animals in the imperial army were lost. At last when the infidels beyond number had gone to hell they took to flight. Many noted forts, touching the sky, were captured. Subsequently the fort of Rajgarh which was the seat of the government of the low-born fellow, and Kondanah where his kinsmen and maternal relations lived, were both besieged. To be brief, the besieged were subjected to great straits, and ways of their escape were so blocked that in spite of the efforts of that deceitful man he failed in carrying out his wishes to take his relations from there to a place difficult of access, and spread about some forces for their protection.

Surrender of Shivāji

He (Shivaji) knew [P. 181) that after the conquest of the

1 Kondanah : Now called Singarh, eight miles south of Poona.

asylum and refuge of the Government of one who deserved punishment (واجب السیاست), his entire property, tribe and members of the family will suffer the consequences of his wicked deeds. For this reason he sent some men who knew the language (Persian) to the Rajah begging forgiveness for his faults, and offering to surrender some of the remaining forts and with a request for an interview with him. The Rajah, keeping his deceit and perfidy in view, showed indifference to his requests and ordered to stiffen the attacks. The Rajah then received the news that Siva had come out of the fort alone, and that his trusted Brahmans having arrived had affirmed his humility by solemn oaths. The Rajah gave gaurantee for his life and offered peace on the condition that he (Shivaji) should go to the Court, to make his submission and accept service; he also gave a promise for a high (عمده) *manṣab.* (After the conditions were accepted) he was permitted to come and wait upon the Rajah. When he was informed of the arrival of Siva in all humility, the Rajah sent his *munshi* to receive him, but he sent with him armed Rajputs and gave them strict orders to be on the alert against his perfidy. He then sent message that if he would come with the ring of submission in his ears and mantle of devotion on his body, and was ready to surrender the forts, and comply with the orders of the Emperor, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the fault-forgiving Court of the Emperor. Otherwise he was permitted to return to his place and prosecute the war at his leisure and that in this matter had the liberty of choice. When the infamous black-sheeter (سیه نامه بدنام) received the message he said in great humility: "I know that in obedience and submission lies the safety of my life, property and honour". The Rajah then sent some other respectable persons and invited him to his presence with respect. On his arrival the Rajah rose from his seat and embraced him and seated him by his side. [P. 182] That wretched fellow (تباه‌کار) with great show of humility and shame and with folded hands said: "I have come to your augast presence as an humble and guilty slave. Spare me if you like, or kill me if you

like. Your decision is final." He also said that he would surrunder his famous forts with the territory of Kokan to the imperial officers and would leave his son to be included in the circle of life-sacrificing servants of the imperial heousehold. As for himself he hoped that after a period of one year after his visit to the Court, he would be allowed to live with his wife and family with one or two forts like other servants of the State, who exercise discretionary powers in their own territories and province and whenever and wherever he would be ordered to serve the Emperor he would go there with his wife and property and discharge his duties with the utmost spirit of self-sacrifice. The Rajah consoled him and sent him to Dilīr Khān ; he also gave orders to the fort-capturing beseigers to raise the seige. A list was prepared of seven thousand men, women and children who came out of the fort and who had been given a guarantee of life. The artillery and stores and other arms which the men inside the fort could not carry with themselves, became the property of the State ; the imperial troops entered the fort. Dilīr Khān gave Siva, who, till then, was without arms, a sword, an enamelled dagger, and two Arab horses with gold trappings. on his behalf. He then brought him to the Rajah and, holding his hands, handed him over to him. The Rajah also conferred on Siva a *khil'at* (robe of honour) and gave him a horse, a *jighāh*[1] and an elephant and once again assured him of the safety of his life and honour. Siva being an experienced man, ungirded the sword for a short time and said : "I will perform my duties along with those who serve without arms."

When the question of the time during which Siva was to offer his fealty and submission (گرویدن و رجوع اوردن) was being discussed, the Rajah [P. 183] wrote to the Court requesting for an order of pardon and a robe of honour for Siva. He was waiting for a *farmān* when by chance that very day a mace-bearer arrived with the *farmān* and *khil'at.* The Rajah instructed Siva in the manner of receiving (the *farmān*) and offering salutations. Siva acted accordingly, hurriedly went on foot for three *kruhs* to receive the

1 *Jighah* : a jewel worn in the turban.

farmān and having showed due respects in receiving the *farmān* of pardon and *khil'at* of forgiveness raised the head of pride to heavens and could not contain himself away to his joy at the imperial favours. About the surrender of forts, after great discussion and excuses on the part of Siva it was settled that out of thirty-five forts, that he had in his possession, he would hand over the keys of twenty-three, that had been conquered recently or in the past by the imperial servants, yielding a revenue of 10 lakhs of *hun* which are equivalent to forty lakhs of rupees. The remaining twelve small forts[1] yielding a small revenue were to remain in the possession of his men. Sambha, his son, a boy of eight years. to whom a *manṣab* of 5000 had been granted by the Court at the suggestion of the Rajah, was to remain with him with a well equipped army so that he could accompany him to the Court. Siva himself with his family, was to remain in the hills to rehabilitate his territory ravaged by the troops. But when he was to be called upon by the Court to go on duty he was to present himself there. At the time of his departure he was again given the *khil'at*, a horse a *jīghah*, a sword and an elephant and was directed to wear arms. His son was also instructed in the manner of offering salutation by the holders of the rank of 5000,

'Ādil Shah sends the balance of pishkash (tribute)

At this time Mullā Ahmad Nawatiah who was one of the trusted courtiers of 'Ādil Shāh, who had apparently come from Bijapur as an envoy to beg fargiveness for the delay in the payment of the balance of *pishkash*, and for other defaults, secretly wished to serve the heaven-touching Court. With Mullā Yāḥyā, who had been to the Court and recevied a *manṣab* [P. 184] and had been appointed on the staff of the Rajah, he waited on the Rajah with some jewels and other presents. The Rajah gave him two horses with gold trapping, an elephant and pieces of cloth.

When the news of the appearance of Siva before the Rajah and the conquests of the forts reached the Court, the

1 Their names are given by Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 209.

Emperor was very much pleased and ordered the beating of the drums of victory. The Rajah was honoured with the promotion of two thousand horse, *du-aspah* and *sih-aspah*[1] along with a *khil'at* an enamelled sword and one elephant. The son of the Rajah, Kunwar Ram Singh, who was at the Court received imperial favours. Dilīr Khān and all other followers got substantial (نمایان) promotions. Since the extermination of Khān Jahān Lodi who had brought disgrace on all the Afghans none of them had been raised to the *manṣab* of five thousand, and five thousand horse, which were now conferred on Dilīr Khān and which became the cause of the pride for his people.

For his default in the payment of *pishkash* past and present; Rajah Jai Singh was ordered to ravage the country of 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur up to the foot of the fort of Bijapur. In the meantime the petition of Rajah Jai Singh and the account of the events of the Deccan were received by the Emperor. It contained the report that Mullā Aḥmed Nawatiah who is among the newly come noble persons from Arabia, and who are for that reason called *Naw-ātiahs* was expecting to receive imperial favours and kindness. Most of them belong to the Shāfi'ī sect and are learned men, particularly so was Mullā Aḥmad who was adorned with perfect learning and ability. Apparently he had come for *ḥijābat* at the Court of 'Ādil Shāh, but in fact wished to join the imperial service, Orders were accordingly, issued after the reports were received a *manṣab* of six thousand, six thousand horse, and a *farmān*, a *khil'at* and ornamented sword, a *Jīghah*, and an elephant were sent for him, and he was asked to present himself at the Court. It was secretly written to the Rajah [P. 185] that on his arrival at the Court, he (Mullā Aḥmad) would be given the title of Sa'd Allāh Khān and would be appointed to a post suitable for his abilities. But as he (Mullā Aḥmad) was not

1 The surrender of Shivaji to Rajah Jai Singh has often been referred to by modern historians as the Treaty of Purandhar. This is a little misleading; in fact the Maratha chief was forced by the Mughuls to cede most of his trrritory and important strongholds and accept the position of a Vassal and a *manṣabdār* rather than an independent ruler.

true to the salt of his former master and had turned away from him, he was deprived of the favours of this Court also, and died before he could reach there.

Surrender of the Chief of Tibet

The chief[1] of Tibet, who had a separate *wilāyat* adjacent to Kashmir, had become a misguided rebel; he had not obeyed the orders of the *Ṣūbehdār* of Kashmir, and had not introduced in his territory the imperial currency and the *khuṭbah.* Orders were accordingly given to Sayf Khān the *Ṣūbehdār* of Kashmir, to send a message of advice, asking him to abandon the path of misguidance and to return to submission. He was to be further advised to introduce the imperial coins, to get the *khuṭbah* recited and to lay the foundation of a mosque, so that leaving infidelity he might return to the path of right guidance and then expect imperial favours. If the *marzbān* failed to comply, (with these orders) his territory should be trampled by the horses of the valiant army. A *farmān* to the same purport promising favours and containing a warning was also issued in the name of that zamindar. On receipt of the orders, and *farmān* Sayf Khān sent Muḥammad Shafī', one of the imperial officers, to Tibet, along with a *farmān.* On receiving this news the *marzbān* at first thought of some evil plans, but ultimately realizing that his welfare lay in obeying the orders of the King of Islam he gathered the inhabitants of Tibet (سواد تبت), outside the city, on the following Friday and got the *khuṭbah* recited in the name of the righteous Emperor Moḥi al-Dīn Muḥammad Awrangzib 'Ālamgir Ghāzī. The head of the *khaṭib*[3] rose to a great height owing to the showering of gold and silver flowers and the conferment of a costly *khil'at* on him. He laid the foundation of a mosque and sent its plan along with two

1 Marzbān lit. guardian of the frontiers.

2 The recitation of the *khuṭbah* in the name of the monarch and the issue of his currency were symbols of sovereignty over the region.

3 One who leads the prayers and recites the *khuṭbah.*

thousand gold coins and nine thousand silver coins, newly struck with the name of 'Ālamgir, and other presents [P. 186] of that country to the Court. A petition, in reply to the *farmān*, with his *nadhr*, showing his loyalty and sincerity, was given to Muḥammad Shafī'. He extended hospitality to Muḥammad Shafī' and his followers, worthy of them.

Tibet is mostly a waste land, having forests yielding no revenue, because they are, not cultivable, but no other *ṣūbah* in Hindustan is equal to it in extent except Bijapur, which can be crossed lengthwise in four or five months, and in breadth in one month, at some places in one month and a half or even in two at others. Its revenue however is so small that it could be called equal to that, and of a single big and prosperous *parganah* of other *ṣūbahs*. No o her useless place can be compared to it. For this reason, other kings, unwilling to incur expenditure did not care about the introduction of currency and *khuṭbah* in that land.

Prince Mu'aẓẓam comes to the Court

When it was reported that Mullā Aḥmad Bijapuri died before receiving the *farmān* and *khil'at*, his son, Asad Allāh Khān was summoned to the Court.

It was also reported at this time that Prince Muḥammed Mu'aẓẓam, had under imperial orders arrived at the Court from the Deccan. Some prominent (مقرب lit. close to) *Amīrs* were sent to receive him. On attending the Court and presenting three or four lakhs of rupees in cash and some jewels, he received favours from the Emperor.

Shāh Jahān dies

At this time it was reported that the condition of Ṣāḥib Qirān-i-thāni had taken a turn for the worse, and that he was about to proceed on his journey to the eternal garden. That very day, the Emperor made Prince, Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, to rush (to Agra) to visit him (عيادت) and inquire about his condition. The Prince was still on [P. 187] his way, when the Emperor got the news of the passing away of that good natured King at the end of

Rajab 1076 H. corresponding to the eighth regnal year[1], from the prison house of this faithless and mortal world to the eternal abodes. On hearing this sad news the Emperor was very much grieved[2]. He (Shāh Jahān) had spent thirty-one years of his precious life in governing and ruling (the Empire), better than the ancient Kings, and for about eight years he remained in retirement.

Verse :

The world is like golden cup
In it the water is some time sweet some time bitter
The horse of death is always (ready for travel) under your saddle.
Do not be proud that your life will be long.

"*Shah Jahān Kard Wafāt* (شاه جہان کرد وفات) is the chronogram of his death[3].

Some details of the protection of his people, administration of justice and the regulations of his government, particularly his efforts to make the country prosperous and acquring good reputation in both the worlds, is given in connection with the events of the last year of his reign, and the dismissal of the *mutaṣaddi* of the port of Surat. It is said that whenever a newly arrived Turk from Iran and Turan entered the imperial service and was given a *manṣab*, orders were given to the staff of the *Dīwān* that until the Turk did not become accustomed to the affairs and did not know the condition of the people and did not realise the value of the protection and prosperity, he was to be paid in cash in place of an award of jagir.

'Ālamgīr goes to Agra

In short, on hearing the sad news, the Emperor started for Akbarabad. On his arrival at the capital city[4] (Agra), he went

1 "On the 26th of *Rajab*, in fort of Agra, having reached 75th Solar year of his age" ('Amal-e-Ṣāliḥ).

2 کوه کوه غم و الم دنیا و آخرت در دل آن پادشاه حق آگاه راه یافت (lit. mountains of sorrow and grief of this and the next world found their way into the heart of that righteous king).

3 This yields 1076.

4 مستقر الخلافة (lit. seat of *khilāfat*).

to the grave of his revered father and with tears like pearls he offered prayers (تلاوت) for his salvation. Then he went to Begum Ṣāḥibah[1] to offer condolence. [P. 188] He ordered all leading Courtiers to go to the gate of female apartments and offer their respectful condolences. It is related that the Begum Ṣāḥibah, requested him thrice to pardon the faults of the king. Twice the request of Begum Ṣāḥibah was not accepted, but the third time when she humbly and insistently solicited his favour, he accepted the request willy-nilly. Having stayed at Akbarabad for some time he ordered the *Darughah-i-Takht* to bring the Jewelled throne, along with some servants of the Palace, from Delhi to Agra for the celebrations of the coronation.

Other events

Among other events and conquests of this year was the capture of the forts in Arakan which is in the *ta'alluqah* of Bengal. The *marzbāns* of Sangramnagar and Chatgam had turned their heads from obedience in the time of the former kings and had not obeyed the orders of the *Ṣūbehdars* of that territory and were trying to ravage the countryside. At this time through the efforts of persons appointed by Buzurg Umid Khān son of Amīr al-Umara Shāyistah Khān (proceeded) from the side of land and made great efforts with the help of war boats, details of which need not be given, and after fighting for four or five months they were conquered. The *zamindars* of those places were captured with 350 of their men. A large number of persons were killed or got martydom on both the sides. One hundred and thirty-two boats, one thousand and twenty guns of different sizes and a quantity of stores commensurate with them and elephants were captured by the imperial troops. The name of Sangramnagar was changed to 'Ālamgīrnagar and that of Chātgam to Islāmabad. The region which had never been illumined by the sun of the light of Muḥammad[P] now rose high on account of the life-giving sound of *adhān*. Buzurg Umid Khān sent the letter of victory (فتح نامه) with the heads of the slain, and a number of prisoners to the Court and received

1 *Begum Ṣāḥibah* i. e. Jahān Ārā Begum, the eldest daughter of Shāh Jahān.

favours from the Emperor. [P. 189] Asad Allāh, son of Mullā Aḥmed Bijapuri reached the Court. On waiting on the Emperor he was granted a *manṣab* of 1500 and the title of Ikrām Khān.

One hundred and twenty elephants with other presents sent by the Amīr al-Umara were received and appreciated by the Emperor.

Regnal Year 9

(*corresponding to 1076 H.*)

Arrival of Sīva at the Court.

At the beginning of the celebration, the annual allowance of 12 lakhs of rupees which had been granted to Nawwāb Qudsiyah Begum was enhanced by three lakhs. She was paid in cash one lakh of rupees and ten thousand *ashrafis* (gold coins), each being equal to seventeen rupees in those days. The *manṣab* of Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam was raised by 2000 horse and he was paid in cash two lakhs of rupees. In the same way other princes and Begums received cash and promotions.

Rajah Jai Singh in alliance with Siva made great efforts in the campaign against Bijapur, which will be described presently. Then he sent the misguided Siva to the Court, having consoled him and given him hopes of imperial favours, and a personal guarantee (خود کفیل) on behalf of the Emperor for the favour of pardon and concealment of his crimes. During the celebrations the news of the arrival of that luckless fellow in the vicinity of Agra, reached the Court. The Emperor ordered that Kunwar Ram Singh, son of Rajah Jai Singh and Mukhliṣ Khān, should go to receive that wild and ill-natured fellow and present him at the Court. As, formely, owing to the policy of the State, he had ordered the despatch of treasure from Agra to Delhi now he again ordered it to be brought back in the custody of Nāmdār Khān. In those very days one thousand and four hundred carts, drawn by eight bullocks each [P. 190] full of gold and silver coins, gold and silver

utensils, and other ornamented goods passed before the eyes (may they become blind !) of that infidel and other enemies of the house of *Ṣāḥib-qirān* (Timūr) ; and entered the fort of Akbarabad.

On the 18 *Dhu al-qa'dah* (12 May 1666) of the same year when the weighing ceremony of the fiftieth lunar year of the Emperor was being celebrated, that wild natured and bad tempered man, with his nine-year old son, Sambha, reached the Court, and paid his respects in all humility and shame, and offered as *nadhr* 500 *ashrafis* and six thousand rupees, which were equal to thirty thousand rupees in those days. According to a sign from the Emperor he was made to stand in the group of five thousanders, because, his eight year old son had been given a *manṣab* of five thousand in *absentia*, and a similar rank was conferred on Nathuji, one of his relations, who had rendered services in connection with Rajah Jai Singh in the campaign to ravage Bijapur. But that proud and empty minded traitor expected a *manṣab* of not less than seven thousand. Owing to the hatred that had found way into the heart of the Emperor, the defender of the faith, towards him on account of his misdeeds and bad character he did not receive most of the imperial favours promised to him by Rajah Jai Singh and which had made him happy and hopeful. His reception, also, was not according to his expectations. Before the conferment of the *khil'at*, the Jewels and the elephants which were ready for being given to him, the perspiration of misguidance mixed with shame appeared on his face and his perplexity increased moment by moment. Through cunning and fraud he feigned weakness of heart and retiring into a corner made himself fall on the ground like a hunted animal (صید سر خورده) wounded by an arrow and caught in a net. After some time by a show of skill and effort like that of an experienced person he regained his consciousness and addressed words of complaint to Kunwar Ram Singh, threatening to commit suicide. However much Kunwar [P. 191] Ram Singh tried to console ill-natured wild creature, it had no effect. When his behaviour which was against the etiquette of the Court was reported to the Emperor, he ordered him to be taken away, show-

ing no concern; and before the imperial favours were conferred on him he was removed, as proposed by Kunwar Ram Singh, to a house outside the city, near the mansion of Rajah Jai Singh, and was lodged there. Then he ordered that these facts be communicated to Rajah Jai Singh and till the receipt of his reply contaning his advice as to the best course of action, Siva should not attend the Court. But his son was allowed to attend the Court in the company of Ram Singh.[1]

Jai Singh attacks Bijapur

Leaving the story of Siva which will be related at a suitable place, I now describe the expedition and battles fought by Rajah Jai Singh against Bijapur before and after the departure of Siva. Rajah Jai Singh who had been defeated with Dilir Khān and others to invade and ravage the territory of Bijapur, marched taking with him as his guides and assistants, Mullā Yaḥyā Bijapuri, and Peer Dil Khān, (and later) keeping with himself Siva and

1 Shivaji's visit to Agra and his escape from there have become a controversial topic and 'Ālamgir has been criticized by some writers, J. N. Sarkar (Vol. IV. p. 101 et. seq.) for instance, for not giving him a warm welcome and better reception, and therefore he was unable to bear the humiliation to which he was subjected at the Court. A close examination of the facts would make it clear that the Emperor did nothing to humiliate or insult him and that the treatment meted out to him was not unfair. He was given a rank of 5,000, double that of his host, Kunwar Ram Singh, son of Rajah Jai Singh. Sarkar's remark that he was given a place in "third grade nobles" is certainly misleading. It is a fact that Shivaji had been defeated and forced to surrender by the Mughul forces, and ordinarily he would have been kept in prison like other vanquished chiefs. But the Mughul statesmen, at that time, thought that their main enemies were the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda and that the Marathas could be used against them. This was why Jai Singh recommended and the Emperor granted in this case such farvourable terms and honoured Shivaji by conferring on him and his son *mansabs* of 5.000 each. Ram Singh was ordered to receive him and act as his host, and despite Shivaji's rude behavior at the *darbār* 'Ālamgir overlooked his dramatic action of falling on the ground, going into a swoon and quarrelling with Ram Singh. He was forbidden to attend the Court until detailed instructions were received from Jai Singh as to what promises, if any, had been made to him and what kind of treatment was to be meted out to him.

Nathuji, one of the relations and inseparable and trusted supporters of that deceitful traitor for whom a *manṣab* of 5000 had been proposed. The details of the efforts of the Rajah and Dilīr Khān would make the description lengthy; hence a brief account is given. The Rajah despatched Dilīr Khān with his advance guard and after marching a few stages he took a muster role of the army. Out of the thirty-three thousand horse entered in the statement only twenty five thousand were present.

In the meantime 'Abd al-Majeed, the grandson of Bahlūl Khān, who was one of the prominent brave men of Bijapur, deserted 'Ādil Shāh and came to the Rajah [**P. 192**], joined his forces and offered to become a guide in his effort to destroy the life and property of the people of that country and its ruler. The Rajah showed all sorts of favours to him, and he recommended to the Emperor a *manṣab* of five thousand with four thousand horse for him; this recommendation was graciously accepted. In short, whenever a Bijapuri fort was seen, it was conquered by the brave warriors either by direct assault or after a siege of few days; particularly Siva and Nathuji who had joined him with two thousand horse and eight or nine thousaud foot men, and were noted for their skill in the art of capturing forts and were considered to be experienced masters and experts in it, conquered in three or four weeks' time, three forts, such as Mangal Bahra etc. situated on the centre of the frontier. Protection of life was guaranteed to the people inside the fort, and with the exception of grain, stores, ammunition, guns and other arms, every thing was left to them. Now, the Bijapuri forces beyond numbers appeared coming from the right and the left. Every day there was an exchange of gun fire and rockets between the vanguards of the two armies. Ultimately the superiority (غلبه) of the Deccanis increased to such an extent that Dilīr Khān and all his troops passed most of the nights on the backs of horses and elephants. Many people were killed or wounded on both sides. In the day as well as in the night, eating, sleeping and rest became impossible for the imperial army. The Bijapuris became so bold that some times they did not permit (provisions etc.), to reach the

imperial army. When they had marched eight or nine stages in this way, the news reached (the imperial camp), that Sharzah Khān Mahdawi, with some famous sardars, ten or twelve thousand horsemen, foot soldiers beyond reckoning, who faultlessly shoot their arrows in dark nights on birds at their cry; had come for the help of the Bijapuris and had joined them. They had surrounded the advance-gaurd, and attacked the main imperial army like [P. 193] a deluge which uproots the mountains. Dilīr Khān, the lion of the fighters, stood firmly against them and by successive Rustam-like counter attacks defeated Sharzah Khān. Many horsemen and foot-soldiers were lost on both the sides. Within three or four astronomical hours the Deccan army divided itself into four divisions and with the help of their famous commanders attacked the imperial army from all the four sides. The fighting became so intense that torrents of blood flowed, and important men were killed on both the sides. On the side of Bijapur, Yāqūt, who was a noted Abyssinian commander was killed with a number of Abyssinians and Deccani soldiers. At last unable to stand the attacks of Dilīr Khān they fled away. Many horses, mares, umbrellas and banners fell into the hands of the Afghans. When night fell they again surrounded (the imperial army) from all the four sides. For two days and nights the saddles were not removed from the backs of the horses, nor the riders from the saddles. On the third day they attacked the rear guard, under the command of Siva and Nathuji. Fath Jang Khān, with a detachment from the army of the Rajah came to their help. They fought bravely and many of the followers of Siva were killed. Jadu Rai Dakhani, with some of the important companions, was killed by the efforts of Siva, and then the Deccanis took to flight. In the same way every day the flames (of the fire) of fighting rose high (نائرۂ قتال گرم بود) Dilīr Khān fought like Rustam.

In the meantime it appeared from the letter of commandant of Mangal Bira[1], one of the captured forts on the frontier, that

1 Mangal Bira : In some manuscripts it appears as "Mangal Pahra" and "Mangel Hira" in 'Ālamgīr Namah "Mangal Bida". (see p. 991) Editor of Persian text.

[P. 194] about 20000 Bijapuri horsemen had by forced marches reached the gate of the fort and not caring for the cannonade and gun fire, they had set up their entrenchment. They were receiving fresh reinforcements every day, if the garrison was not reinforced soon, the fort would be lost. Sarfarāz K͟hān was appointed to relieve the fort. After the arrival of the relieving force, the commadant of the fort also came out of the fort and jointly they tried to repel the enemy. They received some wounds but they put many of them to death and expelled the army from the front of the fort.

Thus the imperial forces fought their way for two months, covering a distance of twenty days' journy, and ultimately reached within five *kruhs* of the city of Bijapur. On 2nd *Rajab* of the same year they besieged Bijapur. 'Ādil S͟hāh, thus beseiged; appointed some of his army *Sardārs* to enter the imperial territories and to ravage them. He also posted some of his Amīrs to encounter the army of the Rajah and to destroy the fodder. They damaged the tank of Bijapur and emptied it of water, They also threw cactus and dead bodies of men and animals in the wells and *bāwulīs* (large wells) and filled them with those things, they cut down all the trees. with fruits or giving shade and demolished the high buildings near the port. In fact both the parties destroyed the gardens and buildings to such an extent that in that year the city (Bijapur) could hardly be said to be an inhabited place. The 'Ādil-S͟hāhs till the end of their rule, which, God willing, will be described later, could not enjoy life.

In the meantime Nīknām K͟hān eunuch, who was one of the prominent officers of Hyderabad, came to the help of 'Ādil S͟hāh with 6,000 horse and 25,000 foot-men and joined the forces of S͟harzah K͟hān. Nīknām K͟hān, originally was one of the nobles of Iran and owing to an incident had migrated to the Deccan and became one of the highest officers of Quṭb al-Mulk. S͟hāh 'Abbās (of Persia) had, in a state of intoxication sent one of his favourite slave girls to Nīknām K͟hān. In order to save his life from the wrath of the S͟hāh of Iran [P. 195] he had castrated

himself with his own hands to escape suspicion because if he had not done that he would not have been allowed to live.

Furious battles raged every day, and seldom did the forces and animals sent to collect fodder etc., returned uninjured. Whenever the imperial forces were hard pressed by the Deccanis, Dilir Khān, like a furious elephant, would come to their help. The number and details of the battles between the imperial forces and the Bijapuris would become tiring for the readers. How large was the number of the heads of warriors, chiefs that rolled on the field of battle and how large the number of bodies of brave men, which became the food of the ravens and kites! There was not a single day on which one or two hundred noted persons on both the sides were not put to sword or become the targets of arrows, and bullets of guns and muskets.

Siva, with Nathuji and a few thousand imperial troops, was to reduce the fort of Parnala[1]. In spite of his great efforts, he was not successful, and so breaking camp he went to the fort of Khalna[2] in his own territory. The Bijapur commanders seduced Nathuji and separated him from Siva. The Rajah with great skill conciliated him and summoned him to his camp. At last owing to the efforts and strategy of Siva some forts were occupied by the imperialists.

In this connection, (it may be said), that according to his) promise and the wishes of Siva and the receipt of the orders from the Court, he conciliated Siva and sent him with his son and without the troops to the Court at the end of the month of *Ramaḍān*. His arrival at the Court and his reception have already been described.

Siege of Bijapur

Nathuji with most of his his followers jonined the (*Rajah* in the) seige of [P. 196] Bijapur. After the departure of Siva, whose prudence had solved many problems of imperial forces, two

1 Parnala : It lies nearly twenty miles north west of Kolhapur and is shown as "Panala" on Indian maps.

2 Khalna : It is now called Bishalgarh (Grant Duff Vol. I, p. 177). It lies in the Ghats about sixty miles north west of Kolhapur.

months and a half had passed to the siege, and many well-contested battles fought between the armies of both the parties. Ten or twelve battles have been described in the *'Ālamgīr-Namah* under the heading *Kārnāmah*, but I would conclude my account with the description of only one which is worth mentioning.

In the begining of *Dhū al-qa'dah*, when the duration of the siege had extended to five months, one day all the Deccanis surrounded the imperial forces, leaving very little space for the centre, under the command of the Rajah to move and attacked them, with twenty-five thousand horse and fifty thousand foot soldiers. who were supported by a bombardment from guns, and muskets and rockets and other fire arms and the rolling of stones from above the fort causing terror among the elephants. For the three days and nights, they continued the attack. They had taken positions in the battle in such a way that the imperial troops had no time to scratch their heads or open their eyes. They showed great bravery in their attacks on all sides, particularly Abu al-'Ula[1] the grandson of Buhlūl Khān, whose brother Abu al-Muḥammad Khān[2] had always performed feats of bravery in the imperial army. Both of them, in rivalry with one another, came face to face. Each wanted to demonstrate his loyalty to the salt, old and new. On the other sides Sharzah Khān and Mūsā Khān made their rank breaking attacks and created great disturbance in the troops of the Rajah. There was no course left for the Rajah but to be killed or taken prisoner along with his officers. At this juncture Dilīr Khān, the lion-hearted warrior, who was posted at a distance from the Rajah and was himself surrounded by [P. 197] eight or nine thousand horse under the famous officers of the Deccan forces, who had blocked all passages of reinforcements to imperial troops, defeated the enemy by brave counter-attacks and then came to the help of the officers of the Rajah who were surrounded and being pressed (by the enemy). He along with Abu al-Muḥammad Khān showed such extraordinary bravery that it cannot be

1 Abu 'Āmin in another manuscript.
2 See, p. 191.

described in words, written or spoken. Many Bijapur horsemen and foot soldiers fell victim to the swords of the Afghans and Rajputs. Mūsā K̲h̲ān, who was called the Rustam of the hostile forces, along with a large number of his followers was killed and trampled by the horses of the warriors of Dilīr K̲h̲ān, and thus the Deccanis suffered a great defeat. Countless elephants, horses, palanquins, umbrellas and banners fell into the hands of the imperial forces. They pursued the enemy for seven *kruhs*; one thousand men, sound or wounded, were taken prisoners. Of these more than one hundered horsemen were the brave (یکه تاز)[1] *Rawats* of that country. Every one of them was released after the payment of a ransom. Five hundred dead bodies were found around the corpse of Mūsā K̲h̲ān, who could not be carried; also about a thousand wounded were counted. From the troops of the Rajah and Dilīr K̲h̲ān, about one hundred and thirty men who were worthy of being counted, had sacrificed their precious lives; besides two hundred were counted as wounded.

For a period of seven months, from the beginning of Jūmāda I to the end of *D̲h̲u al-qa'dah*, the horsemen, the horses and the foot-soldiers had not enjoyed any rest, and there was no trace of grass and fodder for forty to fifty *kruhs* around Bijapur; and on account of non-arrival of the provision, both the armies were suffering great hardships. The Rajah and Dilīr K̲h̲ān, therefore, deemed it advisable to move to the vicinity of Dharwar, to give treatment to the wounded, allow rest to the troops, and to collect lead and powder. They also hoped to get a supply of grass and grain in that region [P. 198]. They encamped at the place and sent a despatch to the Emperor containing an account of the state of affairs. The Deccanis also, because their ammunition and provision inside the fort were exhausted, their bows had become useless, the feathers of their arrows had fallen off and their swords had become blunt, were now tired of war. The commanders of both the sides were looked for some excuse for concluding peace. The Bijāpuris, because "The destitutes are under the protection

1 یکه تاز : lit. a soldier who charges the foe alone.

of God" humbly begged for protection. In reality nothing had been left in the treasury and factories of 'Ādil Shāh and the boastful *rawats* except blunt swords without sheath, and horses that were reduced to skin and bones, and their country had been completely ravaged. When this was reported to (the Emperor) he ordered that the siege of Bijapur should be raised and 'Ādil Shāh should no longer be molested. The Rajah was to retire to Awrangabad (*Khujastah Bunyād*) and Dilīr Khān was to be sent to the Court.

Shivaji's escape from Agra

Now I turn the reigns of the fast-moving steed of my pen from the description of the battles at the foot of the fort of Bijapur to the affairs of the Court. After the traitor Siva was forbidden attendance at the Court, he fell under the displeasure (of the Emperor), the Kotwal was ordered to post gurads around the house of that ill-natured man.[1] That ill-natured and misguided fellow keeping an eye on his past and present conduct was greatly perturbed at the state of affairs. He would think of nothing else except ways and means of escape from that dangerous house. The wretched fellow thought of a new plan which could hardly reach the mind of the devil himself. At first he established friendly relations with Kunwar Ram Singh and other nobles by his conciliating behaviour, which he strengthened by sending presents from the Deccan. Then he asked them to intercede on his behalf and expressed humility and repentance for his past [P. 199] conduct. Then he pretended illness and started shrieking and crying and showed great uneasiness owing to (pretended) pain in liver and spleen. He was confined to bed. Afterwards, pretending that it had developed into consumption and phthisis he began to be treated by Indian physicians. For some time he became very lean and thin under these pretences, and afterwards he announced his recovery and took the bath of health (غسل صحت). He started

1 It may be mentioned that the Emperor allowed Shivaji's son, Shambhuji, to attend the Court with Kunwar Ram Singh ; See '*Ālamgirnāmah*, p. 970.

distributing rewards to the physicians, musicians and friends, gave food to Brahmans and distributed grains and cash among deserving Hindu and Muslim destitutes. He covered large baskets with paper, filled them with sweets, and sent them to the house of nobles and the *khānqāhs* of the *darweshes*. Under the pretext of giving them as presents to Brahmans, he procured two or three very fast-running horses, and sent them in the custody of his trustworthy and reliable attendants, to a suitable place at a distance of fourteen *Kruhs* from the city, and there they were kept ready. One of his devoted companions who resembled him in height and figure and who was kept for this day by way of foresight for a long time was asked to sleep on his bed. The ornamented gold bangle (wristlet) which he used to put round his wrist was put on the wrist of that man and he was instructed to cover his head with a thin sheet showing the wristlet from under the cloth and to feign sleep when the guards entered and went out of the house. At the end of *Ṣafar* of the same year, he seated himself and his son in two baskets and after giving out that he was sending sweets to the Brahmans and beggars of Mathura he came out of the capital city of Akbarabad and thus he took himself to the horses. From there after two watches he reached Mathura. There he shaved his beard and moustaches, smeared his face and that of his son with ash; and with the same jewels and gold coins which he had taken with himself and in the company of a few *faquirs*, (beggars) who knew his plans, [P. 200] he crossed the Jamuna at an unfrequented ford and took the road to Benares. Accompanied by the fast running Deccani couriers, who were professional experts in tavelling by changing their dress and appearances he began his journey in the darkness of nights.[1]

It is said that he had procured walking sticks, and made them hollow and filled them with as many gold mohurs, *huns* and jewels as he could and had kept them with him. It is related that

1 Khāfi Khān has not mentioned the rather important fact that Shivaji's escape from custody became possible because of the removal of the guards under orders from the Emperor on the recommendation of Jai Singh who had assured him of the loyalty of the Maratha chief. See *'Ālamgīrnamah*, p. 970.

on the following day after the passing of the fifth watch, a Deccani courier, who was a spy and used to provide news, brought the information that Siva had escaped and was travelling in the desert of adversity. The Kotwal, when questioned, reported that the pickets were posted all round the house of Siva. The courier laid stress on the escape of that treacherous man. So the man of the Kotwal went inside and saw that Siva was sleeping and his wristlet could be seen under the cover of the thin cloth. The Kotwal reported this (to the Emperor). The courier said for the third time that he should be included among those who are condemned to death if Siva had not by that time travelled forty or fifty *kruhs*. At last when after investigation and inquiry the flight of that crafty man was confirmed, the Kotwal and Kunwar Ram Singh were censured. On the suspicion and rumour that Siva had taken the bold step in conspiracy with Kunwar Ram Singh he was dismissed from his *manṣab* and forbidden attendance at the Court. The Emperor ordered the despatch of the mace-bearers to the Deccan, to the north and to the east, with instructions to the *Ṣubehdars* and *Fawjdars* to arrest the fugitive, wherever he might be found, and to send him to the Court, Orders were sent to Rajah Jai Singh, who had returned to Awrangabad after having been free from his expedition of Bijapur, to capture Nathuji, the relative of Siva, and [**P. 201**] send him to the Court before the news of his flight spread, and then make a search for the bird, which had escaped from the cage and should not allow him to stay at any place and collect men. As there was a strong suspicion that Siva had fled to the Deccan by way of Ahmadabad and Berar, the mace-bearers in the beginning were sent in that directions, afterwards they were sent in all the other *Ṣūbahs*. Consequently the mace-bearers were despatched in the direction of Benares towards which the traitor had fled only after a lapse of four or five days or even of a week.

It is said that Siva fled with such rapidity that even the fastest courier could not over-take him. But as he had his young son, Sambha, with him, a boy of tender age he could with great difficulty reach

one of the inhabited places of Allahabad. As he found that his son had not the strength to keep company with him, he entrusted him to the care of a Brahman named Kabklas who was well-known infidel in that region and his relatives in the Deccan had friendly relations with the father of Siva. He gave some gold coins and *huns* to the Brahman and appealed to him "Do not separate him (Sambaji) from yourself until you get a letter from me in my own handwriting. If you hear the news of my death or my being killed, you are at liberty to do whatever yon like." From there he proceeded to Benares. The rest of his story will be given at its proper place if Allāh wills.

Mughul Relations with Iran

At this time unpleasant news reached about the behaviour of the Shāh of Iran, due to his dislike of the imperial envoy, Tarbiyat Khān. The news of the envoy's return after having been slighted and the movement of the Shāh soon after him which had come through letters of the traders and the words of the messengers had become common talk. The Emperor by way of precaution moved from Agra (مستقر الخلافت) to Delhi (دار الخلافت) Just as he entered the [P. 202] fort of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) he learnt the news of the arrival of Tarbiyat Khān at Lahore. Owing to differences in the reports as to what passed between Shāh 'Abbās and Tarbiyat Khān it is not worth recording. Whatever has been proved shows that Khān 'Alam in spite of the conduct of other well-behaved ambassadars had performed his duties efficiently keeping in view the disposition and welfare of both the parties as has already been described and the Shāh was so pleased with the services rendered by him that he addressed him as Jān-i-'Ālam and visited his house twice conferring on him greater favours than on others. He had sent him back with suitable presents and gifts. But Tarbiyat Khān stepped out of the path of good manners to the extent that he became the cause of the displeasure of the Shāh and of his own disgrace. He changed the hereditary alliance and the two parties into such enmity that both

sides began to make preparations when Tarbiyat Khān reached the Court, he was censured, and his *manṣab* was reduced and he was forbidden attendance at the Court.

At this time a report reached the Court about the marching of Shāh 'Abbās with a large army from 'Irāq in the direction of Khurāsān, with a heavy train of artillery. The news caused added anxiety to the Emperor who began to make preparation for an expedition to uproot the forces of mischief. The Emperor sent Prince Mu'aẓẓam, heir to the throne (عہدالہ), with Maharajah Jaswant Singh and other nobles with twenty thousand horse and a heavy train of artillery and foot soldiers beyond number. He gave five lakhs of rupees in cash and jewels and goods of the value of three lakhs and seventy thousand rupees; other gifts were also given to the Prince and the Rajah and other followers at the time of their departure. The Prince started in the middle of *Rabi' al-Awwal* of the same year, and the Emperor busied himself, personally, in making arrangements for the expedition. He sent orders summoning the armies of the *Ṣūbahs* [P. 203] and directed that arrangements should be made to keep the stores ready. The mace-bearers were posted at different places.

Death of I'timād Khān

At this time a strange incident took place and that was the murder of I'timad Khān alias 'Abd al-Qawi. The details of this statement are that Shaykh 'Abd al-Qawi was one of the famous scholars of his day and had been the tutor of the Emperor. After his accession to the throne he became very close to him, he was given a *manṣab* of five thousand and the title of I'timād Khān. He was permitted to sit in private meetings. Though he possessed perfect piety, truthfulness, and virtue and his words and recommendations to the Emperor had always been respected more than those of any other pillar of the state, yet he never opened his tongue before the Emperor in praise or for the benefit of any person. Besides this he was notorious in the world for severity.

In those days a faqir in the garb of a *qalandar*[1] had come to the capital. He was a skilled wrestler of Iran and said to have belonged to that group of men, who were noted for bravery and valour and for snatching money from the leading nobles by threatening words and spending that in rivelries and holding gatherings. He had performed some feats in the port of Surat and at Burhanpur, and wandering in the country-side he had reached the capital. The Irani nobles who came to know of his ways showed a great regard to him. He had gathered many *qalandars* around him and spent every day large sums in music parties in a garden. The couriers made a report about him, and showed that the source of his income, keeping in view his outward appearance, as a faqir could not be traced. They accused him of practising alchemy or committing theft. He was also reputed to be so brave and strong that it was difficult to capture him alive. The Emperor suspected him to be a spy of the king of Iran and ordered the Kotwal to put him [P. 204] off his gaurd and to arrest him while asleep. In short, after great efforts, he was captured. They put a collar round his neck, fetters on his feet and bound both of his hands in sticks, and thus chaining him from head to foot, made him stand on the day of the *Dīwān* (audience). The Emperor, thinking that there could be no better person than I'timād Khān to make inquiries about his affair, ordered him to take him to his house and inquire from him, in privacy, by threats or promises; the true facts and realities. I'timād Khān, took him to his house and brought him close to himself in privacy and said: "If you value your life tell the truth". He replied "I am a wandering faqir by profession." The answer failed to satisfy I'timād Khān who began to use threatening language. The *faqir*, who was in the grip of the claws of death knew that there was no way of escape and that truth was not acceptable to him appealed to him: "If the Nawab promises to spare my life, I will say the true facts in his ear." Although I'timād Khān could not tolerate that the victim of

1 *Qalandar* : a class of *faqirs* who wander about seemingly in a purposeless manner and behaving in an abnormal manner.

calamity should speak to him in his ear, yet after great entreaties by him permitted him to do so. A folded carpet (سوزنی) about half a yard in length and breadth was spread under the feet of I'timād Khān and a dagger (نیمچه شمشیری) was lying on it. Though his hands were tied in a way that no part of his arm, except his fingers, could move yet at the time of bending his body and bringing his lips close to (the ears of) I'timād Khān, he with great quickness and dexterity picked up the dagger with the tips of his finger from above the carpet of I'timād Khān and with the sheathed dagger dealt such a blow on his head that he died without a shriek. The wretched murderer was also torn to pieces. I have heard, from other sources also the story of the arrest of the *qalandar*, [P. 205] but the writer of these pages has written whatever he has heard from his friends.[1]

However, the august Emperor was thinking of and preparing for a campaign when the reports from Multan and Qandhar brought the news to him of the death of Shāh 'Abbās, so he cancelled his idea of going on the campaign.

Nathuji sent to the Court

I again turn to the account of Rajah Jai Singh. In compliance with the orders (of the Emperor) he drew off his hands from the siege of Bijapur and refrained from plundering the country. He knew that, after his return, it would be difficult for the (Mughul) commandants (قلعه داران) of the forts to keep them in their control owing to the concentration of the Deccanis and want of provisions. He thought it expedient to evacuate the forts, to take whatever pieces of artillery he could, along with him and leave the rest for the soldiers to plunder. He set to fire and pulled down the bastions and ramparts of the forts which he thought should be destroyed, and marched from that place and reached Awrangabad. It was

1 The version of the *'Ālamgīrnāmah* appears to be more correct. Its author says that the assassion was free and not bound from head to foot as Khāfī Khān asserts, and it was, therefore, possible for him to make a sudden jump and attack the Khān with a sword which he had snatched from an attendant. See p. 982.

at this time that the successive orders were received by the Rajah about Siva who had escaped and sending Nathuji and his son to the Court after capturing him. He arrested Nathuji along with his son and despatched him to the Court.

Submission of Chandah and Deogarh

Dilīr K͟hān, who had under imperial orders started for the Court along with his followers, before the arrival of the Rajah at Awrangabad, was now directed to punish the zamindar of Chandah after crossing the Narbada. On receiving these orders he moved towards Berar and Chandah along with Randulah K͟hān, Rajah Sujan Singh, Rao Bhar, Qādirdād K͟hān, Zabardast K͟hān, Ātis͟h K͟hān and Barqandāz K͟hān. Īraj K͟hān the *Ṣūbehdar* of Berar with the *Fawjdars* of the neighbouring territory also joined him. When Dilīr K͟hān reached near the borders of Chandah, the people of that territory lost their courage and the zamindar sent his trusted men to him requesting forgiveness for his past crimes [P. 206] acceptances of a present worthy of him. and sought a pledge for protection. Dilīr K͟hān consoled his emissaries, according to his wishes and sent them back with *k͟hil'at* for the zamindar on condition of the appearance before him, and the payment of *pis͟hkas͟h*. In short the said zamindar, fastened the girdle of obligation, gratitude for protection of life round the neck of humility and appeared (before Dilīr K͟hāu) like a culprit begging forgiveness. He came to Dilīr K͟hān with seven thousand gold coins and five lakhs of rupees in gratitude for the forgiveness of his crimes, for the Emperor, and one thousand gold coins and two thousands rupees as *nad͟hr* and entertainment money for Dilīr K͟hān. Dilīr K͟hān severely repremanded him and advised him to pay the *pis͟hkas͟h* of the present and past years and annual tribute and to refrain from evil deeds, and stick to obedience. After prolonged discussions it was decided that the zamindar should pay one crore of rupees as penalty for his past deeds and as in gratitude for the present, either in cash or in kind within a period of two months. He was also to pay an annual tribute of two lakhs to the Emperor and a present of five lakhs of rupees to Dilīr K͟hān. He

was also to dismantle the surrounding wall which he had constructed in the form of an entrenchment and was not to call his residential house by the name of a citadel (ارک). Dilīr Khān appointed Muḥammad Laṭīf, the *Diwān* of his army to collect the immediate amount of *pishkash* of the year and to dismantle the wall of the city, the bastions and towers, and the house of the zamindar. It was decided that Malhari the *diwān* of the zamindar was to remain in the camp of Dilīr Khān until the *pishkash* money was realised. Within a period of two months, a sum of rupees seventy seven lakhs in cash and kind was received and the money was sent to the Court in the charge of Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the *Dīwān* of Burhānpūr, who was an officer personally known to the Emperor. A *farmān*, full of favours, *khil'at*, a tiara an ornamented sword and an elephant, were sent to the zamindar from the Court. For the realisation of the balance, Dilīr Khān took a reliable security from the zamindar and released Malhari, giving him a *khil'at*. After finishing the work in three months [P. 207] he moved to punish the zamindar of Deogarh, adjoining the borders of Chandah. Within a short period he fixed fifteen lakhs of rupees (for arrears) and 2 lakhs as annual *pishkash*. He collected nearly half of the *pishkash* for the current year.

Death of Jai Singh, Nathuji's hypocricy.

In the meantime news was received of the illness of the Rajah Jai Singh who was on the verge of death and was immediately followed by the report of his death and the disorder in the administration of Balaghat. These had become public. The same day Dilir Khān received orders to renew the expedition of Bijapur along with the *farmān* of his appointment to the *Ṣūbehdari* of the Deccan.

Dilīr Khān left Qādir Dād Khān to collect the arrears of tribute (پیش کش) from both the zamindars and himself started towards Awrangabad with the intention of reducing Bijapur.

Nathuji son-in-law (خویش)[1] of Siva reached the Court

1 خویش : is used for kinsman, particularly a son-in-law.

escorted by the mace-bearers and a detachment of Rajah Jai Singh's troops. Orders were issued that he should be kept under strict surveillance and in chains (سلاسل). Nathuji saw that his only chance of liberty lay in his accepting Islam by way of hypocricy. Through the mediations of some courtiers (مقربان) he communicated his intention to the Emperor who granted his request with great pleasure and instructed him to recite the *kalimah*. His *manṣab* of three thousand and two thousand horse was restored and the title of Muḥammad Quli K͟hān was conferred on him. Later he was appointed to serve under Dilīr K͟hān and went to the Deccan. Here he turned apostate and finding an opportunity joined Siva the accursed, as will be mentioned later. He created disturbances in the Deccan which are continally increasing till this day.

Regnal year 10

Corresponding to 1077 A. H.

In the beginning of the tenth year of the reign, Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, as formerly, was appointed the *Ṣūbehdar* of the Deccan. He was granted a promotion (اضافه) of five thousand horse and a cash (payment) of five lakhs of rupees. [P. 208] Reckoning his original grade, along with the increment, he became a *manṣabdār* of twenty thousand, and twelve thousand horse entitled to the pay of fifteen thousand horse. He was allowed to depart with reinforcements. In the meantime news was received that Rajah Jai Singh had died a natural death.

Trouble in the North-West.

The facts about the rising revolt of the Yūsufza'i Afghans and disturbances reached the Court. A *farmān* for the punishment of that notorious group was issued to Mir K͟hān, the *Ṣūbehdar* of Kabul, Kāmil K͟hān, the *Fawjdār* of Attock and other *Fawjdārs* of the neighbouring area, they were ordered to unite themselves and uproot the ill-natured (بدسگال) community. Kāmil K͟hān

did not wait for reinforcement from the *Ṣūbehdar* and tried to punish the rebels by his own troops. He collected the *Fawjdār*s of his neighbouring places and guided by his right opinion, he undertook great campaigns and fought great battles which I will not be able to describe in detail. In the hard battles fought several thousand Afghans were killed and many horsemen and foot-soldiers of the imperial army were slain. The Afghans had collected forty to fifty thousand horse and foot-soldiers and so continuous fighting took place. Shamshir Khān, one of the followers of Mir Khān, with four or five thousand horse reached at the nick of time to help Kāmil Khān. He in alliance with Kāmil Khān, showed marvels of bravery (تردد رستمانه). The Afghans were severely punished. The heads of two thousand and four hundred Afghans, from among those who were killed in the battle, were sent to the Court and an order was issued to erect a *kallah-mīnār* [1].

Nevertheless the misguided Afghans did not desist from continuing their insurrection, and they began to commit highway robbery and gave trouble to the people more than ever. The petitions of the people for redress against them reached the Court. Accordingly the Emperor appointed Muḥammad Amin Khān, Bakhshi who, in addition to his duties as such, held charge of the *Ṣūbehdari* of Lahore, as *Ṣūbehdar* of Kabul [P. 209] in the middle of *Dhu al-qa'dah* and sent him to punish that cruel people.

The Emperor added three thousand horse to the *manṣab* of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam; his original and additional *mansab* now became fifteen thousand with eight thousand horse. Prince Muḥammed Akbar who till then had no *manṣab* was given the rank of seven thousand, three thousand horse with banner and a drum. Muḥammed Akbar was the only prince who was given *manṣab*, without any service in his early years, (صغرسن). Rajah Ram Singh who, owing to the escape of Siva was deprived of his *manṣab* and had been censured, was now given a *khil'at* of condolence on the death of his father, and his *mansab* of 4000 horse was restored; other rewards were also conferred on him. 'Ināyat Khan was

1 The skulls of the slain were built in a minaret as a mark of victory.

appointed to the *dīwāni* of *khālsah* in place of Rai Lalchand. As Muḥammad Taqi Khan the *Bakhshi* of the Deccan had died, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khān, son of Islām Khān, *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat, was appointed at the post of *Bakhshī* of the Deccan. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, *Dīwān* of Burhanpur, who had come with the *pishkash* of Chandah was given the title of Khān and was appointed *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat and was sent there.

Arrival of 'Abd Allāh Khān.

From the petition of the zamindar of Tibet it came to the notice of the Emperor that 'Abd Allāh Khān, *Wāli* of Kāshghar had, owing to the usurpation and excesses of his son, left with the intention of visiting the House of God (بیت الله) and paying respects to him (the Emperor) and arrived in that territory in a state of utter destitution. He had with him a few members of his family. The Emperor appointed Khwājah Muḥammad Isḥāq as his host and despatched him with necessary arrangements to receive him. After him he sent one hundred and nine horses, some of them with enamelled and gold trappings [P. 210], two elephants with silver coverings (ساز), a dagger, an enamelled sword and gold and silver utensils and different varieties of cloth, carpets and fifty thousand rupees in cash, from the treasury of Kashmir, were fixed as his stipend (تنخواه). Muḥammad Amīn who had gone to his own *ta'alluqah* in Lahore was ordered to stay there till the arrival of 'Abd Allāh Khān, and receive him with hospitality and present to him a sum of fifty thousand rupees from the treasury of Lahore, He was to receive him with all hospitality due to a guest. Orders were also given to officers and *Fawjdārs* at different places to make arrangements for his requirements and his reception as an honoured guest and traveller. Later when he arrived in the vicinity of the capital, the Emperor nominated Ja'far Khān with Asad Khān to receive him. (On his arrival) be received him with all respect at the *'Ibādat khānah*, seated him near himself, and consoled him with cheering expressions. The *ḥawili* of Rustam Khān was allotted for his residence, and arrangements for all his requirements were made. He took his residence there,

Thus, for eight months the Emperor kept him as his guest and then according to his wishes satisfactory arrangements were made for his journey to the *Ka'bah.* A host was appointed to accompany him and he was allowed to proceed towards Surat. The officer-in-charge of the post was also instructed to offer him hospitality and service. Ten lakhs of rupees were spent on his expenses from the date of his arrival to the day of his departure.

Let it be clear to the enlightened minds of the readers that upto the tenth year of the reign of 'Ālamgir *Khuld Ārāmgah*, I have summarized the work of Muḥammed Kāẓim Munshi son of Mirzā Muḥammed Amīn generally known as Mirzā Amīnā who was one of the hereditary scholars of Iran and other writers. I have abridged these writings which ran into seventeen thousand [P. 211] lines. My summary does not go beyond three thousand lines. If even in spite of this the reader gets disgusted owing to the lengthening of the account, lack of proper arrangement and a difference in chronology as compared to other works (نسخه), he should connive at these shortcomings and excuse us.

Regnal years 11 to 21.

Account of the reign of the Emperor from eleventh year to the twentyfirst year ; years have also been mentioned separately.

At the end of the tenth year of the reign the historians were forbidden to write an account of the activities of that just and faith-supporting Emperor.[1] But some competent persons did write,

1 Khāfī Khān's statement about the imperial orders forbidding the compilation of the history of the reign by the court historian has created a misunderstanding as to the Emperor's motive in taking that step. The reason was that like all pious men he attached no importance to the exaggerated praises of his policies and achievements in the style of *Akbarnāmah* which had become a model for Court historians. This was a courageous act because it gave the historians an opportunity to write about his reign independently and uninfluenced by the official accounts which obviously presented a one-sided picture.

cf. Introduction to *'Ālamgīrnāmah* by the Editor p. 5.

particularly Musta'id Khān, secretly wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Deccan without giving details of unpleasant incidents (مکروهات) which occurred in conquest of cities, and Bindraban, who has written a brief account of the second and third decades of the reign. I have not seen, nor found any history containing brief or detailed account of the remaining forty yea s of the reign. Consequently from the eleventh to the twenty-first year of the Emperor's reign, I have not been able to relate the events in the order in which they happened with the dates, the months and the years of their occurrence. Henee, I have made all possible efforts and researches, to collect facts worth writing from the records of offices and the oral statements of trustworthy narrators, and some of the close and intimate associates of the Court and aged eunuchs and was thus able to obtain a brief account (of the period). After attaining the age of discretion what I had seen with my own eyes for a period of thirty or forty years, I preserved it in the chest of memory and have reduced it to writing. When I heard that Bindraban Bahādur-Shāhi, who had been the *Mutaṣaddi* of Shāh 'Ālam during his [**P. 212**] princedom had compiled a history in which he had written an account of more than thirty years, I was very anxious to get the book and made great efforts to obtain it. After great efforts I got hold of a manuscript of the book. In the hope of getting something out of his stored harvest, I read the book from beginning to the end. The book did not contain even half the matter which I had collected and have recorded in these pages. I request the wise and the learned persons that if in the course of reading it they notice any defect or difference in narration or a mistake in chronology which they discover on studying other histories or narrators they should rec ify the errors and exeuse me by way of overlooking the short-comings.

However, my truthful pen will now give a brief account of (the activities) of the noble Emperor.

Moral Reforms

Every day the Emperor enforced the commands of *ari'atSh* and divine orders and prohibitions, to such an extent that he

issued continuous orders prohibiting the collection of *rāhdāri, pandari etc.*. bringing an annual income of lakhs of rupees to the State treasury. Orders were also issued forbidding the use of intoxicants and for closing wine-shops as well as the abolition of pilgrimages to places of worship of Hindus[1] which took place on fixed days and dates every year where men and women gathered in numbers beyond reckoning and sold and purchased goods worth lakhs of rupees, and the entire amount of taxes collected there was deposited in the treasuries of each province.

Music forbidden.

The *kalānwats*[3] and the *qawwāls*,[2] famous for their performances. who were employed as state musicians were asked to take a vow of [**P. 213**] leaving their profession, and their ranks were raised : an order was promulgated prohibiting music and dancing. They say that one day a large party of *kalānwats* and *qawwāls* assembled and made great noise ; they took a funeral procession, weeping and wailing and passed by the foot of the *jharūkah-i-darshan*. On receiving the report the Emperor inquired about the funeral. The *kalānwats* said : "We are carrying the dead body of the music so that we may bury it." The Emperor replied : "Bury it deep in the ground so that no sound or voice may come out of it again."

The practice of darshan abolished.

During the previous reigns upto this year the practice of *Jharūkah-i-darshan* was observed. The Emperors even if they were ill, used to show their face out of the *Jharūkah* once or twice every day at a fixed hour with a view to give publicity of their safety. The *Jharūkahs* were built in the wall of the palaces at Agra and Delhi overlooking the river Jumna. Besides the nobles in attend-

1 Compare with his statement on p. 88, where he says that the tax on the pilgrimage was abolished and not the fairs.

2 *Kalānwats*—Hindu Musicians.

3 *Qawwāl* musicians who recite music in Ṣūfi *samā'*.

4 A window through which the Emperor used to show his face to his people.

ance at the time, several lakhs of people of every community, men and women, used to assemble at the foot of the *Jharūkah* and praised the Emperor and offered prayers (for his safety and health). Many Hindus, known as *Darshani*, did not put any edible inside their mouths, until they had not seen the face of the Emperor. This religious-minded Emperor considered this practice against the *Sharī'at* and unlawful, and discontinued sitting at the window and forbade the assembling of crowds at the foot of the *Jharūkah*.

Tābūt processions prohibited.

In the beginning of the twelfth year (of the reign) report came from the abode of happiness, (دارالسرور) Burhanpur, that the residents of the *muḥallaḥs* of Aḥdipurah and Khirkipurah had a long standing rivalry and jealousy, and that every year the residents of Aḥdipurah displayed superiority over the residents of Khirkipurah and also over [P. 214] the residents of other *Muḥallahs* at the time of the procession of *tābūt*[1] in the *'Āshūrah* with which they used to have two hundred horsemen fully armed in coats of mail and a large number of gunners. During this year one night they came face to face with the residents of Khirkipurah at the time of *tābūt* procession. The people of Khirkipurah wanted to avoid the danger of a clash with the *tābūt* procession of Aḥdipurah, and so they changed their route. But the people of Aḥdipurah being proud because of their ignorance again barred the way of the *tābūt* of Khirkipurah. The parties came to a clash in the vicinity of the *Jāmi' Masjid*; the battle became very serious and many spectators assembled and came to the help of the residents of Khirkipura. So many people came to the help of the residents of Khirkipurah, and climbed over the doors and roofs of the shops that not a single tile was left on the house o' any shopkeeper. More than fifty men of Aḥdipura were killed and nearly a hundred were

1 *Tābūt*: lit. coffin; here a representation of Imām Ḥusayn's tomb carried in processions during the Muḥarram celebrations.

wounded and pearls and other goods of the *tābūt* and banners (شده) of Aḥdipurah valued at nearly forty to fifty thousand rupees were plundered. When the matter was reported to the Emperor he issued orders prohibiting *tābūt procession* in all the provinces of the Empire during the *'Ā͟shūrah.*

In the days of the preceding monarchs particularly in the reign of S͟hāhjahān (صاحب قران ثانی) the poets and the astrologers were highly respected and in every reign one of the poets was given the title of poet-laureate[1] and a distinction over all the other poets and he used to attend the Court at the capital and accompanied it when moving. The astrologers were considered to be a part of the royal entourage and the Secretariat of the *Dīwān,* and were included among prominent service of the Empire. They were given the duties of fixing the dates of the four seasons of the year, the calculation of solar months, the salaries of *jāgīrdārs* who were granted land, cash payment to *Aḥdīs* and gunners, and were also to choose the hours according to the almanacs, kept by them ; [**P. 215**] all of them were dismissed. He also prohibited the practice of the composition and recitation of poetry (by court poets). The fixing of time (for doing any thing) according to astrological calculations and the keeping of such a calender in the Secretariat were stopped. The people working in the Secretariat represented that the calculation of dates of solar months, which the clerks observed according to the almanac had been prohibited, and it was impossible to disburse the salaries without the almanac. The Emperor directed the calculation of solar months should be made according to following couplet :[2]

لا و لا لب لا و لا لا شش سه است
لل کط و کط لل شهور کو نه است

Though from this year, the clerks of the offices made the almanacs and kept their accounts on the principle of '*La*' and '*Lab*', yet it

1 *Malik-al-S͟hu'ara* : lit. the king of the poets.

2 According to the *Abjad* calculations the days of the month will be : 31 ; 31 ; 32 ; 31 ; 31 ; 31 and 30 ; 30 ; 29 ; 29 ; 30 ; 30.

Thus the total number of days in the year would be 365.

was impossible that such a calender should be in conformity with the movements of the sun (تحویل)[1] and that there should be no error in the calculation of the first day of the solar month, for, according to the rules of the astrologers, if the sun has passed from one sign to another even a moment before noon, they will consider this as the first day of the succeeding month. On the other hand, if, even a hundredth part of an hour has passed before the sun's crossing into another sign, they will consider it to be the last day of the month. It is impossible to detect this delicate calculation without the examination of the entries which the astrologers make in their almanacs. In fact even the correctness of the calender of the present day is questionable. However the author of these pages has been able to discover by examining a difference from two and three upto nine or ten days due to lapse of time from the calculations of the astrologers of the revenue records of the *dīwānī* of the Deccan and of the capital as well as from the records of the great Amirs. If intelligent accountants who know the lunar and solar months of the year, carefully calculate the difference the *manṣabdārs* who get salaries after many years of hardship will suffer a loss of large amount besides what they have suffered in past days.

Mahābat Khān warned

The Emperor gave such extensive powers to the *Qāḍis* [P. 216] in the civil administration and general and detailed affairs of the state that it became a cause of jealousy and envy of the leading nobles of the Empire. Thus Qāḍī 'Abd al-Wahhāb Aḥmadābādi the *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt* of the Capital (حضور) had gained such strength and confidence (of the Emperor) that all the leading nobles had begun to guard their honour against him. Mahābat Khān II who was foremost in self-conceit and impertinence before the Emperor, always sought an opportunity to put the *Qāḍī* to shame. I have heard from a reliable narrator and confidants of the family of the *Qāḍī* that at the time when Mahābat Khan was appointed to lead the expedition of the Deccan, he left the capital and stayed for some days outside the city. He requested for the

1 It signifies the passing of the sun from one zodiac sign to another.

sanction of an amount larger than the Emperor wanted to give. In the meantime he came to know that jewels and goods from Kashmir and Akbarabad valued at three to four lakhs of rupees belonging to the *qāḍī* had been brought out of the city along with the traders of Ahmadabad and formed a part of the merchandise of the caravan. After making an inquiry, the whole of it was forcibly seized and distributed among the soldiers. Subsequently when it was reported to the Emperor and he made an enquiry, Mahābat Khān sent a message that he had seized the goods of the merchants out of necessity in the form of a loan which would be returned along with its profits according to the directions of the *qāḍī*. The *qāḍī* considered it advisable to ignore the matter and did not take notice of it.

Capture and release of Shivaji.

One day from the reports of the news-writer of the Deccan, the Emperor came to know of the increased boldness and hostile actions of the accursed Siva. The proposal of sending Mahābat Khān was under consideration. The Emperor turned his face towards Ja'far Khān and Mahābat Khān and said: "This son of an infidel was going far beyond his proper limits. It is necessary to consider how he should be destroyed." [P. 217] Mahābat Khān said in reply: "There is no need of an army and detailing armed forces. The warrant by the *qāḍī* is quite sufficient". The Emperor lost his temper and said to Ja'far Khān in privacy that it was to be explained to Mahābat Khān that he should not utter such absurdities in the Court".

Now, I write a few words about the wretched Siva as to what happened to him after his escape from the Court. That wily infidel started from Mathura towards Allahabad, and Benares with his young son, Sambha, and about forty or fifty couriers and other associates. He had shaved his beard and moustaches and disguised himself. All of them had besmeared their faces with ashes, and disguised themselves as Hindu *faqirs*. Whatever he had of precious jewels and gold coins and *huns* that he could carry

he concealed in hollowed walking sticks and closed their edges. A portion (of the money) was sewn under the soles of old shoes.

They had divided themselves into three different orders of Hindu monastic—*Bayragīs*, *Gusā'ins* and *Udāsīs*. While travelling, he stitched one piece of diamond with some pieces of rubies, fixed in wax, in the clothes of his couriers, and some were put inside the mouths of his companions. He reached a place where the *Fawjdār* 'Ali Quli Khān, before the arrival of mace-bearers had learnt through a written report of his *wakīl* about the flight of Siva and the despatch of the mace-bearers. The *Fawjdār* having heard about the escape of Siva and of the arrival of the three groups of *faqirs*, ordered the capture of all of them. He began to make investigation. For one day and one night all the groups of *faqirs* and some other travellers were kept in prison. On the second night, [P. 218] when two *pahrs* of the night had passed, Siva came alone in privacy before the *Fawjdār* and said: "I am Siva and I have two pieces, a diamond and a ruby, valued at more than a lakh of rupees with me. If you arrest me alive and despatch me to the Emperor, or if you sever my head and send it to him, these two precious stones will not remain with you; here I am and here is my head! (have these stones and keep your hands off us who are wanderers in the valley of misguidance). 'Alī Quli Khān preferred prompt payment to a credit about which there was nothing certain and took those two precious stones from him. In the morning he made an investigation and threatened them but allowed all the *faqirs* and travellers to go. Siva considering his release to be a new lease of life came out of the trap of the *Fawjdār* like an encaged bird which is set free and proceeded towards Benares. In walking fast he could beat any runner, but blisters appeared on the feet of his young son Sambha who was with him and he became a chain round his (Shiva's) feet. Kabkalas, a Brahman of Benares had acted as family *prohit*[1] of his ancesters when they had visited it. Among the Hindus,

1 A Brahman who guides the Hindus in the performance of their religious rites.

it is customary for men of distinction, to give in writing certificates, under their seals to the Brahmans who serve them whereever they go. Siva found out the Brahman (Kabkalas) and entrusted Sambha to his care, giving him some jewels and *as͟hrafis* and said: "If I remain alive and reach my destination and write a letter to you in my own hand you should bring Sambha to me by the road and in the manner in which I write to you, other wise I assign my son and you to God. Do not move from your place, however, on the choice or wishes of my son or on the written request of his mother". [P. 219] Then leaving with Sambha, his old trusted Brahman, through whom he had found Kabkalas, with money enough for the expenses of several years; he took the road to Benares. By chance, on the first day of his arrival at Benares early in the morning, two hours (گهری) before sunrise, he went to bathe in the river as is customary with the Hindus. He had not yet finished shaving his beard and had not washed his body and it was still dark; when the tumultuous noise about the flight of Siva from the Court and of the arrival of mace-bearers and cries of "catch and hold" were heard.[1]

During the days when the writer of these events was staying in the port of Surat, there was a wearer of sacred thread (زناردار) a physician by profession, named Banha (living in the city). He narrated (before me) : "It is the custom in our community that the destitute Brahmans, from far and near, go to Benares to learn astrology, medicine and *S͟hastras* (religious books) and they make one of the Brahmans of that city their teacher and they take their lessons from him and every day in the morning and evening they go to the banks of the Ganges and serve the persons who come to bathe in the river, according to the fixed rules ; (in performing religions rites). Whatever they get from the people, they bring to their teachers without misappropriating or spending

1 It is interesting to note that the seemingly insignificant act of 'Ali Quli K͟hān's acceptance of bribery proved to be an important event in history. If S͟hivaji had not obtained his release from his hands the course of Mug͟hul history would have been different.

any part of it. Their teachers are responsible for their food and clothes which they provide to meet their minimum requirements. I also went to Benares and served a Brahman for three or four years. Whatever I collected on the bank of the river, as others did, I took to my teacher. He acted in a miserly and niggardly way in the provision of my food. One day when it was still dark, I went to the bank of the river as usual. A man caught hold of my hand and gave me a handful of jewels, gold coins and *huns* [P. 220] and said : 'Do not open your hand and make me free from the rites of bathing quickly. I was besides myself, on my good fortune, and casting a hurried glance on what I had, I saw nothing except jewels and gold coins. I hurried with the shaving of his beard and giving him the bath. I was not yet free from his service when there was a noise of the cries of 'catch and hold Siva' and of the arrival of mace-bearers to arrest him. Before I could realise what it was all about, the person whom I had served, had disappeared in the twinkling of an eye. Then I knew that he was Siva. I cast my eyes on the amou t paid to me and found them that there were nine jewels, nine gold coins and nine *huns*. I considered it to be a wise action not to see the face of my teacher. I took the road to my home and reached the port of Surat. The house which I own is on account of that money."

Shivaji's alliance with Golcunda.

In short, from Benares Siva and his companions travelled, by changing their disguise every day a d he passed through Patna, Bihar and Chandah, which was full of dense forest and the territories of zamindars where none but the licenced traders (بیوپاری قول) and errand-bearers could travel. At last secretly he took himself to 'Abd Allāh Quṭb al-Mulk of Hyderabad, and by his fraudulent talks and deceptive conversation he created such false hopes in the mind of 'Abd Allāh Shāh that he became enamoured of his words. As some of the border fortresses of the Quṭubshāhis had been seized by the 'Ādil-Shāhī and as Siva had a great

reputation for capturing the forts, he was able to make an agreement with 'Abd Allāh Shāh on oath and promised to him : "If you supply me with an army and armaments necessary for capturing forts, I will recapture the forts that have been occupied by the Bijapuris in a very short time and will hand them over to your officers, accompanying me. Besides your forts there are others belonging to me [P. 221] which have passed into the possession of the officers of 'Ālamgir. If I recapture any of those with your help and armaments, I will never forget the obligation, and I will consider myself for the rest of my life as one of the slaves purchased and patronized by you". Not foreseeing the future and not keeping in view the past of that cunning and wicked fellow, 'Abd Allāh Shāh placed at his disposal a suitable force with armaments necessary for capturing forts under a few officers capable of holding the forts and instructed them to accompany Siva and obey his orders.

Siva who was skilled in the art of capturing forts by various tricks and strategems took that army along with him and occupied every fort which he came by after a short siege. He put off the officers of 'Abd Allāh Shāh telling them in a persuasive manner that he regarded them as his supporters and would place in their hands another fort better than the one captured and made them hopeful of it by giving them the money and goods obtained from the fort. Thus keeping them under this delusion, he took them to other forts, and seized in a short time, Satara and Parnala and ten or twelve noted forts belonging to Bijapur, which could not have been captured in years and by spending lakhs of rupees, he took all these forts in his possession. Then having seized the fort of Rajgarh and all other forts, the keys of which he had himself handed over (to the imperial officers) in consequence of the efforts of Rajah Jai Singh, Dilīr Khān and other imperial servants, he gave one or two forts to the officers of 'Abd Allāh Shāh and sent them back. According to a well-known report and the oral statements of the people of Hyderabad, Siva came to Hyderabad in the first or second year of the reign of Abu al-Ḥasan,

made friendship with him and cast the dice of deception.[1]

(با ابوالحسن در خورده با او نرد ابله فریبی باخت)

Surat raided by Shivaji.

In short, after capturing the forts, he (Shivaji), as before, took his permanent residence in the fort of Rajgarh and again raised [P. 222] the standard of rebellion. The foundations of the surrounding and protecting wall of the port of Surat had not yet been laid when he raided it, and carried away cash and uncoined gold and silver, goods (قماش) from Kashmir and Ahmadabad and other places, along with several thousand noted Hindu men and women and respectable Muslims with their hands tied. Thus the wicked infideal obtained cash and goods valued at crores of rupees. When this was reported to the Emperor, he ordered the construction of the surrounding wall round the port of Surat and deputed Dilīr Khān and Khān Jahān Bahadur with an army of experienced and brave warriors to punish that wretched fellow.

Shivaji's war with the Mughuls

It is said that Siva had collected ten or twelve thousand Kachhi and Arab horses, whereever he sent his troops most of them also served as his *bārgīrs* (luggage-bearing animals)[2]. He again repaired the forts which he had earlier constructed on the coast of the sea, built war boats and posted them at the foot of these forts. Then he started attacking and plundering ships proceeding to Europe (ولایت) and the House of God (کعبۂ الله). Having fortified Rajgarh his old place of residence, to his entire satisfaction, he concentrated his attention on finding a place in the

1 It may be noted that the ante-Mughul policy of the Deccan States and their alliances with the Marahtas strengthened the latter in rebellon against the central Government. Consequently, in course of time, it became a serious threat to Mughul supremacy in the Deccan. 'Ālamgīr fully realized the magnitude of the danger and this explains why he personally moved to the South to command and supervise the campaigns against his enemies there.

2 *Bārgīr* is used for a horseman not possessing his own as well as a horse used for carrying luggage.

hills more centrally situated than Rajgarh for his residence. After considerable search, he selected the hill of Rahiri which rivalled the skies in height. It was three *kruhs* from the bottom to the top of the hill, whose peak touched the navel of the sky. It was three *kruhs* in height and was at a distance of 24 *kruhs* from the sea but an inlet of the sea was only seven *kruhs* from it. The road to the port of Surat by way of land was about ten or twelve *kruhs*. Rajgarh was at a distance of four halts (منزل) from that place. On the way leading to it there are lofty hills difficult to cross [P. 223] and numerous turnings. (During the monsoons) in these regions rains fall continuously for five months. It appertains to the Konkan, belonging to Niẓām al-Mulk. He began to construct a fort there and built a gate and bastions with fortifications in the extreme centre; then he abandoned Rajgarh and took his residence in the fort of Rahiri. When the fort was complete, he mounted guns on it, blocked all routes leading to it excepting one which it was very difficult to use. Then one day he assembled his people and placed before them a bag full of gold (coins) and gold wristlet (valued at) one hundred '*huns*' and ordered that a proclamation be made that any one who reaches the top of the fort, without the help of a rope or a scaling ladder, by any route other than one meant for the purpose with a banner (نشان) in his hand, the bag and the gold wristlet would be given to him. A man belonging to the Dhir[1] community came forward and said, "If it be the order of the Rajah, I will climb up the top of the hill with a banner and shall return after setting it there". The Dhir, went up that hill with that banner, fixed it at the top and returned in a short time. He paid his respects, and praised him. Siva ordered that the wristlet and the bag full of gold coins be given to the Dhir, but he also directed that his feet be cut off from the joints and the route by which he had gone up the fort should also be closed.

1 The name was afterwards changed to Rā'igrah. It lies to the east of Janjirah (Duff I, p. 190).

2 Dhir : a Community of untouchables in the South India.

Rahiri with its surrounding country (اطراف) originally was in the Konkan which belonged to Niẓām al-Mulk. Subsequently Shāh Jahān (صاحبقران) conquered a part of his territory and also some portion of Bijapur. When he became kindly towards 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur he gave the Konkan to him in exchange of the newly acquired territory. Fatḥ Khān, an Afghān, was the *ḥākim* of the Konkan district on behalf of 'Ādil Shāh, and the fort of Danda-Rajpuri which was half in the sea and half on land, was the seat of his government. Later Siva captured the very strong fort of Jazīrah on the island of Jazīrah which [P. 224] lay in the sea at a distance of gunshot from Danda-Rajpuri.

Whenever an enemy threatened the surrounding territory the *Fawjdār* of the area would take refuge there (Jazīrah). After taking his residence at Rahiri which was at a distance of twenty *kruhs* from Danda-Rajpuri and making it the seat of government he, in no time, seized the seven other big and small forts in that vicinity.

Shivaji captures Janjirah.

Now he resolved upon the capture of Danda-Rajpuri. Fatḥ Khān, in view of the superiority of Siva who had all the forts in his possession lost courage, evacuated Danda-Rajpuri and took shelter in the Island fortress of Jazīrah. Siva on his part made the situation difficult for Fatḥ Khān, because he wanted to capture Jazirah also. Fatḥ Khān thought of surrendering the Jazirah on promise of safety to himself and considered it a blessing to escape with his life in safety. Fatḥ Khān had three Abyssinian slaves, named, Sīdi Sunbul, Sīdi Yāqūt and Sidi Khayriyat, every one of them had ten Abyssinian soldier slaves trained by them, and the entire administration of the Jazīrah and most of his household affairs were in the hands of those Abyssinians. When the three Abyssinians came to know of the superiority of the enemy and

1 Danda-Rajpuri : 15 miles north of Janjīrah.

2 Jazīrah : In Persian it means an island. Now, it is more commonly known as 'Janjīrah' a Marahti equivalent for 'Jazira'.

the intention of Fatḥ Khān to hand over the fort of Jazīrah to Siva, they consulted among themselves as to what would happen to them in case the fort of Jazīrah fell into the hands of the infidels. They decided that they should arrest and imprison Fatḥ Khān and make Sīdi Sunbul their chief and place the administration of the territory in his hands. Accordingly in the 14th year of the reign, the Abyssinians took Fatḥ Khān unawares, chained his feet and informed 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur of the true state of affairs. They also sent a petition to Khān Jahān, the *Ṣūbehdar* of the Deccan, requesting him [P. 225] to take them into the Imperial service and asked him to send them help by way of the fort of Surat by sea route. Khān Jahān sent a kind reply with his recommendation for a *manṣab* of four hundred and two hundred horse for Sīdi Sunbul, three hundred and one hundred horse for Sīdi Yāqūt, and two hundred and one hundred horse for Sīdi Khayriyat, with a *khil'at*. He also sent five thousand rupees in cash for expenses and granted him a flourishing *jāgīr* in the vicinity of the fort of Surat. On receiving the *manṣab*, the *khil'at*, and the money in cash Sīdi Sunbul fastened the girdle of determination to remove the danger (lit. evil) of the accursed Siva. They started repairing the boats lying at the foot of the fort and needed repairs and also began to collect war-boats to cross the sea. One night they attacked the boats of the fort of Danda-Rajpuri and captured two hundred *khalāsīs* (sailors) and foot soldiers who guarded the boats and the sea-coast. (مصالح کشتی و تردد روے دریا بودند) Of these one hundred men of the Marathas who had been recently appointed by Siva were drowned in the sea with heavy stones tied to their feet. From that day bitter enmity developed between the Abyssinians and Siva.

Siva prepared forty or fifty war-boats and busied himself in strengthening the fortifications of the forts of Colaba[1] and Gandiri which were among the newly constructed forts of that accursed fellow on the coast of the sea. Then he began to plan the reduction of the fort of Jazīrah and the capture of the Abyssinians.

1 Colaba : A part of modern Bombay.

Occasionally their were skirmishes between the parties on the sea and often the Abyssinians gained superiority. Sīdī Sunbul had been promoted to the *manṣab* of 900 when he died. At the time of his death he nominated Sīdī Yāqūt as his successor and appealed to other Abyssinians, to obey him and support him unanimously and left a will in his favour.

Yāqūt captures the fort of Danda-Rajpuri.

Sīdī Yāqūt [P. 226] who was noted among his people for his courage, benignity, rehabilitation and planning (آپادکاری و منصوبه سازی) engaged himself in collecting war-boats with arms and ammunition (مصالح جنگی) and in constructing bastions and towers of the fort and making exertions for sea-faring more than before He remained fully armed day and night and never exposed his back except when going to lavatory or cohabiting with women. For a second time he captured the boats of the enemy on the open sea and struck off the heads of many a Marhata and sent them to the port of Surat. He also sent reports to Khān Jahān, on whose recommendation he got frequent promotions (from the Court). He (Sīdī Yāqūt) was constantly planning and designing to capture the fort of Danda-Rajpuri from the accursed (Sivā). He collected some light guns (توپ هاے هوائی) fastened them with the trees and fired them in the direction of Danda-Rajpuri, at night. In the same way the wretched (Siva) used different tactics to capture the fort of Jazīrah. He promised to give in reward one maund of gold with other suitable things to those of his sardars who were expert in capturing forts. During the days of *Holi* when Siva had fixed for his residence a place, three *kruhs* from the fort of Rahiri and passed his night in making plans for the capturing the fort of Jazīrah. On the night when the infidels idside the fort of Danda-Rajpuri were celebrating the Holi festival and had become intoxicated and had lost their senses, Sīdī Yāqūt detailed Sīdī Khayriyat with four or five hundred men with necessary equipment for reducing the fort, including ropes and scaling ladders and directed him to march from the side of land.

He himself, with thirty or forty boats full of armaments for assault reached the foot of the fort from the side of the sea. Finding the garrison off their guard and dead drunk, on a signal which had been arranged between Sīdī Yāqūt and Sīdī Khayrīyat [P. 227] they attacked the fort. Sīdi Kharyaiyat raised the alarm of attack from the side of the land. The infidels on knowing it engaged themselves collecttively in repelling the attack from that side. Sīdī Yāqūt, with his brave warriors and with the help of ladders, which they had fastened from the boats to the foot of the fort, quickly and dexterously entered the walls of the fort. In this attempt some of his followers, whose hour of death had approached, were drowned in the sea of annihilation and some tasted the syrup of martyrdom at the hands of the infidels. Inside the fort they raised the cry of "catch and kill". In the meantime some men (Marahtas) with a sardar had gone to open the store of gunpowder, in order to bring it out and distribute it. Fire fell from their hands in the powder and all those who had assembled there, like moths were blown up along with their sardar as also the roof of the store. Ten or twelve of the venturesome (جان باز) followers of Sīdī Yāqūt also joined the group of martyrs. Sīdi Yāqūt who was fond of repeating the cant word *khasu* was unable to distinguish the friend from the foe in the curls of the smoke and the tumult of noise on every side He cried out: "O brave men, remain firm I am alive and safe." They stretched their hand and arms to kill and capture the infidels who had escaped from fire. In this state Sīdī Khayriyat, also, reached inside the fort along with his brave warriors, with the help of ladders and ropes ; and conquered it.

Shiva's contest with the Abyssinians

The writer of the events who happened to stay in that district for a long time, has heard several times the following (anecdotes) from the tongues of the men of that country and from Yāqūt Khān himself. At the time when the roof of the powder-magazine was blown up along with the soldiers and workmen (عمله و فعله) Siva though he was at a distance of twenty *kruhs*, jumped up from

his sleep and said to his friends and followers [P. 228]: "Some misfortune has fallen on the fort of Danda-Rajpuri" He despatched fast-running spies and couriers to bring the news.

Siva had seized six or seven forts of Niẓām al-Mulk lying within four or five *kruhs* of Danda-Rajpuri As in those days, the army of Siva with the house-hold troops of that damned fellow had gone to raid the surrounding districts of the port of Surat, he could not send help to other commandants of the forts. Sidi Yāqūt considering it to be a good opportunity attacked these forts. As the reports of the supremacy of the Abyssinains had become known all over the district, the commandants of the six forts after a resistance of two or three days sought protection for their lives and handed over the forts to Sidi Yāqūt, and became safe. The commandant of one fort, held out for one week in the hope of getting help from Siva and came very near the entrenchement of the Abyssinians. They reduced him to great straits by the fire of light artillery and other armaments used in capturing forts. He sought protection and surrendered the fort (to the Abyssinians). In spite of promising protection to seven hundred persons who came out of the fort, Sidi Yāqūt made all the young men and handsome women his slaves and conferred on them the honoured Islam and released the old and ugly women; he killed the rest of the men. From that day such a fear of the Abyssinians over-awed the heart of Siva and other infidels that he considered it a good fortune to be able to keep the fort of Rahiri only and did not dare to think of re-occupying any other forts. Subsequently Sidi Yāqūt informed Prince Muhammad Mu'aẓẓam, *Ṣūbedhdār* of the Deccan and Khān Jahān Bahādur; about the capture of Danda-Rajpuri and other forts, orders were issued regarding the promotion, *Khil'at* and conferment of the title of Khān on Sidi Yāqūt and Sidi Khayriyat The remaining acheivements of the Abyssinians will be described at the proper place.

Sambha returns

[P. 229] Now I will describe, in a few words, how Siva called Sambha whom he had left at Allahabad with the wearer of the

thread Kabkalas. Siva wrote (forged) a letter to himself on behalf of Kabkalas informing him of the death of Sambha. He publicized the news of the death of his son and sat in mourning. The neighbouring zamindars and some Amirs and Rajputs posted in the Deccan and who had secret correspondence with Siva wrote letters of condolence to him. The wife of Sambha who had reached the age of puberty wanted to become a *Sati*,[1] Siva prevented her from doing so by appeals and solicitations. He performed all the ceremonies necessary for the dead person accordingly. When the Emperor heard the news from the reporters and news-writers of the port of Surat and its vicinity he said : "The world is cleared of the rubbish." Even four or five months had not passed to this when Sambhaji, accompained by Kabkalas arrived from Allahabad. Siva ordered the beating of the drums of rejoicings. Later when the wife of Siva and his friends asked him the reason of his spreading the bad news, he replied : "It would have been difficult for my son to accomplish a journey of two months, if, by these rumours I had not kept the Emperor off his guard and prevented him from making a search for my son".

Happenings at the Court

Now, I postpone writing the remaining account of that damned infidel and the efforts of the Abyssnianas that have become proverbial in the Konkan, for another occassion and divert my attention to the writing of the events at the Court.

The Emperor by one stretch of pen withdrew the duties on all the mercantile belonging to Muslims throughout the territory of Hindustan. After some time on the proposals of the revenue officers and the decisions of the learned persons and jurists he issued orders that all goods of the value of less than the taxable

1. *Sati*: a funeral ceremony among the high class Hindus and particularly among the Rajputs in which a widow threw herself on the pyre of her dead husband and burnt herself. Even the widows who were not prepared to sacrifice their lives were forcibly burnt. It was finaly abolished in the days of Governor General William Bentinck.

limit of the *zak'āt*[1] belonging to Muslims should be exempted and that duty should be levied on all merchandise of higher value [P. 230] No duty was to be paid on *muḍārabat*[2] Merchandise. Again, it was reported by the thrifty (کفایت انجام) revenue officers that the Muslims, in order to get exempted from duty brought their goods in the markets, by instalments, and got the goods of the Hindus written in their own name, and thus the payment of *zakāt*, which according to the *Sharī'ah* law, is the right of the people; is evaded. On this the Emperor ordered that, as in the past and according to the *Sharī'ah* law the Muslims should pay 2½% and the Hindus 5% as duty on their respective goods.[3]

Suppression of disturbances in the North-Western tribal Area

As already stated, the reports of the disturbances created by the Yusufza'is and their domination, in Kabul in the jurisdiction of the Ṣūbehdāri of Sayyid Mir Khān were continuously reaching the Court. Consequently he sent Āghur Khān who had left the camp of Khān Khānān (Mīr Jumlah), without his consent and had for this act been censured by the Emperor; was restored to favour because of his bravery and active services and entrusted with the work of reinforcing the forces in Kabul. On reaching Peshawar Āghur Khān used his sword so skillfully in slaughtering the Afghāns that minarets of the severed heads of the disturbers and the wretched Afghāns were raised around Kabul and Peshawer. After that also when Mahābat Khān became the Sūbehdār of Kabul, Āghur Khān performed noteworthy exploits. When Mahābat Khān was replaced

1 *Niṣāb*: A Muslim who holds more then Rs. 52/8/- in cash or goods worth more than that must pay as *Zakāt* or religious tax at the rate of 2/1/2 per cent, and he is called *Sāhib-e-Niṣāb* or taxable person. *Niṣāb* is the minimum taxable limit of property or money.

2 *Muḍārabat*: Business partnership in which profits are divided between the investor and the working partner.

3 From the brief reference in the text it appears that the Emperor's orders were discriminatory as the Hindus paid at the rate of 5 p. c. and the Muslims at the rate of 2 1/2 p. c. Actually the position was that the Muslims paid 2 1/2 p.c. in the form of *zakāt* and 2 1/2 p. c. in the form of custom duty, while the Hindus paid the entire amount as custom duty.

by Muḥammad Amin Khān, son of Mir Jumlah, in the Ṣūbehdāri of Kabul, continuous reports of the rising tide of the rebellion of ill-natured Siva in the Deccan were reaching the Court, the Emperor called Mahābat Khān and Āghur Khān to the Court and sent them to the Deccan to assist the permanent sardar there to punish the enemy in the Deccan. Mahābat Khān killed many infidels in the Deccan. [P. 231] Āghur Khān, particularly, showed remarkable bravery in the reduction of the fort of Phul-Patnah. It will appear to be an exaggeration if I were to describe the remarkable achievements of Āghur Khān first under Bahādur Kokaltāsh and later on as vangurard of Dilīr Khān. I will therefore briefly describle only one of the battles between Dilīr Khān and the Marhatas.

Dilīr Khān's victory over the Marhatas

It is the usual strategy of the Marhatas that they always appear at first, in a small force and then retreat to the jungle with impassable rivulets and springs. Then they surround the enemy on all sides and reduce him to straits. Accordingly in the beginning they came before Āghur Khān with four or fiive hundred men. In the vanguard of Āghur Khān there was only a small number of troops yet in the very first charge he expelled and defeated that wretched party and the valiant lion of the war continued pursuing them, When the Marahtas made the Mughul forces follow them for three or four *kruhs* (from the main army), the horses of the wicked enemy numbering seven or eight thousand thronged from all sides and started fighting. Āghur Khān, not caring for the large number of the infidels charged the crowd full of enthusiasm like a lion, which jumps at a flock of goats, and washed the dust of the misfortune of those unlucky persons with the water of the lightning-like sword in whichever direction he turned his face and attacked like Rustam. Later when the Marahtas were reduced to straits and two or three noted sardars known as *rawats* who considered themselves as unique in bravery and swordsmanship came before Āghur Khān and his brother. They faced them bravely but were ultimately sent to hell by the stroke of the sword of Āghur Khān. The rest of them

took to [P. 232] flight and the enemy suffered a crushing defeat. In the meantime, Dilīr Khān, on knowing of the large numbers of enemy forces came to Āghur Khān, with his special force (سردم خاص) and praised him. This has been described in verse in *Āghur Namah.*

Verse :

Before every one of them, the enemy came forward in thousands ; they faced them and they were sent to hell.

So, many of the enemy were killed beyond reckoning,
The Earth could not receive the light of the sun.
When the enemy became helpless in fighting.
He thoughtlessly sought the way of flight.
Dilīr Khan, at that moment, arrived from behind.
He eulogised the hero of the world (i.e. Āghur Khān).

In short, two banners and many unbrellas fell in their hands. The enemy was pursued and the country ravaged upto Poona which was the abode and place of refuge of the wretched, and so much booty fell into their hands that it was difficult to collect it. Even to this day Āghur Khān II, the worthy son of Āghur Khān keeps the Marahta banners which his father had wrested from the chieftains of Siva, as sovuenirs of his brilliant victory.

'Ālamgir goes to the North-West.

In short, it was reported to the Emperor that at the stage of Gharīb Khānah, between Peshawar and Kabul, a fierce battle took place between Muḥammed Amīn Khān, *Ṣubehdār* of Kabul, and Aymal Khān and other Afghān Sardars who had flocked, in numbers larger than ants and locusts. After a severe figting and great efforts by Muḥammed Amīn with his son, his son-in-law, a number of his prominent servants and many men of the imperial troops met their death, and many Afghāns were also killed ; his army suffered defeat, and matters reached such a state that all the treasure, luggage, elephants and other goods were plundered. The families (قبائل) and the women of the sardars and their followers

were captured by the Afghāns. [P. 233] With a thousand efforts Muḥammad Amīn Khān and a small number of troops, managed to escape alive from the catastrophe. (The Afghāns) on receiving a large amount, released the infant daughter of Amīn Khān who was of tender age, along with a few women of Amīn Khān. It is said that the mother of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, with his infant daughter, came back to him, but his wife, out of shame, did not return to her husband. She put on plain clothes and shirt and devoted herself to the worship of God.

The news of the disturbance created by Aymal Khān became so widely known that the animal like accursed fellow struck coins in that hilly country in his own name and made himself known as 'Aymal Shāh'. On receiving the report, the Emperor was much grieved and in the end of the sixteenth regnal year he raised the banner of attention in the direction of Kabul. Favouring Āghur Khān he issued a *farmān* to him asking him to come back from the Deccan by forced marches. He appointed Fidā'i Khan Kukah to the *Sūbah* of Kabul.

Islām Khān of Baṣrah joins Mughul service.

About this time Islām Khān Rūmī,[1] the *ḥākim* of Baṣrah, who according to the terminology of the place is designated as '*Pāsha*' happened to arrive in Hindustan. A brief account is given here. Owing to a quarrel with his relations and rivals, there had occurred a confusion in his hereditary territory and mutual hatred, prejudices and confusion had reached to such an extent, that after setting fire to parts of the city and some villages and burning many houses of the leading persons and noblemen, he came to the Court by way of the port of Surat. He became the recipient of imperial favours [P. 234] and was granted a *manṣab* of 5000 with four thousand horse, drum and other insignia of the nobility of Hindustan. He was sent on the expedition of the Deccan to

1 The author of *Tadhkirah Salāṭīn* writing under the year twelve of the reign corresponding to 1079-80 H. says Ḥusayn Pāsha reached the Court on 15 Ṣafar in 1080 and received the title of Islām Khān. (Edit).

help Khān Jahān Bahādur and Dilīr Khān, who were fighting in that year a great battle against Buhlūl Khān Bijāpurī. A short accouut about the end of the expedition will be given when the events of the kingdom of 'Ādil Shāh Bijapuri will be narrated.

Death of Ja'far Khān.

During this year Ja'far Khān the wazīr died.[1] Among the *amīrs* of the later period no one was seen or heard of who could be equal to him in excellence of manners and *mirzā'i* etiquette (مرزا منشی) and sensetiveness as far as taste and smell were concerned. It is said, one day they brought for Ja'far Khān a water-melon from the Konkan, better than which a water-melon is not found in Hindustan. After it was cut into pieces and distributed among those who were present, he also tasted a bit of it. All of them opened their tongues in its praise, but Ja'far Khān said "There is no doubt that in sweetness, freshness, fragrance, freedom from tissues and bigness of size nothing better than this has been seen, yet it has one defect and it is that the smell of fish comes out of it when it is eaten" This is because when they sow the water-melons in the fields in the Konkan, they sprinkle, fertilizer, prepared with small bits of fish mixed with soil, over it. It strengthens the soil and the harvest of melons is improved." All those present, after hearing this, praised Ja'far Khān and his information.

The writer of these pages has heard the following from Qāḍī Abu al-Fatḥ, the qāḍī of Dhar in the province of Malwa, who was among the capable [P. 235] honest and famous persons of the day: "I had a chance of going to the presence of Ja'far Khān. I had come to know that he was very fond of white and costly cloth. I therefore ordered for the preparation of specially fine thread and yarn and after securing it, I gave it to the weavers to prepare the *jāmahwār* Bhayron[2], which is very finely prepared in that part of the land, and is given in present to the nobles. I got nine pieces

1 The author of *Tadhkirah Salāṭīn* gives the death of Ja'far Khān in the thirteenth year of the reign corresponding to the end of 1080 H.

2 *Jāmahwār* is a kind of fine and beautifully printed cotton cloth generally prepared in South India. This was used by the nobility all over Ihdia.

of the cloth, washed them and took them along with me. When I reached the Court, I sent for the white and plain *jāmahwārs* worth forty to fifty rupees, from the Imperial cloth merchants. I compared the two and the latter could not match it, and being convinced of their being worthy of a present I took them to him as a *nadhr*. As in the lists of presents nine pieces of white cloth were mentioned, when I appeared before Ja'far Khān, I took one piece of the cloth in my hand and went before him. As he had a great liking for white cloth, he called me before himself as soon a he saw the white cloth in my hand. He examined one fold of the cloth touching it with his small finger and frowning at me said : "O Qāḍī! this cloth is rough. Of what use is it?" I ventured to reply: "The white cloth is wide enough for a *chāndni*."[1] On hearing this he was very much pleased and approved the cloth, and ordered that it should immediately be cut into *chāndnis*. The Emperor appointed Asad Khān as wazīr but in all the affairs pertaining to *wizārat* he conducted himself. At this time the news of the death of 'Abd Allāh Quṭub Shah and of the succession of Abu al-Ḥasan, the son-in-law of Quṭb al-Mulk, despite his having no right to inherit the throne, was received; its details will be given at the proper place.

Abu al-Ḥasan ascends the throne.

[P. 236] As the Emperor (خلد مکان) intended to punish the Afghāns of Kabul, he restored Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān to his old *manṣab*, and conferred on him other honours. Kifāyet Khān was appointed the *Dīwān* and Muḥammad Rafī', the son of the brother of Wazīr Khān ; as *Bakhshī* of the Prince. In the sixteenth year of the reign corresponding to 1083 H. (1673 A. C.) Khān Jahān Bahādur, with Dilīr Khān as his vanguard, accompanied by Islām Khān crossed the river Bhambirah and reached the vicinity of the town of Malkher[2] which is situated at a distance of four stages from Bijapur. Here a stiff battle was fought between Buhlul Khān Bijapuri and the Imperial troops: Islām Khān

1 A white cloth spread over a carpet.

2 Malkher—About 30 miles south east of Gulberga (duff. I. P. 78).

Rūmī made great efforts but the pressure of the enemy was heavy and the Imperial troops were surrounded on all sides by the enemy like the compass. The gun powder was being distributed among the troops near the elephant of Islām Khān. It caught fire and owing to the shock of the flames received by the elephant of Islām Khān and its driver, the beast went out of his control as he, himself, had lost control over himself. The elephant took Islām Khān inside the army of the Bijapuris who surrounded it and pulled him down and killed him on the spot. In this battle a large quantity of the Imperial army stores were destroyed and many of the men of Dilīr Khān and Khān Jahān Bahādur were killed. The flames of the fiire of battle had risen so high that for several *kruhs* the trunks of the elephants and skulls of men appeared to have become the polo sticks and balls of the brave warriors.

Verse :—

The trunks of the elephants lay dispersed all over the field.
The bodies of the slain were scattered for miles.
With the trunks of the elephants and heads of the soldiers (it appeared as if)
The polo sticks and balls were scattered all over the field.

The Imperial army was ultimately reduced to great straits, but in spite of the victory of the obstinate Deccanis, its commanders did not lose heart. [P, 237] The distance which they had covered on the back of horses and elephants in four or five days in pursuit of the Deccanis was now covered in their retreat step by step, in three weeks' time.

Āghur Khān's victory over the Afghāns at 'Ali Masjid.

At the time when the Emperor heard the news of the defeat of Dilīr Khān and of the death of Islām Khān, through reports from the Deccan, he was contemplating punishing the Afghāns; so he marched in the beginning of the seventeenth year of the reign towards Hasan Abdal and postponed the chastisement of the Deccanis for a future occasion. Āghur Khān, in compliance

with the orders of his return to the Court, left all superfluous equipments in the Deccan and with barely necessary luggage, accompanied by his family (قبیله) and followers he separated himself from the army and marched so rapidly that human reason hesitates to believe it; he travelled the distance of three or four months in forty days. When the Emperor was at the stage of sarā'i Kharbūzah on his way to Hasan Abdal, he (Āghur Khān) presented himself before him, and became the recipient of praise and unlimited favours. On reaching Hasan Abdal the Emperor detailed some experienced officers and four or five thousand horsemen to serve with Āghur Khān, and giving him two lakhs of rupees and showing to him other favours he sent him to punish the Afghāns. When Āghur Khān reached Peshawar, a body of the Afghāns who had suffered a defeat at his hands on an earlier occasion, made a plan jointly with some Maymand chiefs and launched a night attack on him. On being informed that brave lion of warfare offered resistance and fought like Rustam. A large number of them (Afghāns) were killed and wounded and the rest of the unlucky ones fled away. That brave rider of the field of battle pursued them and the valiant Mughuls [P. 238] severed the head from the body and stripped the saddle of the rider of any one they fell upon, till the pursuers made the defeated (Afghāns) retreat to their original home. Nearly three hundred horsemen of that wretched (بد عاقبت) group became the fodder of the sword and the targets of their arrows and spears. About two thousand men and women were captured, a large amount of booty and a large number of animals were seized. They returned to Peshawar victorious and triumphant. Later the Afghāns made a request for the release of the prisoners and paying large amounts of money as ransom they took back the captives. When the news of this victory reached the Emperor, he gave him (Āghur Khān) a promotion and a *khila't* and ordered him to go to Khaybar and kill and uproot that wretched group. Fidā'ī Khān the Ṣūbahdār and other officers at Peshawar were to act as vanguard of Āghur Khān and help him in punishing and chastising the misguided Afghāns. In whichever direction Āghur Khān turned his face,

he raised mounds of the dead Afghāns. At last nearly forty thousand Afghāns of the Khaybar were joined by others, to launch a night attack on Āghur Khān at the stage of 'Ali Masjid. The Mughuls came to know of it and went out to offer resistance; a fierce battle was fought, resulting in tumultuous fighting. The armies held their grounds for a long time and many were wounded and killed on both the sides. Āghur Khān received a severe wound but ultimately owing to the good fortune of 'Ālamgīr and the bravery of the Mughuls, he launched brave attacks on those wretched persons despite his injuries. The Afghān forces were defeated and the cry of "kill, kill" arose from all sides. Every Mughul drove a group of Afghāns before him like frightened flocks of goats. [P. 239] They seized the arms of the slain and loaded them on the heads of the captured Afghāns, tied their hands with ropes and forced them to run before their horses. When counted, thousands of Afghāns were found to have been captured or made the fodder of swords and the targets of spears and arrows of the Mughuls. Those who had escaped the swords turned their faces to mountains and passes. Of the verses of defective metre of *Āghur-nāmah* some are given below to make the narrative[1] delightful regardless of their correctness.

Verse:

As the Afghāns had not the courage to fight,
They were, at that time defeated without any delay;
They were dispersed in the direction of every hill and every path.
They were dispersed like the hair scattered by comb. (شانه زده)

Āghur Khān sent the despatch of victory along with the countless heads (of the slain) and a large number of captives to the Court. After it was reported to the Emperor, Āghur Khān became the recipient of praises. The Emperor promoted him and conferred

1 'Ali Masjid. A fort in the Khaybar Pass.

on him *khil'at*, *mumiyā'i*[1] and an amulet written in his own hand. These favours became the cause of the jealousy of his rivals, particularly his Indian-born companions, who began to burn in the fire of jealousy.

Verse :

The people who were with him.
Became his enemy out of jealousy.
Out of jealousy his companions.
Became his deadly enemies.
Because (they thought) as long as his name lived in the world ;
No one would mention their name.

In spite of the efforts and fighting of Āghur Khān and other Imperial servants the Afghāns, though defeated, continued to re-assemble like ants and locusts because their number was very large. Making the mountain passes their place of refuge, they obstructed the passage of the travellers and the Imperial troops. The hypocricy and jealousy of his companions was thus in addition to the troubles caused by them. The crossing of Khaybar by Fidā'i Khān, the Ṣūbahdār (of Peshawar), had become difficult. Āghur Khān, under the orders of the Emperor acted [P. 240] as the vanguard of Fidā'i Khān, and fighting and killing the enemies escorted him from Peshawar to Jalalabad by way of Bazarak and Sih-Chobah. Fidāi Khān then left Āghur Khān with Sulṭān Murād Quli and Sulṭān Lashkari who were said to be the princes of the Gakkhar[2] and some Rajputs and Afghāns, numbering five thousand horse ; who were under that lion of fighting of noble

1 *Mūmiyā'i* is-Like *mūm* (bee wax) name of a medicine having remarkable healing powers. It is of black colour and comes out of stones in the inner hilly regions of Kashmir, Afghanistan, Pamir and the Himalayas. It heals wounds and is both taken orally and applied externally. It is also taken in cases of fractures of bones.

2 Gakkhar—This is differently written in Persian histories, sometimes it is written as 'Kobkar' and 'Kohgar' meaning a worker in stones. It is a tribe of the frontier region.

birth for the control of the highway and recovering the territory of Nik-Bahār which had fallen into the hands of the wretched Afghāns. He (Fidā'i Khān) then left for Kabul. In that region also that high born Turk showed marvels of bravery in the suppression of the Ghilza'i Afghāns, who were notorious for their dirty ways, and bad character. Fierce actions were repeatedly fought battles. In the same way the Afghāns of Nik-Bahār surrendered to the strokes of his sword and the road of Chalag which was closed owing to the disturbances of those ill-natured people was re-opened. Then he proceeded to Thana of Gandamak and stayed there. The Afghāns who could not even dream of opposing and fighting against that valiant warrior assembled in a force of thirty to forty thousand footmen and horse, and made a surprise night attack on Āghur Khān. The Mughuls, were informed of it but they did not lose courage and in order to repel the danger of that evil body, engaged in fighting with them. Hand to hand fighting followed and lasted till the afternoon ; much blood was shed. The Afghāns, were slain and wounded beyond reckoning. Those who were not slain took to flight.

Later, when Fidā'i Khān wanted to return to Peshawar from Kabul, the ill-natured Afghāns, in countless numbers, assembled and stopped his passage. A great battle took place. Fidā'i Khān guided by the jealous rivals of Āghur Khān, [**P. 241**] did not consider it necessary to take the Mughuls as his vanguard and appointed a leading Arab commander as his vanguard. After making great efforts he was killed and such a defeat was inflicted on the vanguard of the army that all the elephants, artillery, baggage, women and goods and belongings of the men were plundered and seized by the Afghāns. However with great efforts the main army was saved. Having no other alternative Fidā'i Khān sent fast messenges to Āghur Khān asking him to come (to his help). Āghur Khān, along with a few thousand horse rushed like a hawk and reached there. At Katal Chalak which is noted for difficult passes, a fierce battle was fought. The Imperial army was reduced to great distress owing to the shower of arrows, musket balls and the rolling of heavy elephant-terrifying stones (by the Afghāns) from up the hills.

Verse:

The Afghāns from above and they from below.
Shot musket balls, stones and arrows at each other.
Like showers of rain from up the hill.
Thousands of stones were rolled down and arrows shot.

Ultimately owing to the efforts of that Rustam of his age, the Afghāns were defeated and Fidā'ī Khān reached Jalalabad and in compliance with the orders of the Emperor he started setting up *thānah* and erecting forts on the route.

Construction of Āghurābād

The Emperor, the destroyer of his enemies, after the lapse of three years returned to his capital from Hasan Abdal, at the end of the 18th or in the 19th year of his reign. Fidā'i Khān, the Ṣūbahdār of Kabul was transferred and Amīr Khān the son of Khalīl Allāh Khān, was appointed *Ṣūbahdar* of Kabul. Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam was ordered to remain in Kabul till the administration of Amīr Khān was firmly established and he was directed to help him. Āghur Khān, with Maharajah Jaswant singh, along with some other brave officers of the reinforcing troops was appointed to serve under Amīr Khān. Amīr Khān, [P. 242] with Āghur Khān as his vanguard, came to Peshawar and engaged himself in punishing the Afghāns. The Prince, according to Imperial orders, started for Lahore after some time. Āghur Khān engaged himself in erecting the fort of Āghurabād and etc., in Nik Bahar, and collecting necessary materials for erecting the fort he completed it in a short time.

Verse :

He laid the foundation of the fort
He inhabited it with slight attention.
As the fort was completed at that place.
For that reason it was given the name of Āghurābād.

As the report of the erection of the fort spread among the Afghāns they thought that it would cause obstruction to disturbances being created by them.

Verse :

For this reason they (the Afghāns) became grieved and bewildered.
They became distracted and perplexed.
The Afghāns raised their heads from every direction.
Every one was determined to shed the blood of Āghur Khān.
From the banks of Attock upto the border of (Qandahar)
A very large army appeared.
All of them gathered together for battle.
It was not an army but the Caucasus mountain.
All of them were armed to take a revenge
They reached the border of the territory of Lamghān.

At this time the news about the concentration of the Afghāns reached Amīr Khān. He sent Muhammad Raḍā the commandant of his own artillery, with one thousand horse and the Imperial park artillery, to help Āghur Khān. On being informed of this Āghur Khān also arranged his army. He appointed Muhammad Raḍā the commandant of the artillery with one of his brothers, who had experience of war, and some Mughul warriors as his vanguard. He posted Tangri Wardi Khān, his real brother with a large number of brave warriors experienced in fighting on one side. On the other side, the Rajputs and brave Afghāns under the command of the princes of Gakkhars were posted. After making these arrangements he prepared himself to fight the world [P. 243] tormenting جهان آشوب forces of that wicked group (the Afghāns).

Battle of Lamghān[1]

On the other side the wicked Aymal Khān, along with some *Sardārs* of Lamghān and noted *Tumandārs*, every one of whom had brought with him countless foot soldiers and fierce and cruel horsemen proceeded to oppose the Imperial troops. A bloody and well contested battle took place and blows were exchanged. The din of battle resounded in that desolate field and hills. On every side the heads of the chiefs rolled like balls in blood and dust

1 The territory of Lamghān lies in the vicinity of Ghaznin. Vide *Farhang-i-Jahangir*, Vol. II.

On every side, where the brave Mughuls attacked the leopard-like Afghāns, with the noise of drums and blowing of trumpets, they separated the heads from the bodies and weapons from the waists of those malevolent and misguided people. The wretched Afghāns relying on the shelter of the impassable mountains and the large number of their forces made fierce (صف ربا) charges on the Imperial army and subjected it to great hardships. There was little hope left of the safety of Āghur Khān's force, but owing to the firmness of that Turk of noble birth ; he along with his son and brother and other brave warriors, killed large numbers of men. He killed a large number of noted chiefs of those unlucky people along with thousands of Afghāns with their swords and spears and thus created confusion (تزلزل) in the ranks of those wretched people.

I am giving below a few verses from the *Āghurnāmah* from the description of the battle of Lamghān.

Verses :

The Mughul spies communicated
The news, to their Khān, in full details.
At that very moment the brave Khān
Got himself armed from head to foot.
He girded a crescent shaped sword,
On his side—that Khān, high minded like sky.
[**P. 244**] A quiver engraved with gold, on his side,
That war-minded hero fastened.
Other warriors following his example.
Drowned themselves in the ocean of iron (fully armed themselves).
When they made all the preparations for attack,
They mounted their horses rapidly and skilfully,
They reached the site of battle.
(Where they saw) the Afghāns standing like a black cloud.
(The Khān) took his position in the centre of his troops,
On both the sides the armies became ready for battle.

On every side they arranged their ranks
The warriors became ready for battle,
War drums were beaten on both the sides
They gave out the sound : Diranga, Dirango, Diranga, Dirang.[1]
The small drum roared and the flute wailed
It appeared as if the mountains had moved from their places.
The sound of trumpet became so loud,
That even the Mars was shocked.
The golden cymbals raised such a wailing noice
That the souls of the enemy writhed in pain.
The trumpet raised such a lamentation from its heart
That its own parts were separated from one another.
The warriors moved here and there in anger
They bit their lips with the teeth of envy.
With swords and daggers, and arrows and bows,
They deprived one another of their lives.
The battle cry of 'catch and hold' of the warriors in the battle
Caused a shudder in the Caucasus.
The noise of ' Taraqa ' Taraqo Taraq[2]
Starting from Lamghān reached 'Irāq.
The bows, out of zeal, tied round their waist,
So that they might receive an arrow in their heart.
Every one became so ready with the arms of war,
And became firm to fight the enemy without hesitation.
The brave warriors of both the armies.
Attacked each other as the wind attacks straw.
The fighting became so brisk,
That the feathers of the arrows were burnt.
Such was the tumult and noise on both the sides,
That the bile was consumed in the realm of the body.
The wailings of the two sides raised in a way,
That the space and time began to shiver.

1 This is the sound of the tinkling of drums. It also means constancy.
2 The noise of a crack.

The brave warriors caught each other so fiercely,
The field of battle was changed into the Day of Resurrection.
[P. 245] One caught hold of the collar of another,
And opening of the collar became one with the side opening of the shirt.
One struck the sword at the head of another,
The death galloped up and down.
They fought so fiercely
That the water of Lamghān river was changed into blood.
They raised their war cries like thunder in spring season.
They were interlocked with each other like lightning and clouds.
All of them drew their swords out of their sheath
In order to kill the Afghāns and the rebels.

It is said, that once again owing to the pressure of the Afghāns there was every possibility of the defeat of the army under the prominent leader (چشم و چراغ) of the Mughuls, when that lion-hearted destroyer of the ranks of the enemy, galloped from the centre of the army, attacked the crowd (of the Afghāns) and fought Rustam like in such a way that some of the noted horsemen dropped from their saddles on the ground and the rest of the army fled away.

Verse :

When Āghur Khan roared like a lion,
And the brave warrior galloped his horse on the field of battle,
He fell on the enemies for taking their lives,
As a lion jumps on the deer,
He fought the enemy's brave men.
He scattered the enemy on every side.

It is related that after the defeat of the Afghāns of Khaybar and Lamghān, Aymal Khān remained firm on his position to display his courage. Āghur Khān, pushing and throwing away the men, came close to him and a hand to hand fight ensued.[1] The wicked (Afghān)

1 کار به مشت و گریبان رسید

leader, like a wounded prey, was on the point of becoming the target of the bow-string of that Rustam of his age (Āghur Khān), and he was also determined to die, when a party of the Afghāns, that had remained firm with him, warded off his misfortune. Some of them offered themselves for being slain while others dragging his horse by reins carried him from the field of battle. The details of the loot and plunder to which the survivors of the enemy were subjected will be considered to be an exaggeration if I describe it.

Verse :

> [**P. 246**] Every one who was not killed by sword and arrow
> Was carried away by his plunderers as captive.
> Whatever was there, women children and belongings,
> All was seized or plundered in no time.

I have heard from truthful narrators who were present on the field of battle, that the terror-stricken Afghāns turned their faces to the passes and valleys of the hills. One party seeing the Mughuls pursuing them began to wander in the desert of flight and took refuge in the caves and dens which the wild animals make for themselves in the middle of the mountains and in the dried channels of the rivers. In these pits (مغاک ها) they were reduced to mere figures of clay and bodies without life. When the Mughuls, in their pursuit guided by traces of their footsteps and marks of skirts and sheets reached these dead persons (جان باختگان) and dragged them out of holes, there was nothing left but dead figures with no sign of life.

In short, Āghur Khān after his noted victory sent one thousand and seven hundred heads of the slain and a large number of captives, along with a despatch to the Court. He became the recipient of countless favours, and was promoted to the rank of four thousands with three thousands horse from his original rank His fame rose high with the conferment of a drum. Tangari Wardi Khān, his brother, and other followers of Āghur Khān, received promotions according to their ranks. The fame of Āghur Khān's sword and his killing of the Afghāns was on the lips of the notables

and common people and the children of the Afghāns were made to sleep and stopped from weeping by a threat with the name of that high-born lion of fighting.

After the settlement of affairs, orders were issued to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam to leave Āghur Khān and Rajah Jaswant to help Amīr Khān, at Kabul, and then to proceed to Lahore. The Emperor with all his prestige, reached the capital towards the close of the sixteenth year of his reign.

Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān [P. 247] was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Thattah. He was ordered to send Kifāyat Khān, as his Nā'ib In those very days the Prince died a natural death.[1]

Death of Qāḍi 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

Qāḍī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, may God forgive him, went to the Eternal Garden (died), on the return journey from Hasan Abdal. He left four sons. Out of them, the eldest son, Shaykh al-Islām, was equipped with the garb of piety and virtue. Owing to his learning, good deeds, honesty and good nature, he had collected enough material for his salvation in the next world. His name was expressive of his qualities. In reality, very few of the good natured people like him have been found in the class of the *Qāḍis* in this world. His virtues will be described at the proper place. Of the legacy left by his father comprising lakhs of gold coins, five lakhs of rupees in cash besides jewels and other valuables, he did not spend a single *dām* or *dirham* on himself from his share, but gave most of it to the needy and deserving to relieve the soul of his dead father from torment. He distributed the rest among his brothers and other heirs. Though, he declined to accept the post of the *Qāḍi* the Emperor persuaded (تملق) him to accept the responsibility.

1 Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad was imprisoned in Gwalior in 1660 for his desertion and joining Shujā'.

In 1672 he was restored to favour ; four years later he died (3 December 1676).

The statement that he died in prison (C. H. I., Vol. IV, p. 226 ; Faruqi, p. 545), is not correct. For some details see (*Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgiri, pp. 159-60*).

Dilīr Khān appointed Ṣūbahdār of Deccan.

Dilir Khān was appointed the *Ṣūbahdār* of the Deccan on the transfer of Khān Jahān Bahādur. Sayyid Nūr 'Alī, who was reputed as one of the noted brave men of his time, had been appointed as the commandant of the fort of Salayr,[1] which was one of the highest forts (اسمان شکوه) touching the skies and was at a distance of six *kruhs* from the fort of Malhir Baglana.

Loss of Salayr.

In the seventeenth year of the reign an unfortunate accident took place in the jurisdiction of Khān Jahān, Bahādur. The family and followers of the commandant of the fort were coming from Awrangabad. The wretched enemy (the Marhatas) who were wandering in the neighbourhood ; made a surprise attack on the family and women of the commandant. After some of the guards with a nice sense of honour, who were with the [P. 248] women, received martyrdom, they plundered and captured his family and brought them all, to the foot of the fort under a strong guard. They sent a message to him: "Vacate the fort at once, otherwise we will subject your women to every type of disgrace and dishonour." The commandant tried his best to get his women and children released by offering ransom and by some other means, but with no success. At last the commandant knowing that in case, he came out of the fort and took to arms and was slain, the fort would go out of his possession and his family, who were already in the trap of calamity, would be subjected to greater disgrace. Unwillingly, therefore, he preferred the honour of his family to the loss of the *manṣab* and the censure of the Emperor. After requesting (the enemy) for safety he evacuated the fort and handed it over to the rebels. In this way the very high fort that was famous in the *Ṣūbah* of Khandesh fell into the hands of the wicked Marahtas without a trial of swords and spears. In fact, now the entire route of the caravans from the port of Surat to Awrangabad and Burhanpur was blocked on account of the robbery and devastation of these dirty dogs. With the help

1 Salayr: Sixty miles north of Nasik.

of that fort (Salayr) two or three other forts like Nāhiyah *etc.*, in the *Sarkar* of Baglana fell to the infidels. When it was reported, (to the Emperor) the commandant of the fort was censured and deprived of the *manṣab* and was called to the Court.

Dismissal of Dilīr Khān.

In the meantime an order reached Dilīr Khān through the mace-bearers that he should himself march to the fort of Salayr and recapture it from the wretched enemy. Dilīr Khān supported by experienced troops and a park of artillery marched to the foot of the fort and besieged it and he did whatever he could. In the course of brave assaults many Afghāns and noted servants [P. 249] of the Emperor received martyrdom. The duration of the siege was long, but it was without any result. At last the loss of troops and unsuitability of the climate which was also a cause of the loss of life, were reported to the Emperor, who issued orders of the dismissal of Dilīr Khān.

The Emperor allows claimants, if any, to file suits against him.

In this year owing to his righteousness and a strong sense of justice the Emperor issued an order to be proclaimed in the capital and other cities to the effect that any body having a legal claim (دعوى شرعى) against the Emperor should come to his judicial *wakīl* and obtain his dues for his claims after proving them. As it was not within the power of every body to come to the Court for proving his claim, the just Emperor ordered that a *Shar'i wakil*[1] on his behalf be appointed in the capital and other cities, far and near. Accordingly *Shar'i wakīls* were appointed in all the *Ṣūbahs*.

Islamic way of greetings.

In those very days, he issued orders that the Muslims, whenever they met should greet each other according to the *Shar'* by saying *Salām 'alayk* and should not take their hands to their foreheads as the infidels did. The officials also were to observe the same principle

1 Wakīl Shar'i : The agent of the king who was authorised to decide the calims of the people against the king according to religious law (*Sharī'at*).

when they came into contact with the common people and notables.

He issued orders to *Ṣūbahdārs* and other official of the *Ṣūbahs* that the *Ṣūbahdārs*, *Ta'alluqadārs*, *Peshkārs* and the revenue officers should dismiss all the Hindus and appoint Muslims in their place. He also issued orders to all the revenue officers that the Karoris[1] of the crown lands should be Muslims.[2]

It so happened that when the above mentioned orders (about the recovery of claims) were sent from the Court; Mir Muḥammad

1 Khāfi khān's words create the impression that this measure was taken because the Emperer wanted to show preference to the Muslims. This is not correct. The reason was that the treatment of Hindu clerks, particularly the soldiers of the army was very bad. An idea of their high-handedness and its dangerous consequences may be formed from the accourt givesn by Shihab al-Din Talish as quoted in Faruki p. 1960-191). Talish writes :

"Note of the Delhi sovereigns put down these wicked and illegal practicee, but connived at them . . . but when, by the grace of God, Awrangzeb ascended the throne, he sent orders to the Governors of the Provinces and the clerks of the administration not to do such things in future. He thus gave relief to the inhabitants of villages and travellers by land and sea from these harassments and illegal demands. The learned know that no other king of the past showed such graciousness, made such strong exertions, and remitted to the people such a large sum which equalled the total revenue of Turan . . . I strongly hope that, just as the peasants and merchants have been released from oppression and innovations (in taxation), so some one would fully and freely report to the Emperor the distress among the soldiery and the fact of their being harassed and crushed by the oppression of the thievish clerks, and thereby release the soldiers from the tyranny of these godless men."

Again, he writes.

"The army is treated by the Hindu clerks and drowsy writers as more degraded than a fire-worshipping slave and more unclean than the dog of a Jew. Whenever that forked-tongued cobra, their pen, brings its head out of the hole of the ink-pot, it does not write on the account book of their dark hearts any letter except to pounce upon and snatch away the subsistence of the soldiers. Indeed, when their tongue begins to move in the hole of their mouth, it does not spit out anything except curtailing the stipends of the soldiery."

2 *Salām Shar'i !* The Muslim greetings are (peace be on you) and the response (peace be on you also and the blessings of God)

Muḥṣin son of Ḥājī Zāhid, the king of the merchants (ملك التجار) of Surat ; and the son of Pīrjī Buhrah who was also a leading merchant of the sea-port, had come to the Court to file a complaint against Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khān the *mutaṣaddi* of the said auspicous sea-port. [P. 250]. During the days when Shāh Jahān was suffering from strangury (حبس بول) and there were disorders throughout in the Empire, Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh had issued his own coins and had the Khuṭbah recited in his name, as has already been mentioned, he had appointed Khwājah Shāhbāz to capture the port of Surat.

Surat Cace.

The Khwājāh Shāhbāz, after the occupation of the port, hap called the merchants of Surat and demanded ten lakhs of rupees as a loan. Ḥāji Zāhid and Pīrji Buhrah had paid five lakhs of rupees on behalf of all the merchants of the port of Surat as loan and secured a bond under the seal of Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh. Khwājah Shāhbāz had not spent the money but had deposited the sovereigns (اشرفی) in the treasury. The revenue officers (متصدیان) of Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh had kept the *ashrafis* (thus obtained) from Surat in sealed boxes. When Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh was taken into custody those boxes on which there was a reference in writing to the merchants of the port of Surat were deposised in the Imperial treasury in the same condition. In the meantime, when Muḥammad Muḥṣin heard about the justice of the Emperor, he on his own behalf and as an agent on behalf of the son of Pīrji Buhra, submitted a petition to the Emperor through Muḥammad 'Alī Khān *Khān-i-sāman*,[1] who was close to the Emperor and enjoyed his confidence. He said in his petition: "As by way of grace and justice, such an order has been issued and the amount of our claim is payable by the Government, the filing of the claim has become necessary." The Emperor ordered : "if the claim is proved, he may be paid the amount." Muḥammad 'Alī Khān who was his patron said, "He is asking if the proof is to be provided according to civil code

1 See Qureshi, I. H., *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, (Karachi, 1966), p. 76.

or according to Shar'i law." The Emperor ordered that he would satisfy his claim if it is proved under any of the two laws.

Later Muḥammad Muḥsin supported and assisted by Muḥammad 'Alī Khān produced a quotation (روایت) [P. 251] in writing, from *Fātāwa*-i-*'Ālamgīrī*[1] the compilation of which had been completed in those very days after a hard labour of seven or eight years by the scholars and '*Ulamā* of Lahore and the capital (Delhi) and which had been named after the Emperor. It said: "In case the estate of a deceased person be in possssion of one of his heirs, it would be the duty and obligation of that heir to pay the debts of the deceased." Another statement examined by the Emperor contained entries regarding the boxes of the treasure of Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, confiscated to the Government, which included *ashrafis* of the value of five lakhs of rupees advanced as loan by Ḥāji Zāhid and Pīrji, merchants of Surat; they were under the seal of treasury officers and cashiers (ارباب‌المال و ارباب التحاویل).

Before a just decision could be pronounced by the Emperor after perusal (of the case,) Muḥammad Muḥsin raised both of his hands and submitted: "The aim of the humble servant was that our claims in the way we have petitioned, should become known to the Emperor. We now shower this amount on the Emperor who is just and is the protector of the faith." The just Emperor turned his face towards Muḥammad 'Ali Khān and said: "Muḥammad Muḥsin has gifted his money to us. A horse, an elephant, and a *Khil'at* be given to him." Ghiyāth al-Din Khan was transferred from the port of Surat and was summoned to the Court. Muḥammad Ali Khan was annoyed at the foolish behaviour of Muḥammad Muḥsin that he had offered five lakhs of rupees to the Emperor without consulting his patron. When Muḥammad Muḥsin went to his house,

1 *Fatāwā-i 'Ālamgīrī*,—A book containing the decisions of Muslim jurists, compiled by the jurists of Delhi and Lahore in a period of seven years. As it was compiled under the order and during the reign of Awrangzeb 'Ālamgir so it was named '*Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*.' The rule in the above reference runs as follows:—In case one of the heirs holds the property of the deceased, the repayment of debt is his obligation.

Muḥammad 'Ali Khān said to him in a harsh tone: "In such a case, which was proved before the Emperor after so much investigation on my part, you presented (the amount to the Emperor) in such a way and in haste,[P. 252] without consulting me. It was against sound advice. I would have secured for you exemption from the payment of *'ushr*[1] and other taxes. In that case you would have gained perpetual honour (آبرو)for yourself and for your descendants, though I know the result of filing a case against kings for a just claim and getting the money!

However from this year, onwards, a *Wakil Shar'i*, on behalf of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr, was appointed in every city, ṣūbah and the neighbouring territories (اطراف) ; and he was to sit with the Qāḍi in his court; this innovation became permanent. The dismissal of the Hindus from service being, against the policy of state was not carried out. In some places, however, some Hindu *carories* were dismissed and Muslims were appointed instead. Subsequently it was decided that in the office of the *Dīwān* and *Bakhshīs* there was to be one Muslim and one Hindu *peshkār* :

Rebellion of Satnāmis.

The other important event which happened during this year[2] was the outburst of Hindu-devotees known as Satnāmīs. The details of this brief statement follow :—There was a section of the Hindu devotees (بیر) called Satnāmīs and also known among the people as Mandabahs[3] nearly four or five thousand families in number lived around the parganah of Narnaul and in the territory of Mewat. Though they dressed themselves as faqīrs, the profession of most of them was agriculture or trade : they were traders with small capitals. According to the ways of their religion they wanted to earn

1 *'Ushr* means literally one tenth. It signifies the amount of land tax.

2 According to some authorities it was the fifteenth year.

3 The origin of the word is *mandap* (a small hut) which these devotees often built for themselves.

a good reputation which their name (Satnāmī) means. They acquired their livelihood by honest means and not by unlawful sources, but if anyone oppressed them by a show of courage and authority, they did not tolerate it. They often move about with arms and weapons.

At the time when the Emperor had returned from Hasan Abdal, [P. 253] one day hot words were exchanged between one of them who cultivated his land near Narnaul and a (Government) footman who guarded the harvest of corn. The head of the Satnāmī was wounded by the blow of the walking stick of the footman. A party of those people surrounded the footman, beat him severely, and left him for a dead person. When the news reached the Shiqqdār,[1] he deputed a party of foot-men to arrest those people and to bring them to him. The Satnāmīs thronged in large numbers, fought with the footmen, wounded some of them, and overcoming them seized their arms. As their number was increasing every moment, Kār Ṭalab Khān the Fawjdār of Narnaul, on being informed of it, sent a large number of footmen and horsemen to help the Shiqqdār in punishing the Satnāmīs and arresting them. They fought with the troops of the Fawjdār also and defeated them, some of his men were wounded and killed. Matters reached such a stage that the Fawjdār had to start collecting horsemen and foot soldiers and seek the help of the zamindars. With the old and newly secured soldiers; he advanced to meet the Satnāmīs and fight with them. A number of his men were killed and without achieving anything he took to flight. Ultimately after repeated battles and skirmishes, which it would take long to describe in detail, the Fawjdār was killed, and the town of Narnaul came into their possession. They, then, started establishing their own thanahs and collecting the revenues from the neighbouring territory. When the Emperor reached the capital he was informed of the disturbance and

1 An officer of a Parganah and subordinate to the Fawjdār.

disorder created by this sect (جماعهٔ). He sent successive forces but each of them was dispersed and defeated. The idea had widely spread that swords, arrows and musket balls were ineffective against them [P. 254] and every arrow and musket ball thrown from their side at the Imperial troops killed two or three persons. For this reason, powers of magic and sorcery were attributed to them (Satnāmis), and statements about them, unacceptable to reason, had become the common talk among the nobles and the common people. It was widely rumoured that they had made a wooden horse by magic, on which they had seated a woman, and like a living horse it led their vanguard. Matters reached such a stage that well known Rajahs and experienced nobles with strong forces had to be sent against them. Those people advanced to meet these forces and reached within a distance of fifteen or sixteen *kruhs* of the capital. The Imperial troops did not have the courage to advance, and meet the Satnāmis on the field of battle. The Zamindars in the neighbourhood and some cowardly Rajputs considering it to be a good opportunity threw off the yoke of obedience, withheld the payment of revenues and began to show signs of mischief. The fire of disturbance inflamed more and more every day. Matters reached such a stage that the Emperor ordered his tent to be pitched outside the city. He ordered that invocations[1] (دعا) and amulets (نقشها) written in his own hand be sewn in the banners and flags and these should be taken in front of the army of the wretched ones Ultimately after the great efforts by Rajah Bishan Singh, Ḥāmid Khān, son of Murtaḍa Khān and other brave nobles who showed marvels of bravery, thousands of Satnāmis were killed and those who escaped death took to flight. The rebellion was put down and dust of disorder was cleared away.

'Ālamgīr's pilgrimage to the tomb of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishti

Since, during the disorder created by the evil doers, some wicked and leading zamindars, following their example had taken

off the yoke of allegiance, a state of commotion prevailed in the Ṣūbah of Ajmer and the vicinity of Akbarabad. As the Emperor had already ordered the pitching of the tent out-side the city, he [P. 255] proceeded to Ajmer with the intention of a pilgrimage to the shrine of K͟hwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn C͟his͟hti (may his secret be purified); and in this connection he also had in mind the idea of punishing some rebellious Rajputs.

Collection of Jizyah.

The orders of the Emperor whose commands were obeyed by the world (جہاں مطاع) with a view to suppress the infidels, and make clear the distinction between the دارالحرب and مطیع الاسلام, *jizyah*[1] was to be realized from the Hindus; orders for its collection were sent to all the Ṣūbahs. After the spreading of this news, all the Hindus of the capital and many of them from the surrounding territories gathered in lakhs on the bank of the river below the *Jharukah* and made a request for its withdrawal, weeping and crying. The Emperor did not pay any heed to their appeals. When the Emperor came out for the Jum'ah prayers, the Hindus crowded from the gate of the fort to the Jāmī' Masjid in such a large number for imploring redress that the passage of the people was blocked. The money lenders, cloth-merchants and shopkeepers of the camp Urdu Bazar (Army Market) and all the artisans of the city abandoned their work and assembled on the route of the Emperor. Inspite of strict orders for arrangements owing to which the hands and feet of many were broken, the Emperor

1 *Jizyah*: According to Islamic law *Jizyah* is a tax imposed on all the non-Muslims in lieu of military service. In an Islamic state military service is compulsory for the Muslims. On the declaration of a holy war (Jihād) every Muslim has to take up arms. The non-Muslims are not forced to take up arms so they have to pay a compensatory fee. Old men, children, females, invalids, destitutes and decrepits are exempt from payment of this tax. Those non-Muslims who join the military service are not expected to pay this tax. This tax was discontinued by Akbar, but it was re-introduced, by 'Ālamgīr.

who was riding on an elephant, could not reach the mosque. Every moment the number of those unlucky people increased. Then he ordered that the majestic elephants should proceed against them. Some of them were killed or trampled under the elephants and horses. For some days, more, they assembled in the same way and requested for remission (of the *Jizyah*). At last they submitted to pay the *Jizyah*.

Asad Khan sent to the Deccan.

In this year the Emperor appointed Jumlat al-Mulk Asad K̲h̲ān to settle the revenue affairs of the Deccan. Formerly the *Māhi Marātib*[1] was a special privilege [P. 256] of the Sardars and *Sūbehdārs* of the Deccan. Asad K̲h̲ān was given the *Māhī Marātib*; the elephant and an ornamented '*Sarpech*' and was ordered to proceed to the Deccan.

Death of Qiwām al-Dīn K̲h̲ān.

Mirza Qiwām al-Dīn was one of the brothers of K̲h̲alīfah Sulṭān and belonged to the royal family of Mazandran. When Mazandran was conquered by the S̲h̲āh of Iran, S̲h̲āh 'Abbās made a matrimonial alliance with K̲h̲alīfah Sulṭān and made him his wazīr. Since there was no cordiality of relations between the brothers, Mirza Qiwām al-Dīn turned his face towards India and sought service under the Emperor. In the beginning he was given a manṣab of four thousand with two thousand horse and was honoured by a grant, of title and the bestowal of the requisites of an amīr, the banner and the drum. Later the Emperor gave him another promotion of one thousand with one thousand horse; and he was appointed the Ṣūbehdār of Kas̲h̲mir and afterwards the Ṣūbehdār of Lahore.

1 ماهی مراتب Certain honours which asc specially conferred on princes and great nobles. Their symbols are the figure of a fish with other insignia, generally two balls of gold posted on ensigns, carried by mace bearers, on foot or on elephants.

During those days owing to the patronage and interest of the Emperor in the affairs of *Sharī'at*, the authority of the Qāḍīs had become greater (than before). 'Ali Akbar, a man from the east, who had been appointed the Qāḍī of Lahore, behaved with the Ṣūbehdārs on terms of equality. When Qiwām al-Dīn Khān, was appointed the Ṣūbehdār of Lahore, he came to know of the Qāḍī's attitude. As he also belonged to a respectable family which is a source of greatness, he did not tolerate the attitude of the Qāḍi. From the very beginning disagreement between the Qāḍi and the Ṣūbehdār started; and both of them were looking for an opportunity to bring disgrace to the other. At the instigation of the short-sighted associates and mischief-mongers, who did not care about the consequences; both the parties lost self-control. Harsh words were exchanged and their enmity reached such an extent that both of them complained against each other to the Court. Before the receipt of the reply, Qiwām al-Dīn Khān [P. 257] on the basis of the rumours that he would receive orders (from the Court) directed Niẓām al-Dīn alias Mirza Beg, the Kotwal of the city to take a party with him and to bring the Qāḍi to his presence with disgrace. When Qāḍī 'Ali Akbar got the information he engaged himself in strengthening the door, the walls and the roof of his house. After the tumultuous cries of "hold and take", the Qāḍi, along with his sister's son and some others was slain, and son of the Qāḍi was wounded. As the people of Lahore on such occasions pretend to follow the Islamic *Sharī'ah*, thousands of them including, the learned, the illiterate, the weavers, and other artisans assembled (to demonstrate) against the Ṣūbehdār and the Kotwal. Their pressure was so hard on Qiwām al-Dīn Khān and Niẓām al-Dīn that even their servants were unable to move about in the streets and markets. When the real facts were reported to the just Emperor, he transferred Qiwām al-Dīn Khān from his post and appointed Prince Mu'aẓẓam in his place, and Quṭb al-Dīn Khān (Luṭf Allah Khān) as his Nā'ib. As the Emperor was busy with the expedition against the Rana and wanted to keep Luṭf Allāh Khān with him, he issued orders to his brother

Ḥafiẓ Allāh Khān, who was gifted with outward and inward accomplishments, and was the Fawjdār of the southern districts at short distance from Lahore; to proceed to Lahore as a Nā'ib of his brother and to arrest the Kotwal. After an inquiry (into the affair of the Qāḍī), he was to hand over the Kotwal to his heirs for *qiṣāṣ* (to avenge the death of the Qāḍī), and send the Ṣūbehdār to the Court with the mace-bearers, detailed for the purpose. On receiving orders, Ḥafiẓ Allāh Khān kept them secret and reached Lahore. He sent one or two experienced Jamā'ahdārs to the Kotwal [P. 258] and without disclosing the order, sent for him. The Kotwal presented himself willingly or unwillingly. After an inquiry in the case, the Kotwal, according to the *Sharī'ah*, was handed over to the heirs of the Qāḍi for *qiṣāṣ*, who avenged his death. As the people of Lahore had assembled in a large number around the house of Qiwām al-Dīn Khān, his coming out of the house safely was impossible. He (Ḥafīz Allāh Khān) sent a message to him (Qiwām al-Dīn Khān) that he had to proceed to the Court according to the orders. As owing to the crowd of the claimants and other people, it was impossible for him to come out safely in the city and streets, it was advisable that he should come out in a palanquine with lowered curtains by way of the river and proceed to the Court. In this manner he sent him to the Court. When Qiwām al-Dīn Khān reached the Court, the son of the Qāḍi, along with some other heirs, claimed the *qiṣāṣ* (retaliation for the blood of their father). The Emperor ordered that the case was to be decided according to *Sharī'ah*. The heirs of the Qāḍi were very rigid on the point that Qiwām al-Dīn should not be allowed to engage a pleader to defend his case, and that he should not come to the court in a palanquine or a horse and were bent on insulting that captive in the claws of misfortune. But as Qiwām al-Dīn Khan was a man of noble birth and the Qāḍī, Shaykh al-Islām,[1] was incomparable in humane and godly ways, he did not pass orders confirming his crime—murder. For this reason the case dragged on for a long time. At last as his

1 The chief Qāḍi, the highest officer who presided over the religious courts,

destined moment of death had arrived he became a victim of bodily disease beside mental shocks (روحانی). Even in that condition he was brought to the Court, till he passed from this narrow passage of this temporary world (to eternity).

Verse :

To hold an opinion against the opinion of the king.

(Means) washing one's hands into with one's own blood.

Chapter III

THE RAJPUTANAH WAR

[P. 259] Before the Emperor took action in the case of Qiwām al-Dīn Khān, he heardt he news of the death of Rajah Jaswant Singh who had been posted in Kabul to assist the Ṣūbehdār. It was, subsequenty reported that after his death his stupid followers, had left for the Court, without waiting for the orders of the Emperor or securing permit or permission from the Ṣūbehdār, with his two young sons, Ajit Singh and Dalthaman Singh, the only sons who surivied the Rajah, and his Ranis. When they reached the ford of Attock, the ferry officer stopped them from crossing the river, as they had no permit. They started quarrelling with him, which ended in fighting in which the said officer and some of his followers were killed and wounded and they crossed the river by violent means. Because the mind of the Emperor was already prejudiced owing to the conduct of the Rajah in the past, this insolence of the Rajputs added to his anger. He ordered that they should be made to stay near the city on the side of Bara Pula. He further ordered that the Kotwal should take some of his followers along with a few manṣabdars and artillery officers and establish pickets round the camp of the Rajah's followers and keep a watch over them as if they were under surveillance. After spending a few days in that condition, a party of the Rajputs from among the followers of (the young Raj Kumars) requested for permission to go to their native place. When the request was made to him, the Emperor allowed them to go as a matter of policy. In the meanwhile the Rajputs had procured two children of the same age as the Rajput princes. They dressed some maid-servants as Ranis, put them (the boys and the maid servants) in the tent, taking the greatest caution, so that the secret might

not be revealed. Dressing the Ranis in the male garbs, they mounted them on horses, and taking with them two chief servants of the Rajah and a party of brave and loyal Rajputs, they started in great haste for their native land. They left one or two trusted sardars, [P. 260] with brave and well equipped soldiers, round the tent of the supposed sons of the Rajah so that they might delay the pursuit, if the secret of their flight became known soon, and might show their loyalty to the house of the Rajah.[1] After two or three watches true and false reports were made to the Emperor. He appointed responsible and trusted persons to make inquires. It was repeatedly reported that the Ranis along with their sons were present in the tents. It was ordered that all the followers and associates of the Rajah should be brought inside the fort. The misguided Rajputs, along with the maid servants, who came forward and followed the example of their brave warriors, offered resistance for the protection of the reputation and the honour of the Rajah and fulfilled the duties of loyal servants. Many of them were killed and a party fled away. Although the report of the flight of the Ranis was not confirmed, some of the selfish people anxious to make a show of their ability and worth in investigation and vigilance insisted on the flight of the Raj-kumars to such an extent that the chief Wazir (میرزا) decided to arrest the sons of the Rajah. The Imperial troops went in pursuit for twenty *kruhs*, from the capital but could not overtake the Rajputs and returned. The two boys (طفل) were entrusted to the care of the servants of the palace and the ladies of the ḥarem brought them up as their sons. About the two sons who were carried away by the Rajputs, they spread report that they had been given out as his sons to preserve the line of Jaswant Singh. However this doubt was not removed from the mind of the Emperor until the marriage of Ajit Singh in the family of the Rana of Chitor.

1 Jaswant Singh had behaved like hypocrite on several occasions.

[P. 261] *The Emperor 'Ālamgīr's march towards Ajmer and Jodhpure to punish the rebellious Rajputs of that Region.*

On the spreading of the reports of the revolt of the Rajputs, the Emperor in the beginning of Dhu al-Ḥijjah of the twenty second year of his reign, raised his victorions standard and moved in the direction of Ajmer to punish that misguided section of (the Rajputs). He appointed Amānat Khan Khwāfi who was formerly the Dīwān of Lahore, as the Dīwān of the Deccan. He was among those revenue officers who were really upright. He preferred the honesty of purpose and showing least cruelty to the people and planned their welfare, to his own promotion and increment of status. He was not the cause of injury to the life and property of any person. Very few people among the revenue officers have been heard or seen to possess the above attributes. Wherever he was appointed as Dīwān, he released the officers and zamindars who were in arrears of the government and who since long were in the prison and some of whom were on the verge of death. That noble minded person thought that ultimately those people would die in prison and the Emperor and the Dīwāns would get nothing but ill reputation for cruelty. Therefore those who were in arrears to the extent of twenty or thirty thousand rupees, were released on the condition that they were to pay in two or three thousand rupees only in instalments. During his dīwānī of Lahore, the government, according to the reports of the despatch-writers had suffered a loss of two lakhs of rupees. When the matter was reported to the Emperor he did not like it. But Later, when the real facts were known, through the despatch of Amānat Khān, the Emperor appreciated it. The account of the rest of the life and the manner of living of that good natured man will be given at its proper place.

Campaign in Jodhpur.

The Emperor sent a stern order (فرمان تہدید آمیز) to the Rana of Chitor to accept the payment of *Jizyah* and to expel the

unidentified sons of Rajah Jaswant Singh from the limits of the territories of Jodhpur. [P. 262]. On reaching Ajmer, the abode of virtue (دارالخیر), the Emperor paid his visit to the sacred mausoleum of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishti (may God purify his secret) and ordered the movement of his troops to ravage the inhabited parts of Jodhpur and other villages of the rebellious Rajputs. The Rana, unable to offer resistance, sent to the courtiers of the Emperor, his trusted agents who knew the (Persian) language, with suitable presents and a petition containing the offer of allegiance, acceptance of the *Jizyah*, and the surrender of two or three parganahs in lieu of it, and a promise not to assist the sons of Jaswant Singh; he also begged, in all humility, for forgiveness for his past sins For this reason the Emperor left Khān Jahān Bahādur behind to realise the arrears and to settle the administration of that district, and himself returned towards the capital. The march to Ajmer and the return journey did not take more than seven months and twenty days. But when it was reported that the cowardly Rana had broken his word, and had taken the path of disobedience and that Khān Jehān Bahādur had failed to properly settle administration, the fire of wrath of the Emperor was again inflamed and at the end of the year, he again diverted the reins of attention towards Ajmer to punish the Rana and other disobedient Rajputs. Prince Mu'aẓẓam was ordered to reach Ujjayn from the Deccan and wait there for further instructions. He also sent poste-haste orders to the Prince A'ẓam who was in Bengal to come to the Court immediately. When the Imperial tents were pitched outside Ajmer, Prince Muḥammad Akbar was appointed commander of the invincible forces to punish the Rana. Promoting Shāh Quli Khān in his Manṣab and giving him the title of Tahawwur Khān, the Emperor posted him with some experienced officers to lead the vanguard of the Prince. On hearing [P. 263] these news the Rana destroyed Udaypur, the seat of his government, and fled to the hills and inaccessible passes with his own treasure and family and that of Jaswant Singh, and his subjects. Prince Akbar was ordered to enter the passes with a large number of mountain-

traversing lions of fighting and try to uproot the infidels; and only a few nobles and adherents were left with the Emperor. He appointed a number of brave and experienced warriors to ravage and trample the cultivated lands of the Rana. When it was reported that Prince Mu'azzam had reached Ujjayn, he was ordered to pitch his camp on Ana Sagar Lake, in the territory of the Rana, eight *kruhs*[1] from Ajmer. He was ordered to post his troops in all directions in order to ravage and trample the habitations in the territory of the Rana, wherever they were to be found, with the help of brave and desert-traversing mountain fighting warriors. At this time it was reported that Prince A'zam from Bengal had traversed in one month the distance to be covered in four months, and had arrived with his army. He was ordered to enter the hills and fortified passes of the Rana and of the Rathors and to engage himself in slaying, plundering and taking the Rajputs prisoners. He was also to appoint troops and see that no provisions from the surrounding districts, reached the Rana and that the fields were not cultivated.

A body of about twenty five thousand Rathor Rajputs from the territory of Jaswant Singh and others mobilized to help the Rana. They showed great activity in opposing the Imperial army and performed the duties of self-sacrifice. They began to plunder the provisions and fodder of the Imperial troops. They forced several thousand Imperial troops to move towards fortified passes, and surrounded them on all the sides, and most of the horsemen and foot soldiers disappeared (مفقودالاثر); but in the end the Rajputs were subdued by the army of Islam. Though the brutal Rajputs had occupied accesses to all (P. 264) the fortified passes and some times, made surprise attacks in the night on the Imperial troops, yet Tahawwur Khān, with other brave warriors showed marvels of bravery and tried to punish the Rajputs. He did not hesitate to devestate the country, demolish the temples and other high buildings, cut down the fruit trees and gardens, arrest the women

1 Ana Sagar Lake—Is nearly eight *kruhs* from Ajmer. In the text هشتاد is obviously a misprint for هشت .

and children of the infidels who had taken refuge in the distant caves and ditches of the hills.

Orders were also issued to Muḥammad Amīn Khān the Ṣūbehdār of Ahmedabad to take position on the common frontier of Rajputana and Ahmedabad. He was ordered to uproot the Rajputs wherever he found them.

Khān Jahān Bahadur Kokaltāsh was as previously, appointed the Ṣūbehdār of the Deccan. He was sent with instructions to recapture the fort of Saler[1] which had fallen to the enemy.

Rebellion of Prince Akbar.

The Rana and his adherents were severely hard pressed, and not a grain of corn was left with them. The cultivation of lands and agriculture became impossible. The Rana and the Rajputs began to have recourse to fresh tricks and strategy. At first, they sought the protection of the Prince Mu'aẓẓam and wished that he should intercede for their forgiveness of crimes, and then they tried to incite him to revolt (against the Emperor) and join them. The Prince paid no attention to their allurements. Nawab Bai, the mother of the Prince, having been informed of what was going on, opened the tongue of advice and dissuaded the Prince from helping the Rajputs or interceding on their behalf and advised him not to allow the agents of the Rana to approach him. When the Rajputs were disappointed in this effort, they diverted their attention towards Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and took advantage of his young age and the guidance of his close friends through Durga Das who was a glib-tongued orator, noted for his plausibility; and was their spokesman. [P. 265] He used all his arts and tricks and making an offer of help with forty thousand Rajputs and unlimited treasure, he succeeded in winning over the Prince to their side. Some of the ill fated companions of the Prince also supported him. The inexperienced Prince was taken off the right path, and owing to his young age and false hopes he fell into the trap laid by the Rajputs.

1 Saler—Salher in the *ghats* of Baglana.

Verse :

Do not join the society of the wicked and remain a stranger to it.

You will fall into a trap if you pick even one grain from it.

The arrow saw the bow going astray from the right path,

And you saw how it jumped away from its string.

In the beginning, when the signs of the spreading of this news reached Prince Mu'azzam, who was much attached to Prinee Akbar, he wrote a few words of advice to him. He also sent a despatch to the Emperor hinting at this state of affairs and advising him to be careful about the perfidy of the infidels who were planning to win over the inexperienced Prince to their side. As the Emperor had no suspicions against Prince Muḥammad Akbar, he considered the report of Prince Mu'azzam to be a fabrication, because when he (Emperor) was at Hasan Abdal he had received information about Prince Mu'azzam, that he had been approached by Rajputs. So he thought Mu'azzam's letter about his brother, Muḥammad Akbar to be a sheer calumny. In reply, he wrote to him : "This is a serious slander. May God lead you on the right path and protect you from listening to the wicked suggestions of your ill-wishers." Soon afterwards the secret became known to all, and the news of thirty thousand Rajputs, under Durga Das, joining the Prince (Akbar) passed from tent to tent and became public talk among the young and the old. [P. 266] The report now spread that Prince Muḥammed Akbar had ascended the throne and had issued coins in his own name and had conferred the manṣab of seven thousand on Tahawwur Khān with the title of Amir-ul-Umara. In the same way he had given substantial promotions to Mujāhid Khān and other important officers accompanying him. Some of them had accepted these honours under duress. By giving substantial promotions he tried to win over the people. The news had spread everywhere that the Prince was advancing against the Emperor with evil intentions.

At this time the major portion of the army was with Prince Akbar for the punishment of the infidels. Only a few people had remained with the Emperor under Asad Khān and Bahrahmand Khān, and there was no experienced officer with him. The forces with the Emperor were not more than seven or eight hundred horse, including the eunuchs and clerks of the offices. Consequently there was great panic in the royal camp and wide-spread confusion spread. A *farmān* under Imperial signature was sent to Prince Mu'aẓẓam, containing strict orders for him to reach the camp of the Emperor with all his army post-haste. The Prince, on receiving the orders, did not lose a single moment and marched towards his father. Leaving his baggage and household attendants behind under the care of the Real Protector (God), he covered nine or ten days' journey by forced marches in two or three days only. He joined the Emperor with Princes Mu'izz al-Dīn and Muḥammad 'Aẓīm.[1]

Prince Muhammad Mu'aẓẓam arrived with his nine or ten thousand horse; while the world-terrifying rumour of the approach of Prince Akbar with an army of seventy thousand horse was received in the camp. No one hoped to escape from this calamity. Further, owing to the advice of some of the well wishers, the Emperor's mind, as a measure of caution and fore-sight, became suspicious of Prince Mu'aẓẓam also. Under the need [P. 267] of the moment 'Ālamgir ordered the artillery, that he had with him, to be pointed towards the army of Prince Mu'aẓẓam, and sent a message to him, to leave the army where it was and to come, along with his two sons, to him, without any troops. The Prince obeying the orders came alone to his father with folded arms (دست بسته).

Correct information about the army of Prince Muḥammad Akbar having not been received before the arrival of Prince Mu'aẓẓam, owing to the precautions taken by the Rajputs, the Emperor had sent Shihāb al-Dīn, the son of Qilīch Khān Bahādur whose forehead showed signs of nobility and bravery; as a

1 They were sons of Prince Mu'aẓẓam.

scout to ascertain the real strength of the army of Prince Muḥammad Akbar. That horseman of the field of bravery reached near the army of Prince Muḥammad Akbar. At that very moment Mujāhid Khān, the brother of Shihāb al-Dīn, who had been forced to accompany Muḥammad Akbar out of necessity and as a matter of policy was waiting for an opportunity to desert the Prince. When he heard the news of the approach of his brother Shihāb al-Dīn he went to Prince Akbar and said: "If you permit, I will go to my brother and persuade him to come over here with me." After receiving permission, he took whatever treasure and goods he could, and leaving the remaining baggage there, he came to his brother, and both the brothers together reached the camp of the Emperor. At the time when 'Ālamgīr was greatly disturbed by the circulation of the news of every kind, the report of the arrival of both the brothers reached him. The breeze of joy and delight blew over his disturbed heart. He asked Muḥammad Murād, one of the servants brought up in the palace, to address Shihāb al-Dīn, when he was presented as Shihāb al-Dīn Khān, [and offer him respects. Through Mujāhid Khān, who also became the recipient of favours, he got correct information about the forces of Prince Akbar, and about the nature of his army, the number of those who were loyal and those who were hypocrites and had joined him willingly or unwillingly. [P. 268] In the meantime some of the known persons of Akbar's army had also started coming to the Court after deserting him. It was also reported that after the departure of Mujāhid Khān, dissensions had arisen in the camp of Prince Muḥammad Akbar.

Later Khwājah Makārim, who was one of the trusted servants of Prince Mu'aẓẓam, led a force against the advance guard of Prince Akbar. In a skirmish Khwājah Makārim was wounded. Two and three persons of the enemy were also wounded. He, however, brought the news, that Tahawwur Khān the commandant of the vanguard of the Prince, along with a few others, had deserted him and had arrived near the Imperial camp with the intention of presenting himself to the Emperor. When 'Alamgīr was informed that Tahawwur Khān had arrived at Gulāl

Bari he ordered that he should come to the Court after disarming himself. Tahawwur Khān objected to the removing of his arms. Prince Mu'azzam made a sign to kill the unfortunate man. In this connection one of the close associates of the Emperor said to him that Tahawwur Khān had come with evil intentions to show his bravery with the permission and connivance of Prince Akbar. Thereupon 'Alamgīr's anger blazed forth. He took his sword in his hand and ordered that Tahawwur should be allowed to come to his presence with his arms on. At the same time, one of the attendants (یسار و لان) of the Emperor placed his hand on the breast of Tahawwur Khān in an insulting way and stopped him. Tahawwur Khān slapped him on his face and withdrew himself. In this condition his foot got entangled in the ropes of the tent and he fell down. There were cries of 'strike and kill' from all the sides. People surrounded him and cut off his head. Though after his being killed it was found that he had a coat of mail under his clothes, yet there are contradictory views about his real intentions. The writer of these pages has heard from Khwājah Makārim, who was later entitled as Jān Nithār Khān, and old people have also stated that [P. 269] Tahawwur Khān, in compliance with the contents of a letter of his father-in-law Ināyat Khān, *Dīwān -an* of the Emperor had come to the Court of 'Ālamgīr in good faith and with the idea of joining the Imperial camp. In view of his meritorious services, faith and self-respect he had objected to his being disarmed. However, the news of the arrival of Tahawwur Khān in the Camp of 'Alamgīr and his being killed, created great dissensions in the army of Prince Akbar and among the Rajputs, and their firm feet slipped away from their position. Some of the nobles and Rajahs left for 'Ālamgīr's camp, while others of them fled away.

Prince Akbar's flight from Rajputanah.

It was generally known among the people that the Emperor had diplomatically sent a *farmān* to Prince Akbar in which it was written: "Though, in accordance with our orders, you have won the hearts of the Rajputs, col- -ed together and put them in your

vanguard and your good efforts and designs have borne fruits, yet if you put those wild people in your advance guard between the range of arrows from both the sides it would be a real act of strategy" (عین مصلحت). It was so arranged that this *farmān* fell into the hands of the Rajputs and this caused great dissension in the camp of those misguided people. But this version has not been heard from the lips of trustworthy narrators. In short, inspite of great pomp and the large army which Prince Akbar had brought in the field against his fortunate father, there was no fighting and the swords were not taken out of the sheaths, and his army took to flight. By the time that Prince Muḥammad Akbar, heard the news of the desertion of the Rajputs, he found no other person by his side except Durga Das and one or two other trusted servants of the Rana with two or three thousand troops, who had been left from among his old servants (مردم قدیمی). Besides them there were no other forces who could be of any service to him. He lost his senses, sagacity and ability to plan and being utterly cast down he took to flight. [P. 270] When the news reached the camp, the courtiers, accompanied by Prince Mu'aẓẓam, offered their greetings to the Emperor, on this victory. Most of the stores of Prince Akbar that had escaped plunder by the army were confiscated by the Emperor. Prince Mu'aẓẓam was despatched to pursue Prince Muḥammad Akbar.

Muḥammad Murād the son of Murshid Quli Khān was appointed to the post of *wāqi'ah-nigār* for the whole of the Deccan and was sent thither.

Regnal Year 23.

Account of the happenings in the twenty third year of the reign 1090 A. H. (1679-80 A. C.).

Khān Jahān fails to capture Saler.

About the events that took place in the twenty third regnal year in the Deccan, I shall write only a few sentences. After that,

the accounts of the rest of the life of Prince Akbar will be gi en and then I shall write an account of the Court of 'Ālamgir.

On reaching Awrangabad (خجسته بنیاد) Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokatāsh started with the intention of laying siege to recapture the fort of Saler which had fallen to the enemy. He did whatever was possible in the course of the siege. Many Rajputs laid down their lives and a larger number of Muslims received martyrdom but with no result. After four or five months, he raised the siege, started from the foot of the fort and returned to Awrangabad.

The reason (of his failure) was that Sivaji the hell dog used to detail a number of troops to plunder the country but he seldom came out personally with them.

Death of Sivaji.

In this year, accompanied by death (به هم عنانی اجل) he emerged with a strong force. During the days when Khān-e-Zamān was the Ṣūbehdār of Burhanpur, Sivaji entered the territory of Khandesh and plundered Dharan Gaon[1] a flourishing and a populated town of the district (جمله پخته). Large sums of money, and a huge quantity of grain, costly cloth and other goods, [P. 271] brought from the port of Surat and other places that were stored there, were plundered by Sivaji. Then he plundered parganah of Chopra[2] and other parganahs. Then he ravaged Jalnah[3] which was said to be a populous town full of the goods of the merchants of Balaghat.

In this town (Jālnah) lived a pious and virtuous Darwesh named Sayyid Jān Muḥammad who was one of those persons who have communion with Allāh (واصل بالله) and spend their time in worship and whose prayers are accepted. Whenever, the enemy appeared in the town, many of its residents used to take their families and goods to his *Takyah*[4] and abode and there they remained

1 Dharan Gaon—About seventy miles west of Burhanpur.

2 Chopra—is the most northerly point of Khandesh.

3 Jalnah a town in Balaghat region.

4 *Takyah*—Lit. anything on which one leans; The place or abode of a Muslim Darwesh.

safe from the excesses of the doomed infidels. In this year, also, many wealthy people of the town, took refuge with that distinguished pious person along with their cash and kind.[1] The people of that hell-dog (Sivaji) on being informed paid no regard to that pious Sayyid and extended the hand of cruelty and plunder over them (refugees) and their goods and took many of them as captives. When they were asked to stop their cruelty, they opened their insolent tongue and extended their threatening hands towards the Sayyid and his companions. Sayyid Jān Muḥammad, who was the most distinguished person in the Deccan in the matter of (acceptance) of prayers, whose esoteric attention had the force of an arrow of death, concentrated it on the cutting of the tree of life of that ignoble fellow, and he proceeded to hell by a natural death. Thus in that very year Sivaji entered the hell[2] in vicinity of Murtaḍa-Ābād. The date of his death can be calculated from the chronogram (کافر به جہنم رفتہ) (the infidel went to the hell) which has been written by the writer of this narrative.

He (Sivaji) left two sons—Sambha and Ram Raja.[3] Sambhaji succeeded his father and appointed Kabkalas[4] the Brahmin, who had accompanied him from Allahabad, as his *dīwān* and put him in charge of his affairs.

1 Sarkar's interpretation is different. According to him the people had sought refuge with the Sayyid not because they had a strong faith in his piety, but because they knew that Shivaji did not molest holy men in the course of his raids. This contention however is disproved by the fact that Shivaji's men did not spare the Sayyid and paid no heed to his appeals.

2 "On the 24th Rabī' II/4th April 1680, Siva returned from riding. He was overcome by heat, vomited blood and expired." (*Ma'āthir 'Ālamgīr*) Vide also Sarkar Vol. IV, p. 257.

In the text there seems to be a misprint, the correct reading is کافر به جہنم رفتہ The chronogram yields the date 1091 by adding.

$$20+1+80+200+2+5+3+5+50+40+200+80+400+5$$

3 Ram Raja mentioned by some Historions as Raja Ram.

4 In the manuscripts it is given as 'Kabkalas'; Grant Duff writes it as 'Kuloosha'; Elphinston as Colusha.

Sivaji always tried to protect the honour of the women of his territories, and excepting the act of rebellion which assumed in the form of the plundering of the caravans, he seldom resorted to oppression and always hated committing [P. 272] other heinous crimes. He had issued strict orders in respect of protecting the honour of the females, and guarding the children, and the word of God (كلام الله) captured in the course of plunder. If anything was done against his orders, the offender was punished. His wretched son, however, unlike his father, had a bad reputation about collecting women of people other than his, and outraging the modesty of the women of his own territories left behind (by their men). Though his father did not hesitate to ravage and plunder the districts and inhabited towns yet he never extended his hand of plunder over Aurangabad and Burhanpur which were known to have been the capitals of sovereigns. If his chief officers advised him about plundering the two cities, he always stopped them from doing so owing to his fore-sight and his regard for the consequences. He used to say : "The moment I ravage those cities, the self-respect of 'Ālamgīr will be hurt and he will divert his attention towards this side, and God knows what will be the result of the war conducted by the Emperor."

Sambhaji plunders Bahādurpur and its suburbs, and escapes to Saler.

When Sivaji went to hell, his wicked son, Sambha, wishing to surpass his father in this infamy, raised the standard of revolt. On the 20th of Muḥarram, in the twenty third year of the reign corresponding to the year 1091 A. H. (15th Feb. 1680 A. C.), he attacked Kākar Khān Afghān who was acting as the collector of *Jizyah* under Khān Jahān the Ṣūbehdār of Burhanpur. Kākar Khān who was at Bahadurpur at a distance of one and a half *kruh* from Burhanpur, had with him not more than two or three hundred horse. Sambha, with twenty thousand horse, after plundering Berar, covered thirty five *kruhs*, by forced marches and reaching there fell upon him, and seized him unawares, as was the custom of the plunderers of those days. There was no information

about the appearance of enemy's forces in that direction, and Kākar K͟hān was entirely taken unawares. He raided Bahadurpur, one of the populous towns and full of merchandise. Bankers and merchants, [P. 273] who were millionaires, lived in that town, and a large quantity of precious metals and every kind of merchandise belonging to the seven climes, huge quantities of other goods from every sea port, valued at lakhs of rupees were stored in its shops. Samhaji reached the place secretly, and surrounded Bahadurpur, and seventeen Purahs (small towns) in its suburbs outside the wall, and attacked Bahadurpur, so suddenly that no one, not even the women and chlidren could escape, nor a single penny could be taken out. Kākar K͟hān and the people of the town came to know of it only when the smoke of the flames of the burning Purahs had risen to the sky. The Nā'ib Ṣūbah, who had not the courage to come out of the fort and meet the enemy was besieged within it. He engaged himself in strengthening the gates, the bastions and the towers. They (the Marhattas) plundered Ḥasan Purah, S͟hāh-Ganj, S͟hāhjahān Purah, K͟hurram Purah, Nāwab Purah and others of the seventeen Purhahs which were full with wealth and were situated near the walls of the fort, and were as populous as the centre of the city. They plundered lakhs of rupees in cash from the bankers and merchants of every Purah, and set fire to them. Some men of noble birth killed their women and received martyrdom as they fell in fighting and many of them surrendered to the will of God. Some of the people who lived near the wall and the gates of the city took the hands of their children in their own hands and entered the enclosure of the town along with the members of their families almost in a state of nakedness (بے ستری) in that tumult which was like that of the day of resurrection. For three days they plundered the said Purahs to their heart's content. A large amount of wealth which was lying buried for a long time and was not even in the knowledge of the owners of the houses fell into the hands of the wicked infidels. Then they threw ladders [P. 274] to make an assault on the fortification of the entrenchments of the city.

They wanted to climb the walls of the town to attack it but they could not enter it because a partyof the manṣabdārs showed marvels of bravery in defending the ramparts, gates, bastions and towers. They did not seize anything besides coined and uncoined gold and silver, ornaments and valuable goods, and they had to part with utensils of copper, brass and porcelain and copper coins and other goods like clove, pepper, betel-nut, cinnamon, nutmeg and other goods of general use which they had already plundered and which they were unable to carry. After the departure of the Marhattas, so many coins were lying scattered on market streets, and so much property had been set on fire that it is difficult to describe. The news of the movements of enemy forces in the direction of Burhanpur, reached Khān Jahān Bahādur, through the slaves, at Aurangabad. Without losing time, he mounted his horse, traversed the distance of four days' journey in one night and one day, and reached the pass of Fardapur, thirty two *kruhs* from Aurangabad. He rested for four *pahrs* (12 hours) so that the army might cross the pass and the beasts might take rest. According to the report of a party, not favourably disposed towards Khān-e-Jahān the agents of Sambha had met him (Khān-e-Jahān) and given him large sum of money (as bribe) and requested him to delay his movements by four or five watches. It was beyond doubt, however, that the enemy laden with plunder, and in view of the reports that he was being pursued by Khān-e-Jahān Bahādur, and his inability to reach the strong and distantly situated forts, he had taken the road to the fort of Saler which was in his possession and was nearer than all the other forts, passing through the parganah of Musṭafa [P. 275] Ābād, known as Chopra. Under these circumstances it was necessary for Khān-e-Jahān Bahādur to march from Fardapur towards the left and adopt the route via, Dharan Gaon and Chopra in order to stop the passage of the infidels. But on the request of the emissary of the wicked enemy and against the correct decision, he marched on the right side 'Īdāl-Abād. On receiving this news the enemy, made the

best use of this opportunity, took whatever of cash, goods, gold and silver utensils and other valuables, he could; and taking prisoners along with him, marched post-haste reaching the fort of Saler in four or five days, before the arrival of Khān-e-Jahān Bahādur at Burhanpur. The learned and pious persons and the nobles of Burhanpur, sent a petition to the Court describing the domination (غلبه) of the infidels, the destruction of the property and honour of the Muslims and the discontinuance of *Jum'ah* prayers in future.

When this was reported to the Emperor, he issued a stern *farmān* to Khān-e-Jahān Bahādur to the effect that he was himself arriving in the Deccan to punish the infidels. Khān-e-Jahān was censured and by one stroke of pen the Emperor cancelled all the recommendations about the increment of manṣab and other emoluments for Khān-e-Jahān Bahādur. In view of the disturbances in the Deccan and the flight of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, he gave orders to his advanced camp to move towards Burhanpur.

24 Regnal Year

Account of the 24th year of the reign corresponding to 1091 A. H. (1680 A. C.)

Flight of Prince Akbar.

When Prince Muḥammad Akbar had taken to flight after his defeat; he had with him only three or four hundred horse-men comprising his old servants and Rajputs; he had no other troops. From among his old officers only, Mir Ḍiya al-Dīn Shujā'i along with two or three other men was with him. [P. 276] Of his entire paraphernalia, treasure and artillery, whatever had been left after being plundered, fell into the hands of the Emperor along with one son, named Niko-Siyar and two daughters. Another son who had attained the age of discretion remained with the Rajputs who took him along with them. Muḥammad Akbar was in a state of confusion and did not know where to go and what to do.

Sometime, he thought of going to Shāh Jahān Ābād (Delhi) or Lahore by way of Ajmer; and at other time he thought of going to Iran but the reins of control went off his hands. Wherever he went, the Fawjdārs and zamindars, under Imperial orders, blocked his passage. Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam was ordered to go in his pursuit but according to well known report Prince Mu'aẓẓam was reluctant to pursue him and marched slowly. Ultimately Prince Muḥammad Akbar gave up the idea of going to Lahore and Multan and guided by the zamindars, he proceeded towards the Deccan, passing through the hills by difficult routes. He crossed the river (Narmada) at one of the fords in the Ta'alluqah of Akbarpur at a distance of eight *kruhs* from the jurisdiction of Raja Mohan Singh who was a chronicler in the department of Mīr Baḥri [1] After that he reached the end of Ta'alluqah of Mir Nūr Allāh son of Mīr Mīrān the commandant of the fort of Thaler. Repeated orders were issued to Khān-e-Jahān Bahādur, the Ṣūbehdār of the Deccan and all the Fawjdārs to block the passage of Prince Akbar in every direction and to capture him alive, or kill him if necessary. Khān-e-Jahān Bahādur, according to the orders, pursued Prince Akbar, post-haste, and reached within a distance of fourteen or fifteen *kruhs* of him but he showed negligence in arresting him. [P. 277] This fact came to be known to 'Ālamgir through the despatch of Mīr Nūr Allāh who was very bold in such matters. A stern *farmān* and directive were issued to all the news-writerss. When Prince Akbar reached the frontier of Buglana in the Ta'alluqah of Rājah Debi Singh Bundelah, the Commandant of the fort and the Fawjdār of Malhir, he posted his forces to block the passage of the Prince and to arrest him. But his troops reached there when the Prince had crossed the border of Buglana. Some Rajputs, who were left behind, were won over by the men of Debi Singh, by force or conciliatory measures and were brought before him. The Rajah began making inquiries about Prince Muḥammad Akbar, from the Rajputs; in the meantime some horsemen of the Rajah brought the jacket (نیمه آستین) of Prince

1 The Department that looked after the ford and ferries.

Muḥammad Akbar, stained with blood, which owing to hot winds he had taken off and had placed on the shoulders of one of his servants. Some horsemen of the Rajah had attacked and wounded the servant and brought the jacket. Before the real fact was ascertained, the Rajah under the impression, that Muḥammad Akbar had been injured by them became perplexed and rebuked them. In short Prince Muḥammed Akbar, passed through the territories of the Europeans (فرنگیان) reached the mountains of Buglana with great difficulty, bribed the hillmen and proceeded towards Raheri belonging to the wicked Sambhaji. He came forward to receive him, made him stay in his own house in his capital which was at a distance of three *kruhs* from there and fixed an allowance for his expenses. The rest of the account of Prince Muḥammad Akbar will be given at its proper place.

CHAPTER IV

'ĀLAMGĪR GOES TO THE DECCAN[1]

[P. 278] Regnal Year 25

(corresponding ta 1092 H.).[2]

After (the festival of) 'Īd al-Fiṭr, in the 25th year of his reign the Emperor started for the Deccan, giving out that he was going in pursuit of Prince Muḥammed Akbar, but in reality he intended to punish the infidels of the Deccan. Giving justice to the people and hunting at all the places on the route, with the Princes accompanying him, he crossed the river at the ford of Akbarpur, entered

1 'Ālamgīr's march to the Deccan and his stay there for the remaining twenty-six years of his life constitute one of the most important chapters of Mughul History. Much has been written on the Deccan policy of Akbar and his immediate successors, and it is not necessary here to enter into its details. It may, however, be mentioned that 'Ālamgīr was confronted with a complicated situation which he had inherited from his predecessors and it was not possible for him to ignore developments in the political situation in the South even if he had so desired. The flight of the rebellious prince, Muḥammad Akbar, who could easily be made to play into the hands of the Marahtas and the Deccan Sulṭāns and thus become a potential threat to the Empire made the situation exceedingly delicate. In fact 'Ālamgīr had no alternative but to go to the South in his pursuit.

Thus the force of circumstances compelled him to throw all his energies and resources into a war which had its tentacles spread far and wide as will be found in subsequent pages of the text; every step forward brought him face to face with new problems and ultimately he found himself so badly entangled in the intricacies of their repercussions that it became impossible for him to leave the region. The Emperor's long and continued absence from the North, and particularly his seat of government created a stalemate in the working of the administrative machine which had far-reaching consequences.

2 The year 1092 H. commenced on Sunday, 11 January 1681, A. C.

Burhanpur on the 14th of Dhu al-Qa'dah and took his residence in the palace inside the citadel. Khān Jahān Bahādur the *Ṣūbehdār*, Amīn Khān the *Dīwān* of all the four provinces of the Deccan, other chief *Fawjdārs* and noted revenue officers presented themselves before the Emperor and were received in audience. A number of the important officers of Bijapur and Quṭb Shāh and Marahta commanders of the troops turned their faces towords the Court of the Emperor, and had the good fortune of entering his service. They received *khil'ats*, *manṣabs*, horses, elephants and jewels.

As the infidels of the city and the *parganahs* created difficulties, for the officers appointed by the Emperor to collect the *Jizyah*, and there was not a single *parganah* where the people with the help of the *Fawjdārs* and the rebellious *Muqaddams*, did not create trouble and raise the standard of revolt, he appointed Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm, who was the son of the Emperor's tutor and a good administrator, as *Amīn* and collector of *Jizyah* in the city of Burhanpur. He was supplied with a detachment of horse and foot men. The *Kotwal* was ordered to punish every one who showed slackness in the payment of *Jizyah*.

There was an inn (سرا) adjacent to the citadel and the *chawk*, where the defaulters in the payment of government demand, were imprisoned and where the Imperial oven (تنور) was set up. Its building caught fire and some bags of gunpowder lying there exploded. The roof of the house was blown [P. 279] and many people were burnt alive.

It was reported to the Emperor that in the celler basement under his sleeping room there were lying thirty bags of gunpowder. When investigations were made, it appeared that in the beginning of the reign when the Emperor had marched to the capital, the gunners and the officers of the citadel, had left those bags there and had not taken them out during the intervening period. On learning this Emperor censured the officers (متصدیان) of the artillery and of the citadel. The *Dārughah* of the artillery, *Qil'ahdār*, (داروغه) of buildings, *Mushrif* of military stores; and seven or eight

officers were demoted. 'Ālamgir said : "If it were the reign of Jahāngīr, he would have ordered all the officers to be blown up by the same powder."

Prince Mu'azzam's, Expedition against Rām Darah.

Owing to the magnanimity and religious-mindedness, which the Emperor had cultivated, the greatest punishment he gave was the reduction of the *manṣab.* Even in these cases defaulters were restored on the recommendation and the intercession of the great *Bakhshīs.* After staying for three or four months in Burhanpur, in all success triumph, he left for Awrangabad.

Mir 'Abd al-Karīm, the *Amīn* of *Jizyah* reported that the amount of *Jizyah* realised from the whole of Burhanpur, in the last year, being Rupees twenty six thousand had been deposited in the treasury, and that he ('Abd al-Karīm) wanted to accompany the Emperor, so another person might be appointed in his place to collect the *Jizyah.* After an appreciation of his services and granting him a promotion, he ordered him to appoint a deputy for the collection of *Jizyah* and accompany him.

While on his way, the Emperor was informed that Dilir Khan a brave, self-respecting and noted Afghān warrior, had suddenly died without suffering from any bodily disease. Among the common people [P. 282] the rumour became current that A'ẓam Shāh had gone secretly to see Dilir Khān in the night, Bahādur Shāh (Prince Mu'aẓẓam) having received information about that, reported it to the Emperor. Dilir Khān poisoned himself.

When 'Ālamgīr entered Awrangabad, he ordered Prince Mu'aẓẓam to reduce the forts and to punish the infidels of Rām Darah. Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam was ordered to recapture the fort of Saler, near the fort of Malhir in the *Sarkār* of Baglana, which was in the hand of the enemy for the last few years, as has already been mentioned. Prince Mu'aẓẓam who had been sent in the direction of Rām Darah Konkan, ravaged the country that was inhabited by the infidels. He crossed the impassable passes and

high mountains full of thorny trees and jungles which were difficult to traverse, and many an infidel was put to the sword. In this expedition Khwājah Abu al-Makārim, an old servant of the Prince, later known as Jān Nithār Khān, and other officers of the Emperor, made remarkable efforts and killed many infidels. In that country coarse grain, millets and *kodon*[1] which act as poison on the people of other regions, and coco-nut and betel-nut only are grown and nothing else is available. Its climate does not suit the horses and the camels. Consequently many a man and quadruped of the Imperial army died, and matters reached such a stage that in the stable of the Prince himself there was no horse left fit for riding. A large number of men became foot-soldiers. As the infidels had blocked the routes on all the sides the troops of the Imperial army were reduced to such a state that the Prince could not stay there. When it was reported to the Emperor; orders were issued summoning the Prince to the Court.

[P. 281] Regnal Year 26.

(*corresponding to 1093 H.*)[2]

Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam was deputed to capture the fort of Saler. It was not a fort which could be besieged. There were so many deep ravines around it near the sea-shore that, even if lakhs of horsemen tried to besiege that fort, perched on a high hill, they could not capture it.

Neknām Khān commandant of the fort of Malhir and the *Fawjdār* of Baglana, had full control over the administration of the district. The distance was not more than six *kruhs* (between the forts of Malhir and Saler). Before the spreading of the news of Prince Muḥammed A'ẓam's appointment,

1 *Kodon*. a kind of coarse corn which has growth during the rainy season.
2 The year 1093 aommenced on Tuesday, 31 December, 1681, A. C.

Neknām Khān had won over the commandant of the fort of Saler by conciliatory messages, and the despatch of friendly presents and a large amount in cash and kind. He had also promised a *manṣab* of four thousand to the commandant. In spite of the arrival of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam near the fort of Saler, Neknām Khān arranged the affairs in a way that the fort was captured by the Imperial army without a clash of the swords and the spears. This action was not liked by Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, and he sent a strong complaint about it with some other additions against Neknām Khān. But, as the efforts and exertions of Neknām Khān were liked by the Emperor and matters had been settled without a trial of arms and bloodshed, the complaint had the effect of a recommendation.

Capture of the fort of Rām Sej.

During his reign when Shāh Jahān, had come to the Deccan for a second time he had deputed an army for the conquest of the forts in the territories of Gulshan Ābād and the territory of Konkan belonging to Niẓām al-Mulk. At first the fort of Rām Sej, [P. 282] which when compared with other high forts was only a hill and had not a single gun, was conquered without any serious effort after a short siege. This quick conquest had a very good effect and other forts were also captured without lengthy sieges. At this time also, the Emperor, keeping in view the days of Shāh Jahān, at first appointed Shihāb al-Dīn Khān with an army, to conquer the fort of Rām Sej. Shihāb al-Dīn took all steps necessary for a siege such as throwing mines, the digging of the trenches, building high ramparts and making assaults on the forts. But the commandant of the fort of Rām Sej was one of the most experienced Marahta officers, and the attempts of the Imperial troops could not succeed in face of his vigilant care. The writer of this chronicle (سوانح) was among the men of the detachment army deputed. There was no gun of iron in that fort but it had plenty of leather. The besieged made guns of wood and covered them with leather. When necessary this gun was fired and

it proved to be as effective as ten guns. After sometime, the Emperor, considering it prudent recalled S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn K̲h̲ān to the Court and deputed K̲h̲ān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltās̲h̲ to capture the fort. If all the measures taken by K̲h̲ān Jahān to push the siege are described in detail, the statement would appear to be greatly exaggerated. His efforts, however, yielded no result. One day K̲h̲ān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltās̲h̲ ordered that in the night the troops should make a demonstration of attack on one side of the fort by posting artillery, gunners, and a number of the servents of the army market. They should make a great fuss and noise with great preparations so that the besieged should collect themselves in that direction in order to defend the fort and to take all precautions. Then, from [P. 283] another side, after finding out a proper place, a hundred brave young men and sturdy warriors who were expert in capturing forts should climb up the wall of the fort secretly with the help of scaling ladders like a serpent, without making any noise and without any encumbrances of armaments and lights. The commandant of the fort having received information of these preparations of K̲h̲ān Jahān, posted a body of brave men who were to repel the attack of the noisy troops and men of the market, with the blowing of trumpets, the beating of drums and making great noise. They spared no effort in rolling down heavy stones, and throwing burning *chhappars*[1] and quilts soaked in oil on the noisy assailants. On the other side from where K̲h̲ān Jahān had planned the secret attack, he posted some brave men armed with iron claws, waiting, to receive the uninvited guests in perfect silence, no one uttering a word. The moment two of the assailants, after climbing up the walls, raised their heads, the besieged struck their face and head with their fatal claws in such a way, that they took the scalp off their head along with their eyes. On account of repeated blows, the assailants, returned back by the passage, through which they had climbed up with great difficulty, and reached the foot of the fort after losing the control of their hands and feet along with those who were following behind them. After that, one day a groom

1 *Chhappar* or Thatched roof.

of the stable of Khān Jahān Bahādur made a request to him and said: "I am expert in controlling the genii. If you give me a snake, made of gold, one hundred tolas in weight, and place me in front of the attacking force, I have every hope that with the help of the genii I will not be stopped till I reach the door of the fort." Khān Jahān Bahādur ordered that his instructions should be followed and the fort was attacked. [P. 284] They had not crossed half the way when he was struck in the chest by a ball, made of jute rope, with such force that the gold serpent flew off his hands and he himself came rolling down to the foot of the fort. In short Khān Jahān Bahādur made great efforts but without any result, so he also was recalled and had to raise the siege under orders (of the Emperor). On the day of his retreat, Khān Jahān ordered to set on fire the wooden sticks that had been driven into the rocky soil at a great expense and had served as bastions. The men of the (besieged) garrison assembled on the towers on all sides, beating drums and shouting and uttering indecent words.

Later Qāsim Khān Kirmāni, who was famous for his experience in commanding the forces, was assigned this work. He also made great efforts but with no results. The Emperor then postponed the capturing of the fort for some other time. He recalled Qāsim Khān and assigned him some other job. The accursed Sambha sent an ornamented wristlet (کڑاہ مرصع) and a large amount of money in cash for the commandant of the fort of Rām Sej and gave him distinction over other commandants of forts. He transferred him to one of the other famous forts. Neknām Khān the *Qil'ahdār* of Malher with the help of a *zamīnhār* in the territory of Rām Sej, named 'Abd al-Karīm, won over the new commandant and thus brought the fort of Rām Sej into the Imperial possession.

Prince Akbar's flight to Īran.

Now I write an account of Prince Muḥammed Akbar's flight (رفتن) to Iran. When prince Muḥammad Akbar reached Rāihri,

he became the guest of Sambha, the hell dog, but he did not receive hospitality worthy of his position. The followers of the Prince also, did not receive sufficient money for expenses and suffered great hardship. One day, the *Qāḍī* of the place in the presence of Muḥammed Akbar, [P.285] by way of flattery and stupidity, said to Sambha : "May the enemies of the Maharajah be trampled to dust." On hearing this, Muḥammed Akbar, lost his temper and told the *Qāḍī* that he was a fool and said to Sambha: "It is improper on your part that such vain words be uttered and listenad to in my presence." Besides, at this time the news had spread about the despatch of a force under the command of I'tiqād Khān, the son of Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān, for the capture of the fort of Rāhiri, Muḥammad Akbar, threfore, thought it proper to go to Iran by any means. He arranged to secure two small ships and provided them with supplies sufficient for forty days and wanted to depart. Sīdi Ya'qūb Khān, the Abbysinian, who was beating the drum of : "I am the king" in that part of the sea, wanted to stop his passage because of the fear of the Emperor and sent some warships for that purpose. But subsequently he connived at the affair. Muḥammad Akbar embarked on the ships with the provisions, and trusting in God, he made them move with Ḍiya al-Dīn Muḥammad Shujā'i and forty or fifty other faithful followers. On the way the ships met with misfortunes and mishaps which it is not necessary to describe in detail. Owing to unfavourable days the ships reached an island in the possession of the Imām of Musqaṭ (مسقط). His men captured the Prince and took him to their leader. The Imām of Musqaṭ who was one of the leading *zamīndārs* and was a permanent *Hākim* and tributary of the dominion of Iran, apparently he showed hospitality to the Prince but kept him in custody. In all haste, he sent a petition to the Emperor in which he said: "If you give me two lakhs of rupees in cash and exempt all our goods carried by ships, from the duties (عشر) levied at the port of Surat, and if you send the amount with one of the Imperial officers; I will hand over the Prince to him and send him to the Court." When it was presented

[P. 286] to the Emperor, he issued orders to the customs-officers (متصدیان) of the port of Surat that they should comply with the request of the Imām of Musqaṭ. The custom officer in charge of Surat, Ḥāji Fāḍil by name, who belonged to the family of the sailors of the Imperial ships and had been brought up in the household of the Emperor and who knew several languages, was ordered to go to Musqaṭ to fetch the Prince. About this time reports were brought to the Emperor that when the news of the internment of Muḥammad Akbar at Musqaṭ and of the evil intentions of the Imām of that place reached the Shāh of Iran; he sent repeated and threatening orders to the Imām to send the Prince, saying :

"You should send our guest at once with all necessary care, otherwise you should consider your territories liable to be trampled under our brave land and naval forces." He also issued orders to his forces to despatch advanced troops for an attack on the territory of the Imām of Musqaṭ. Being thus pressed, the Imām of Musqaṭ handed over Prince Muḥammad Akbar to the officers sent by Shāh Sulaymān, with due honour. Different versions of what happened to Muḥammad Akbar in Iran have become current, but the author of this chronicle is here writing what he has heard from Muḥammed Hāshim Tabrezi, the *Bakhshi* and news-writer of Burhanpur and the son of the sister of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the *Mustawfi-al-Mumalik* of Iran, who had been appointed as a host of Prince Muḥammad Akbar.

The Shāh of Iran receives Muḥammad Akbar

When the news of the arrival of Muḥammad Akbar at the sea-port belonging to Iran reached Shāh Sulaymān, he appointed Muḥammad Ibrāhīm to make arrangements for his hospitality. The Shāh also sent an expert painter along with Muḥammad Ibrāhīm to paint the picture of Muḥammad Akbar, so secretly, that neither his followers nor the men of the Shāh could know of it. The picture was to be sent to Iṣfahān.[1] Arrangements were to be made for

1 Iṣfahān : The old capital of Iran.

his hospitality and meeting his requirements and whatever was liked by the Prince and his followers. [P. 287]. He (the Shāh) issued definite instructions to arrange for the Prince whatever things he liked (when he was) in Hindustan, as for example betel leaves, mangoes, pineapples and other articles of food and drinks and perfumes that are found in Hindustan. Subsequently when Muḥammad Akbar reached within three *kruhs* of Iṣfahān, he was lodged in the royal garden and the Shāh himself came there to receive him. The Prince went up to the gate of the garden, and presented to the Shāh five pieces of diamonds and precious rubies and said to him : "Though it is not customary in Iran (for the people) to meet the nobles (بزرگان) with presents in hands, in Hindustan it is considered impolite to meet a patron empty handed." The Shāh showing great affection (to the Prince) recited a couplet of the poet Ḥāfiẓ referring to thanks to be offered at the arrival of the guest and took the jewels as a mark of favour and sincerity and put them in his turban. Muḥammad Akbar in reply, also, recited a couplet of Ḥāfiẓ. After taking braekfast (حاضری) both of them mounted on horses and proceeded to the house where the Prince was to stay, on velvet carpet from Kāshān embroidered with gold thread and of chintz from seaport, chatting (گپ‌زنان) on the way. It is said that the horse on which the Shāh rode, was moving steadily while that of the Prince was trying to go fast and in haste. The trainer of horses of the Prince supplied a horse so quickly to Muḥammad Akbar and the Prince so skilfully jumped and took his seat on the horse that the beholders were struck with wonder and were full of praise for him. When they reached the city, the Shāh , brought his horse close to that of the Prince, at the spot from which the road to the Prince's guest house parted and allowed the Prince, with great respect, to depart for the house that had been set apart for his residence, saying to him : [P. 288] "Tomorrow, you should not move from your place till I come to see you." The next day Shāh went to see the Prince and sat with him for sometime. He spoke to him in affectionate and encouraging words. He took Muḥammad Akbar to his own palace and entertained him every day with feast and newly arranged gatherings.

As it was the autumn season, the trees of the jungle and the garden had dropped their leaves to bring forth new ones. The Shāh entertained the Prince in his garden where he had ordered all the fruit bearing trees to be decorated with the flowers and fruits made of big and small pearls. When Prince Akbar went to the garden and saw the abundance of pearls, he said to the Shāh : "As your majesty is in possession of the sea that produces pearls, you have decorated all the trees with fruits and flowers of pearls. But in the jewel stores of Hindustan, also, they have collected jewels enough to decorate their trees with their different specimens."

One day, they brought the news from the seaport in the Shāh's dominion that Farkhundah Akhtar, the son of the Prince, had arrived from Hindustan. On hearing this the Shāh congratulated the Prince on the arrival of his son and sent the message. I want to appoint a host to bring him. You may also write a letter to your son." Muḥammad Akbar replied : "The sons whom : "I had left in Hindustan had been summoned by their grandfather. I have no other son who could come over here." The Shāh insisted on the appointment of an officer to serve as a host to the newly arrived prince and bring him with due respect to the capital, but Muḥammad Akbar persistantly refused to acknowledge the new arrival as his son. He wrote a letter to the young man : "Write to me whatever evidence you have of being my son." [P. 289] He replied : "When we come face to face with each other, I will give satisfactory proof of our being father and son." Muḥammad Akbar continued his persistance in disowning the young man as his son. The young man, being disappointed (غصه), tied a rope round his neck ; but when the officers of the Shāh came to know of this, they removed it from his neck. The Shāh fixed a daily allowance for him, but Muḥammad Akbar did not agree to acknowledge him as his son.

The Shāh evades giving help to the Prince

When the question of helping the Prince to return to Hindustan came between him and the Shāh, the latter said;

" You are my honoured guest till the death of your father. After that when you will have to deal with your brothers, I will help you as much as I can." After some time Sulaymān Shāh died and Sulṭān Ḥusayn succeeded him. He made greater efforts in consoling and entertaining the Prince. One day the Prince, on the basis of a document (supposed to be) written by Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān, made it public that the Emperor had died; and raised the question of a helping force and its expenses. In reply Shāh Ḥusayn ssid: "Our secret news-writers are in Thatta and in the seaports of Hindustan. They send all necessary information to us. After ascertaining the news, we will not spare any help we are capable of. Subsequently when the news proved to be wrong, the Prince was very much ashamed and since then there occurred a vast difference in his status and respect.

Death of Muḥammad Akbar.

Ultimately he made the proposal: "As the climate of 'Irāq does not suit my temper, I may be allowed to go to the vicinity of Garm Sayr[1] on the frontiers of Khurāsān which is close to the borders of Hindustan, and the officers there may be ordered to help me with the army and officers at the opportune moment." A monthly allowance was fixed for the Prince, which was to be drawn from the revenues of the territories of Herat. [P. 292] Orders were also issued that whenever prince Muḥammad Akbar might have to deal with his brothers and fight with them, fifteen thousand horsemen from those in the service of the government and the auxiliary forces of the people should escort him (to Hindustan). Afterwards the Prince passed his days in the vicinity of Garm Sayr of Khurāsān happily or unhappily, till he died towards the close of the reign of Awrangzeb carrying with him the desire of the empire of Hindustan.

Verse:

Do not fight for the possession of this base world,

1 The geographers divide the province of Fars into two parts called Gram Sayr and gard says. See G. Le stranght, The Land of the Eastern Caliphete.

For neither the life of Khiḍr is eternal nor the reign of Alexander.

Regnal Year 27

Corresponding to 1094 H. 1

The writer of these pages has not been able to get the information for these two or three years which may be considered fit for being written. Nor has he seen any written and authentic account anywhere. However, I am writing whatever I have heard from reliable persons. My deceased brother Muḥammed Murād Khān, who was brought up at the Court, was a reliable person and he had himself seen whatever happened during the journey to Rām Darah and as a *ḥājib* at Hyderabad. After making inquiries about the difference of versions, whether great or small, I am committing it to writing.

If the readers note any differences on the basis of a written or verbal account, they should forgive the writer.

Prince Mu'aẓẓam's unsuccessful expedition to Rām Darah.

Later, in the begining of the twenty seventh year of the reign, Prince Muḥammed Mu'aẓẓam was allowed to proceed from Ahmadnagar, in the direction of Rām Darah to capture the forts which were in the possession of the officers of Sambha, the hell dog, and to punish the rebels of that district. The Imperial troops had never entered that territory previously. [P. 291] The Prince was accompanied by Ātish Khān, the commander of the artillery, Laṭīf Shāh Deccani, known as Sarfarāz Khān; Ikhlāṣ Khān, the brother of Bahlul Khān, Nakoo, a well known marahta who knew the country in detail and Khwājah Makārim, the chief servant of Prince Mu'aẓẓam, who in those very days had received a *manṣab* of nine hundred and was entitled Jān Nithār Khān.

1 1094 H. Cammenced on Thursday, 12 December 1682 A.C.

Despite his low *manṣab*, he was liked by the Emperor for his skill in strategy and correct opinion. The number of his forces according to the muster roll was twenty thousand horse. Sa'ādat Khān known as Muḥammed Murād, who was the news-writer for the whole of the Deccan, was appointed as the despatch-writer of the army of the Prince in addition to his original post. All of them received gifts of horses, elephants, *khil'ats* and promotions. During the march through narrow passes and dense jungles the advance guard of the army of the Prince had to fight stiff actions against the vanquished enemy (مقاهیر). A number of men of the Imperial forces were killed, but the enemy was duly punished and took to flight. When they reached the village of Sānp Gāon, which had a strong and very high fort, the Prince ordered it to be be sieged. The besieging officers made great efforts and showed a spirit of self-sacrifice. Jān Nithār Khān and two or three other *Amīrs* were wounded but in a few days the fort was captured. They then entered the territory of Rām Darah, which had a pass very difficult to cross. The climate of the place did not suit the Imperial troops, so the infidels surrounded them on all sides, created noise and blocked routes of supplies in all directions. On one side there was the sea and on two sides there were mountains full of poisonous trees and [P. 292] numerous snakes. The enemy was able to destroy the fodder and the animals and troops were reduced to great distress. There was nothing to eat for men and animals except coco-nut, and *kodon* which on being taken produces symptoms of poison. Many a man and animal died. The dearness and scarcity of grain reached such a stage that wheat flour could not be obtained at less than three or four rupees a seer. Those who escaped death, struggled for life, as half dead persons and considered every breath as their last. As there was no horse fit for riding left in the stables of any *Amīrs*, nothing could be said of the poor soldiers. When the Emperor was informed of the hardship of the forces, he ordered the *Mutaṣaddi* of Surat, to load as much grain as possible on the ships and send it to them by sea-route. The enemy who had built strong forts on the sea-

coast on the route, waylaid the ships and plundered them, only a few boats which could escape his attack reached the Prince. The market of every *Amīr* in the army could not get more than thirty or forty *pallas*.[1] Ultimately orders were issued to the Prince to retire, and his army retreated, fighting on the way, to Ahmadnagar where the Emperor at that time was camping.

1 *Palla*: Literarlty one of the two pans of a scale.

CHAPTER V

FALL OF GOLCUNDA

After the arrival of the Prince at the camp, it was reported to the Emperor that Abu al-Ḥasan Quṭb al-Mulk, the ruler of Hyderabad, owing to his wicked deeds (افعال قبیح) had entrusted the administrative control of his kingdom to two infidels, Mādanna and Ākanna, who were bitter enemies of the Muslims, and under whom they had to suffer great hardships. It was also reported that debauchery, immorality, the use of intoxicants and other evils were openly practised. [P. 293] Besides this, he (Abu al-Ḥasan) had earned ill fame for helping the damned follow (جہنمی) Sambha, against whom fighting was necessary (دارالحربی) ;[1] in plundering the (Imperial) territories and the capturing of forts and for the supply of one lakh Huns in cash to him. In the meantime, Mir Hāshim, the son of Sayyid Muẓaffar, a leading *Amīr* of Abu al-Ḥasan reached the Court. Abu al-Ḥasan had secured the throne with the help of Mīr Hāshim, who was appointed the *Wazīr*, but he was later removed from office because of the intrigues of Mādanna and Ākanna, as has been described in detail in the account of his *Sultānate*. The office of the *Wakīl* and the affairs of the kingdom were entrusted to these two infidels. Through the mediation of the courtiers close to the Emperor by making repeated requests, Mīr Hāshim was able to persuade him to invade Hyderabad, release his father who had been interned by Abu al-Ḥasan and offered himself to be the guide of the forces.

About the same time it was also reported to the Emperor that some rich (سیر حاصل) *parganahs* in the *Sardārs* of Golcunda

1 دارالحرب Literally region of fighting. It signifies the land where the Muslims are expected to fight for their freedom. The terrotories under Marahta control were regarded as دارالحرب.

and Ramgir, which were parts of the Ṣūbah of Ẓafar Nagar, and had been captured by the officers of Abu al-Ḥasan, on the plea that they formerly belonged to the territory of Telangana. The world conquering Emperor who had made up his mind to conquer Hyderabad and uproot Abu al-Ḥasan, at first, appointed Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh with his son, every one of whom particularly Himmat Khan Bahādur—was very brave, along with Rajah Ram Singh and other *Amīrs* ; to punish the officers of Abu al-Ḥasan and recapture the *parganahs* from them. He sent Prince Muḥammed Mu'aẓẓam, with Ṣafdar Khān Ṣafdar, I'tiqād Khān, the son of Jumdat-al-Mulk; Multafit Khān, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān Bārihah, Jān Nithār Khān and two or three prominent Rajahs and other experienced *Amīrs* to conquer Telangana, [**P. 294**] after giving them promotions, horses, elephants, jewels and drums.

At the same time the Emperor also sent Mirza Muḥammed, the *Mushrif* of *Ghusl Khānah*, who had received his training under him, was eloquent in speech and knew his temperament well, to Abu al-Ḥasan Quṭb al-Mulk with the message : "It has come to our knowledge that you have two square, well cut crystal diamonds weighing 150 *rattis*. Send these diamonds along with other presents to us deducting the amount equal to their value from the balance of tribute (پیشکش) due."[1] In privacy, however, he told him: "I am not sending you for those two pieces of worthless stones, which I do not require at all, but, to ascertain reason for the truth of the reports of his evil deeds, which have reached me. Our sole object in sending you is that we consider you to be our faithful servant and you know our temperament. We want that like others, you should not become a victim to his bribe and you should not flatter him according to his wishes. On the contrary you should be straight and rather harsh in your conversation so that he may also talk rudely to you and thus provide us with a cogent reason to punish and uproot him. As far as possible, you

1 Elliot's translation appears to be confusing : Vol. VII, p. 315.

should come into clash with him and should not be polite or familiar with him."[1]

When Mirza Muḥammed reached Hyderabad he conveyed the message to Abu al-Ḥasan and demanded the diamonds of the weight and specification mentioned in the letter. Abu al-Ḥasan affirmed on solemn oath that he had no such diamonds otherwise he would have considered it his good fortune to surrender them to the Emperor even before receiving the order. Formerly, [P. 295] in the reign of Shāh Jahān, whatever diamonds were taken out of the mines, were submitted to the Court, by 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh according to the Imperial directions before receiving the *farmān*. He (Abu al-Ḥasan) however gave some cut and uncut diamonds and some precious rubies, that were worthy of the Emperor, to Mirza Muḥammed. During the course of their conversation Mirza Muḥammad, according to directions, objected to the words used by Abu al-Ḥasan and was impolite in putting questions and giving answers, and made him remain silent. One day in the course of conversation Abu al-Ḥasan said: "We are also called the king of this small territory." Mirza Muḥammed became furious and tauntingly and disparagingly said: "It is not proper for you to use the epithet of 'king' with your name. When the Emperor 'Ālamgīr would hear this, he would be all the more displeased with you." Abu al-Ḥasan said in reply: "Mirza Muḥammed! your objection is wrong. If I do not bear the title of king, how can the Emperor be called the King of Kings."

The writer of these pages has heard the account repeatedly from the lips of Mirza Muḥammed who related it to Muḥammed Murād Khān.[2] He (Mirza Muḥammad) said: "There was no objection raised by me in which I did not render Abu al-Ḥasan silent except on this issue on which he made me speechless."

1 This appears to be an imaginary account, as there is little likelihood of the secret instructions of the Emperor becoming known. Nor does it accord with the policy of 'Ālamgīr for whom the evil deeds of the Sulṭān and breach of treaty on his part were enough to provide a cause of war. For further details see Faruqi p. 308.

2 Muḥammad Murād Khān Khāfi, was the brother of Khāfi Khān.

At last Mirza Muḥammad returned from Abu al-Ḥasan, who, on receiving the news of the despatch of the victorious forces under Prince Mu'aẓẓam and Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh, sent an army of thirty or forty thousand horse under Ibrāhim Khān alias Ḥusayni Beg, who was one of the highest nobles of Hyderabad, after conferring on him the title of Khalīl Allāh Khān. [P. 296] He was accompanied by Shaykh Minhāj and Rustam Rao, the son of the uncle of Mādanna, who was a skilled warrior and writer among the Hīndus and was an adviser of Abu al-Ḥasan; and some other brave *Amīrs*. The opposing armies came close to each other between the territories of Hyderabad and Bijapur. Prince Mu'aẓẓam wanted that, if possible, there should be no war. He, therefore, sent a message to Khalīl Allāh Khān saying :

"Abu al-Ḥasan must express his regret and seek pardon for his past offences and he should take back the control of the affairs of state, from Mādanna and Ākanna and should imprison them Secondly, the *parganahs* of Siram and Rāmgīr, and others, which had been seized by his men on unjust grounds, from the Imperial officers must be restored to them, Thirdly, Abu al-Ḥasan must pay the balance of tribute due from him, for the past years and for the present year, without delay. When these conditions are fulfilled, a request will be made to the Emperor for the forgiveness of his crimes."

The misguided nobles of the Deccan, however, gave absurd replies, in their pride, and could not succeed in pacifying the Imperial wrath and the parties had to resort to fighting from every direction, ultimately the opposing armies moved forward.

Khān Jahān Bhādur defeats the army of Golcunda

The limits of this brief history do not admit a detailed account of all the actions fought by Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh but I will give a brief description of one of the battles.

One day in a battle against Khalīl Allāh Khān, Khān Jahān Bahādur had not more than ten or eleven thousand horse while the

Amīrs of Abu al-Ḥasan had more than thirty thousand brave horsemen. The command of the advance guard was given to Himmat K͟hān. From the morning began the blowing of the trumpets of war and the beating of the drums. [P. 297] The thunder of the cannon and the whirring of the rockets were raised between the earth and the sky. A contested battle was fought till the afternoon ; piles of the dead bodies were raised on every side and the surface of the earth became red with the flowing of blood. Many of the *Sardārs* on both the side were wounded. The enemy forces surrounded the Imperial troops on all the sides like the stone in the ring.

Verse :

The armies on both the sides drew their swords.

The eyes of the armour were opened wide with fear.

Himmat K͟hān Bahādur, the commander of the advance guard, was reduced to such straits that he repeatedly asked for more reinforcement owing to the pressure of the enemy. There was such pressure of the Deccani forces on K͟hān Jahān Bahādur that the idea of escaping became difficult for him. The number of Deccani forces increased every moment. In the meantime Barī K͟hān entitled Hāt Bhatla, who was a famous (Deccani) warrior and whose hands could throw a stone from a distance with the effect of a bullet, came forward galloping his horse with a javelin in his hand and approaching the elephant of K͟hān Jaḥān Bahādur said loudly : "Where is the elephant on which the *Sardār* is riding?" He intended to throw the javelin at K͟hān Jahān Bahādur, but the latter replied loudly: "Here I am, the leader of the forces," and without giving him an opportunity to throw the javelin, he drew his bow to his ear, aud shot him with an arrow, throwing him down from his horse. However, the entire Imperial army was still hard pressed. From the front and from the rear and from every side the pressure of the enemy was reported. There was very little chance left for the army of K͟hān Jahān Bahādur to escape defeat. At this stage a furious (مست) elephant from the stable of Rajah Ram Singh, which had been kept in chains for some days, was made free, [P. 298] and its driver placing

a chain in its mouth, weighing three or four maunds, took it to the detachment of Himmat Khān Bahādur in the advance guard and made it charge the enemy. The famous *Rāwats* and brave warriors of the army of Abu al-Ḥasan had come forward to attack Himmat Khān Bahadur, galloping their horses, but the elephant, and the blows of its chain created panic in sections of forces attacked by it. The horses of two or three famous *Sardārs* having been entangled in this dance (رقص) of calamity took fright and threw their riders from the saddles with their heads downwords. The Deccan army consequently suffered a defeat. Khān Jahān Bahādur ordered the beating of the drums of victory and pitched his tent on that very ground. The Imperial army obtained large amount of booty consisting of countless horses, elephants and artillery. He (Khān Jahān Bahādur) stayed for some days at that place, waiting for the arrival of the army under the Prince and for some *Amirs* who had been left behind. He despatched Jān Nithār Khān, also called Khwājah Makārim, to capture the fortress of Siram, which had fallen into the hands of the officers of Abu al-Ḥasan. Jān Nithār Khān, after making great efforts captured the fortress and established a *thānah* there. However, the Deccani forces, near the fortress, attacked it and laid siege to it. Jān Nithār Khān, came out of the fortress, and once again attacked the Deccani forces, defeating the *Sardārs* of Abu al-Ḥasan, then he strengthened the fortress.

In the meantime ten thousand horsemen from the reserve force (خالصه), of Mādanna and Rustam Rao, who were posted in the surrounding *parganahs*, came to the help of Khalīl Allāh Khān and attacked the forces of the Prince. For some days a deceptive correspondance went on. At last a stiff battle was fought which lasted for three days. In every clash, a number of men were killed or wounded on both the sides. [P. 299] On the fourth day a world shaking (جہان آشوب) action was fought in which Himmat Khān Bahādur, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān, Rajah Man Singh and Sa'ādat Khān the *Dīwān* of the army of Khān Jahān were wounded. At, last due to the severe attacks of the Imperial forces, the army of

the Deccan was put to flight. Raja Ram Singh and Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān advised the Prince to pursue the Deccan army, but the Prince and Khān Jahān Bahādur and other officers did not deem it expedient to pursue them. They ordered the tent to be pitched and stayed there and sent a despatch of victory to the Emperor. The cause of the Prince not pursuing the enemy, came to the know-ledge of the Emperor through his own news-writers.

For sometime past, the Emperor was displeased with the Prince. He was also unhappy with Khān Jahān Bahādur on account of the debauchery and evils which had become common in his camp and because his repeated warnings to stop them had remained unheeded. He was also displeased with him for not pursuing and capturing Prince Akbar when that Prince had passed through his territory at the foot of the hill near Sulṭānpur, which had been reported to him by Mīr Nūr Allāh, the son of Mīr t g̱o,eïjfātrr *p* uwhahM*F*e *pargaaah* of Thaler. Besides, the Emperor had received information about his (objectionable) conduct in the political and revenue affairs. Whenever instructions were issued to him, the Emperor always received impolite replies. Sitting, in an open court, on the plea of his being a foster-brother of the Emperor, he used to make unbecoming remarks and subsequently his actions were found to be against the Emperor's orders. For these reasons the Emperor's displeasure against him had accumulated. It was further augmented by his other improper actions.

[P. 300] Regeal Year 28
(*corresponding to 1095 H.*)[1]

When the news of the victory of the Imperial forces and the defeat of the Deccan army were received by the Emperor, he showed his displeasure, because the enemy forces were not pursued upto their base camp and the praise for good efforts was changed into censure. In this connection the Emperor issued

1 The year 1095 H. commenced on Monday, 10. December, 1683.

orders, marked by his anger, to Prince Shāh 'Ālam (Mu'azzam) and Khān Jahān Bahādur. This *farmān* caused disappointment to the Prince. After that day the *Sardārs* of Abu al-Ḥasan did not give any battle to the Imperial forces ; but during the night, sometimes, they appeared round the Imperial army like robbers, and took initiative by throwing rockets. Sometimes, during the day time also, they appeared at a distance and returned to their camp after making a reconnoissance. As Prince Shāh 'Ālam and Khān Jahān Bahādur, were disappointed ; they did not take any notice of them. They discontinued riding their horses and taking any action and thus passed four or five months in inactivity there. This attitude when reported to the Emperor, added to his displeasure and elicited censure from him. He issued a *farmān* written in his own hand full of severe warnings and censure. He wrote to Khān Jahān : "Oh zephyre this has all been brought by thee !.[1]

When Shāh 'Ālam read the *farmān* he returned to his house with eyes full of tears and heart full of the flames of fire (of anger). On the following morning he came to his *dīwān*, summoned Khān Jahān Bahādur and other wise *Amīrs* and consulted them about punishing the enemy.

[P. 301] The *Amīrs* of Hyderabad knew that Shāh 'Ālam was inclined towards peace and the cessation of hostilities, they had started writing conciliatory letters and sending deceptive (دلفریب) messages. Khān Jahān Bahādur also, due to the displeasure of the Emperor and the number of enemy forces, did not favour war, and some of the *Amīrs* agreed with him. Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān and two or three Rajahs were, in favour of its continuation. Owing to this differences of opinion nothing was decided that day. Next day in a private interview Sayyid 'Abd Allāh said to the Prince : Though Khān Jahān Bahādur is an old and experienced *Sardār* of the day and is a faithful servant of the Emperor, the best course (for you) is not to go against the will of the Emperor. We should march and punish the deceitful enemy who is trying to gain time by

1 اے باد صبا ایں ہمہ آوردۂ تست

messages of peace. If Khān Jahān Bahādur accepts the command of the advance guard, I may be appointed to the command of the rear guard; otherwise I am ready to take up the post of an attendent of one of the Princes who may be appointed to command the advance guard and will show my best efforts and faithfulness."

Shāh 'Ālam sent a message to Muḥammed Ibrāhīm the *Sar Lashkar* (chief commander) of forces of Hyderabad saying: "Though I have fallen under the displeasure of the Emperor owing to my connivance and the facilities given to you by me, keeping in view the welfare of the parties and the continuation of your kingdom and your honour and that of Abu al-Ḥasan, I advise you to surrender the *parganahs* and forts of Siram, Kir (Khir) and other frontier territories which had fallen to the Imperial forces, and withdraw your army. This will provide a basis and plea, for a despatch to the Emperor, for the request of forgiving the faults of Abu al-Ḥasan."

[P. 302] The message was sent through Zamarrud, the *Nāẓir* of the palace of Prince Shāh 'Ālam, to Muḥammad Ibrāhim, the commander of the army of Abu al-Ḥasan. As it was according to his wishes, he consulted other nobles as to the reply to be sent. Shaykh Minhāj, Rustam Rao, the infidel, and other fools (جہالت کیش) unanimously said in the Deccani language: "The forts in the territory of Siram are attached to the points of our swords and spears and so we have come to fight for them."

Accordingly that day the Marahtas showed greater activity in throwing rockets. One rocket fell inside the palace at the time when meals were being served and owing to its shock a tray of food fell from the head of a female servant. On that very day a train of artillery with new forces sent by Abu al-Ḥasan had also reached there. The guns were making a blank fire incessantly and their roaring reached the ears of the Prince and the army. They also seized the supplies of provisions for the royal army. This impudence (شوخی) of the Deccanis hurt the sense of honour of the Prince. He posted Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn along with Khān Jahān Bahādur, as formerly, to the command of the

advance guard. Ṣafdar Khān, Himmat Khān and other experienced warriors with some warlike Rajahs were posted on the right, and left wings and at the بلتمش (centre). Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān with some brave warriors was posted in the rear guard. Multafit Khān Khāfi, Rajah Mān Singh, Samander Beg and Khwājah Makārim were to be with him in the centre. Thus he proceeded to the battle field with the intention of fighting.

On the other side, the *Sardārs* of 'Abu al-Ḥasan's army after consultation decided to send the baggage and equipment of the army to a place three or four *kruhs* to their right. Finding no advantage in the use of guns, they threw their big guns in [P. 303] a deep pit and buried others under ground. They divided their army into two or three sections. One of these was sent to meet the advance guard, the second against the بلتمش and the third, the strongest of all, along with two of the bravest leaders, marched, following the tacties of the Deccanis to attack the rear; they charged Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān. Thus they all launched a sudden attack with great force on the army of the Prince. From this side the brave warriors, having claws like that of a lion, opposed the enemy forces and showed marvels of bravery in the skirmishes. There were severe contests on all sides and battle cry 'of take and capture' resounded in that gloomy plain which became red with the blood of the brave warriors.

Quatrain : (رباعی)[1].

The forces thronged from all sides

It appeared like a river, waves coming from all directions.

Due to the exchange of the blows of arrows, swords and spears

Life departed from the bodies continuously.

The *Sardārs* of the Deccani army showed marvels of bravery on every side and encompassed the advance guard and the rear guard of the Imperial army. Prince Mu'izz al-Din, Himmat Khān,

1 Technically these are two separate conplets and not a (رباعی).

the son of Khān Jahān Bahādur and I'tiqād Khān, the son of Jumdat al-Mulk made heroic efforts. After great efforts Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān defeated the opposing army, and then came to the help of the *Sardārs* of the right and left wings. The battle lasted in all ferocity till noon, after which the Deccanis took to flight. The army of the Prince pursued the *Sardārs* of Abu al-Ḥasan to their camp (بنگاه) and there a great tumult rose in the army of the Deccanis.

Shaykh Minhāj sent two horsemen conversant with the language to the Prince and the advance guard with the message:" Fighting and bloodshed are a matter between you and us. [P. 304] In the time of the early Muslim rulers, women and children remained safe from being plundered. It will not be far from a show of tolerance, if we are allowed a respite for a few hours to satisfy ourselves about the safety of our families before we take the field against you."

Prince Mu'izz al-Din, after securing the approval of his father, issued orders to stop fighting and sent his couriers to prohibit the plunder of the families and properties of the Deccanis. The Deccanis sent their families on horses and elephants to a fortress, (گڑھی) that was near-by. In the afternoon, again, the forces of the Deccanis appeared coming like a flood from all sides. The undignified *Sardārs* marched with full speed and came face to face with the victorious army in all dignity a second time. A fierce battle ensued more contested than the previous one. Marvels of bravery were shown on both the sides. Many soldiers on both the sides, including two elephants of the Imperial army fell to the ground, and on the other side Shaykh Minhāj and Rustam Rao were wounded. Brindraban, the *Dīwān* of the Shāh was wounded and his elephant was carried away by the Deccanis. Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān, despite having been wounded by a splinter of a rocket on his face, reached the spot with the help of one of his rajahs and released Brindraban from the hands of the Deccanis. The wife of Ghayrat Khān, the *Mīr Bakhshi* of the Shāh, was killed along with her female companions in the *howdah* of their elephant by a rocket. Four or

fiive *Sardārs* on both the sides were severely wounded, and many an unknown person was killed. The Deccanis remained steadfast till the evening but ultimately they fled away.

They (the Deccanis) sent a message to the Prince: "In the open fighting (جنگ مغلوبه) the Muslims are killed on both the sides. It is better that [P. 305] one or two *Sardārs* from our side and three or four from your side should come forward, without any forces and fight among themselves and show their skill in the art of fighting. Let us see who is helped by God."

When it was reported to Shāh 'Ālam he sent a reply: "You have the courage to send this proposal because of your pride on account of your greater skill in swordsmanship which is more in practice among you. But I have seen that the Deccanis, whenever they are hard-pressed in battle, take upon them the ignominy of flight and consider it an act of military strategy (هنر سپاه گری) while with us there is no greater dishonour than this. It is proper that Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān with two or three other *Sardārs* would chain nis elephants and fight with you. You will also chain your elephants and thus they will show steadfastness on the field of battle, and give evidence of their bravery." The Deccanis on receipt of this message said: "We will not fight riding on our elephants chained." Shāh 'Ālam said: "We also cannot fight a battle where flight is possible."

On the next day when the king of the Orient, that gives light to the world; took out its head from the window of the East; the couriers brought the news that the *Sardārs* of Abu al-Ḥasan had fled towards Hyderabad. Shāh 'Ālam ordered the beating of the drums of victory and pursuit of the Deccani army. When by continuous marches they reached Hyderabad, Mādanna and some of his associates reported to Abu al-Ḥasan about the inclination of Khalīl Allāh Khān, alias Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, towards Shāh 'Ālam. They had poisoned the Sulṭān's ears against him to such an extent that he thought of imprisoning rather of killing him.

[P. 306] *Khalīl Allāh Khān comes to the Prince.*

When the news reached Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, he came to the Prince (Shāh 'Ālam) and offered his services and became the recipient of favours.

Abu al-Ḥasan shuts himself in the fort of Golcunda.

As the news spread in Hyderabad of the desertion of Muḥammad Ibrābīm, the commander of the army, joining the Prince reached Abul Ḥasan; he lost heart and without consulting his ministers of State and without making arrangements to take his treasure, family and wife and other persons, fled, in the first watch of night, to the fort of Golcunda; along with some of his private servants taking with him boxes full of jewels, huns and whatever he could.

Hyderabad captured by Mu'aẓẓam.

With the spreading of this news, all the stores of Abu al-Ḥasan, and heaps of merchandise worth about four or five crores of rupees as well as the women of the soldiers and people left in the city were plundered. A strange type of consternation and disorder resembling the day of resurrection spread over the city. Several thousand gentlemen, who could not get transport to carry their goods, caught the hands of their children and women, most of whom had no veil or shrouds to cover their bodies, and fled towards the fort in great distress. Before the news (of the flight of Abu al-Ḥasan) reached the camp of the Prince, the ruffians and vagabonds of the city had started plundering and looting the property. The *Amīrs*, merchants and common people vied with each other in reaching the fort, by using their strength, other efforts and spending cash, with as much of belongings and money as they could. Even before the morning had dawned the Imperial army attacked the city. In every street, road, and market place, they looted lakhs of rupees in cash and other articles and goods, including cloth porcelain belonging to the *Amīrs*, nobles and merchants; carpets from the stores of Abu al-Ḥasan and his

ministers as well as horses and elephants that had been left behind; and a frightful scene of pillage and destruction ensued.

[P. 307] *Verses*:

When the king of the Orient raised his head
And dispersed gold in the space of the sky,
Many caskets and boxes full of gold,
Full of rubies, pearls and jewels
And full of garments and carpets.
Every thing which had any value
Precious clothes, interwoven with gold thread and silk,
Dīnārs, rubies, musk and scented face-powders
Plenty of garments adorned with shining pearls
Many signets, bracelets and pendants.

(All these) were looted by the plunderers. My pen cannot describe how many women and children of the Muslims and the Hindus were made prisoners and how many women of high and low position were dishonoured. Many heavy carpets which could not be carried, were cut into pieces by swords and daggers and they quarrelled among themselves to obtain every bit of them. In spite of the posting of stewards (سزاولان) by Prince Shāh 'Ālam and his orders prohibting plundering, it did not stop. The *Kotwāt* of the army and the *Dīwān* helped by four or five hundred horsemen were entrusted with the duty of collecting and confiscating the property of Abu al-Ḥasan (that had not been plundered).

Mu'aẓẓam proposes terms of peace to Abu al-Ḥasan

Later, messengers from Abu al-Ḥasan arrived befor, Prince Shāh 'Ālam with an humble request for the forgiving of his crimes,

committed and un-committed. Shāh 'Ālam, at once, appointed strict stewards to stop plundering and to punish the persons who were found setting fire to places. The disorder was partially suppressed but the plundering did not stop completely.

After an unlimited exchange of messages and requests from Abu al-Ḥasan, who was ready to accept any condition imposed on him, the Prince, seeing the flight of that unfortunate ruler and inhabitants of that place, who were undoubtedly under the displeasure of God, was moved with compassion. His request was accepted on condition some of which were (1) He was to pay a sum of one crore and twenty lakhs of [P. 308] rupees in addition to his annual tribute (پیشکش). (2) He was to dismiss and imprison Mādanna and Ākanna who were the root cause of all troubles that befell the inhabitants of Hyderabod. (3) He was to give up his claim on the for a of Siram, the *parganah* of Khir and other territories that had been conquered by the Imperial troops. If these conditions would be accepted by Abu al-Ḥasan, his case would be referred to the Emperor along with a recommendation for his crmies to be forgiven.

During the period of negotiations, Abu al-Ḥasan hesitated to imprison the two powerful infidels. The army and some of the soldiers of the leading *Sardārs* and influential servants of the court were all tired of the ill tempered infidel brothers, who were like Antichrist in nature, because they were believed to be cause of the fighting and the bloodshed of the Muslims and in fact all the ills of Hyderabad. Saroma and Jāni Ṣāḥibah, two of the chief wives of 'Abd Allāh Shāh had complete control of the palace. Without informing the unfortunate Abu al-Ḥasan, they (the wives of 'Abd Allāh Shāh), orally suggested, to some of the trusted servants of the infidels, like Jamshayd and other slaves, that they should be murdered. While both the doomed persons were returning, from the court to their house, Jamshayd and a party of the slaves attacked and killed them on the way. They also attacked and killed Rustam Rao in his own house where he had reached. Many an infidel

perished that day and their property was looted. The heads of both the brothers were severed from their bodies and were sent to the Prince in the charge of a sagacious officer.

To make the story delightful (شادابی کلام), I am writing here a few words about the reason why the two brothers seized control of the *wizārat*. In this connection the geneology of Abu al-Ḥasan will be mentioned, and it is rather unusual. [**P. 309**] 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh who ruled for nearly fifty years had no son, but he had two or three daughters. One of them was married to Sayyid Aḥmad who belonged to a learned Sayyid family of Arabia. He was made an *Amīr* and was consulted by him in most of the administrative problems of the state. After some time, Sayyid Sulṭān, a pupil of the father of Mīr Aḥmad, who had the reputation of belonging to a family superior to that of Mīr Aḥmad, reached the court of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh. He was made a courtier and honours were conferred on him, second daughter of Quṭb Shāh was betrothed and was to be married to him. He received promotions and honours every day. Ultimately a rivalry and jealousy grew between the two Sayyids; and became the cause of the destruction of a number of families and prominent persons and worked as a tool in the hands of the treacherous Satan. One day Sulṭān Quṭb Shāh asked Sayyid Sulṭān if he knew about the ancesters of Mīr Aḥmad. He replied in the affirmative and said that they possessed hereditory superiority, and he (Mīr Aḥmad) was the son of his teacher, (on account of this reply) the seed of enmity, became firmly rooted in the heart of Mīr Aḥmad more than ever. The enmity between the two Sayyids increased every day owing to the intrigues of the backbiters, who always try to uproot the ancient families with the hatchet of criticism, and the incitements of the Satan sychtophants who accentuated the feelings of opposition between them. Thus their rivalry grew every day. Ultimately the time of the celebration of the marriage arrived. For several days there were rajoicings at every door and roof of Hyderabad. During the days of the celebration of the marriage a new rift took place between the two rivals and state of affairs reached such a stage that on the first even-

ing preceding the marriage and its consummation Mīr Aḥmad took a solemn oath and sent the message to Quṭb S̲h̲āh saying : [P. 310] "If you are giving the hand of your daughter in marriage to Sayyid Sulṭān, give me permission to depart." He began preparations for leaving Hyderabad and gave publicity to his firm intention. Leading persons tried to pursuade him but with no result. Saroma (the wife of 'Abd Allāh S̲h̲āh) who commanded great influence in the palace, and other ladies of the harem showed their sympathy with Mīr Aḥmad and supported him. The discussions over the dispute ended, when 'Abd Allāh Quṭb S̲h̲āh thought of a way out because he had a greater regard for his elder daughter. After consulting his friends, both inside and outside the palace. 'Abd Allāh Quṭb S̲h̲āh decided to marry his daughter to Abu al-Ḥasan, who was his distant relation from his mother's side. From the early days of his youth he was living in the society of tavern-haunting[1] beggers (قزاق خراباتی). Owing to his depraved life, he had fallen under the disfavour of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb S̲h̲āh and used to be often censured by the learned men and his close companions. He had fallen into such a state of disgrace that 'Abd Allāh Quṭb S̲h̲āh did not care for him at all. For the last sixteen years Abu al-Ḥasan had been passing his days in oblivion in the guise of *darwis̲h̲es* in the *K̲h̲ānqāh*[2] of Sayyid Rājū who was reputed to be his spiritual guide. According to the saying : "The disfavoured among the people are among the favoured before God ;" Abu al-Ḥasan was traced out just at the moment of the time of the marriage. He was given a hot bath, and was duly robed (خلع سلطنه). They tied a wreath (*sihrah*) of precious pearls round his head and mounted him on an 'Irāqi

1 K̲h̲āfi K̲h̲ān's reference to Abu al-Ḥasan's early life is misleading. He had taken to the life of a *darwis̲h̲* and had got himself enrolled as a disciple of Sayyid Rāju. For a discussion and authority see Abd al-Majid Siddiqi, (*Tarik̲h̲-i-Gulkundah*) Hyderabad Deccan, 1964 and edition, pp. 233 *Supra.*

2 *K̲h̲ānqāh* is the Arabicised form of *K̲h̲ānagāh* meaning a place of residence. It indicates the place of the residence of the *darwis̲h̲es.*

horse with trappings studded with diamonds. In the arrangements made for Sayyid Sulṭān, he (Abu al-Ḥasan) was called to the hall of audience (دار الاماره) with all the dignity of the king. Here he was duly married and the hand of the daughter of Quṭb Sh̲āh was given to him.

Sayyid Sulṭān disabled (پی نمودن) all his horses and throwing all his wealth and belongings to looters, became peniless. With a heavy heart and eyes full of tears [P. 311] he left the city in grief and dejection; and took himself to Muḥammad Amīn Kh̲ān.

At the time of the death of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Sh̲āh; the moment arrived when Mīr Aḥmad had to suffer for injuring the prospects of Sayyid Sulṭān; Mīr Aḥmad out of vanity did not behave properly towards the *Amīrs* of Hyderabad, particularly Sayyid Muẓaffar who belonged to the family of the descendants of the Sulṭāns of Māzindrān and was at this time the chief *Amīr* and the commander of the forces of Hyderabad and Mūsā Kh̲ān, the Superintendent (محلدار) of the palace. He did not recognise the existence of any of the ministers (ارکان) of the Quṭb Sh̲āhī state. Some of the servants of the palace had also begun to hate him. On the contrary, Abu al-Ḥasan treated all persons in a friendly and brotherly way. There arose great differences about the successor of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Sh̲āh just before his death and continued after it. The discussions reached such a stage that outside the palace Mir Aḥmed with his troops prepared, for war and inside the palace, his wife known as *Ma Ṣāḥib Kalān* (Mother Senior) took a naked sword in her hand and became ready to create mischief with the help of Abyssinian and Turkish slave-girls. From all sides rose the flames of the fire of fighting and war. At last with the help of Sayyid Muẓaffar and Mūsa Kh̲ān, Superintendent of the palace, and with the efforts of the two brothers Mādanna and Ākana who were clerks in the service of the former, all the leading servants became supporters of Abu al-Ḥasan. Mīr Aḥmad was overcome, and deprived of all authority, and Abu al-Ḥasan was raised to the throne. Sayyid Muẓaffar, who had in the beginning refused to accept a title, was now made *Wazīr*.

Under the decree of the True Avenger Mīr Aḥmad suffered punishment for the jealousy which he bore towards Sayyid Sulṭān. In the same way [P. 312] the tree of efforts of Sayyid Muẓaffar, who had destroyed the foundations of the fortune of Mīr Aḥmad ; bore the fruit of disappointment.

I am herewith giving a short account of how it came to pass.

Fall of Sayyid Muẓaffar and rise of Mādanna.

It often happens that the *Amīr* who helps a king in rising to the throne, gets complete control over the administration and generally loses his head in the end. He wants to obtain a full control over all the minute and important affairs of the state of his master. The ruler cannot tolerate this and thus material for mischief is provided as both try to uproot each other. (In this case also) serious troubles arose between Abu al-Ḥasan and Sayyid Muẓaffar and their enmity increased every day Ultimately matters reached such a stage that Abu al-Ḥasan began to think of depriving Sayyid Muẓaffar of all authority in administration. He tried several plans and schemes to depose Sayyid Muẓaffar from the office of *Wizārat* without resorting to bloodshed and disorder but with no success. At last Mādanna Pundit who was a permanent secretary (پیشکار) and the chief controller of household (صاحب مدار) of Sayyid Muẓaffar came over to Abul Ḥasan and became the keeper of his secrets. After some time he acted upon a plan according to which the leading *Jamā'ah Dārs* of Sayyid Muẓaffar, who had become his accomplices (رفیق خود نمود), were made to go over to Abu al-Ḥasan on the promise of certain favours. He also sent a number of the officers of his troops outside (the city) on state duty. Thus when Sayyid Muẓaffar was left without supporters, the ink-stand (قلمدان) of *Wizārat* was taken from him and entrusted to Mādanna. Ākannah his brother was appointed to the post vacated by him. Ultimately, however, Mādanna, along with his brother Ākanna also suffered for his faithlessness towards Sayyid Muẓaffar.

[P. 313] *Verses.*

The bitter cup of retribution does not stop its circulation.

Do not give the poison to others which you yourself do not wish to taste.

As about this time Mīr Hāshim, the son of Sayyid Muzaffar, had complained to the Emperor about the imprisonment of his father, he issued orders to the Prince (about him). The Prince accordingly sent Nuṣrat Khān, the son of Khān Jahān Bahādur to bring Sayyid Muzaffar. When Nuṣrat Khān reached the town of Kohir, he sent the order of the Emperor to Abu al-Ḥasan. The latter sent Sayyid Muzaffar under the escort of Rustam Rao to Nuṣrat Khān. When Sayyid Muzaffar was presented before the Emperor, Imperial favours and a *manṣab* were conferred on him; but on account of his loyalty to the salt of the house of Quṭb al-Mulk he did not accept them and requested that he might be permitted to go to the Ka'bah. According to another version he died in the camp.

When the petition of Shāh 'Ālam containing the terms of peace with Abu al-Ḥasan reached the Emperor; he apparently gave his consent to them, but at the same time he also appointed Sa'ādat Khān, *Dīwān* of the army of Khān Jahān Bahādur, who had received his training at the Court, as a *ḥājib*, and gave him strict instruction to realise the arrears of the previous years as well as the tribute of the current year. But secretly the Emperor censured Shāh 'Ālam and Khān Jahān Bahādur, and expressed his displeasure with them and summoned the latter to the Court.

Khān Jahān Bahādur was a brave and experienced *Sardār*, and some of his heroic efforts have already been mentioned, but an ill grounded suspicion had existed between him and the Emperor, owing to some of his actions and his bad temper. In those days the Emperor was thinking of improving the position of I'tiqād Khān, the worthy son of Asad Khān, who had raised the standard of reputation, bravery [P. 314] and sacrifice in the service of the State Similarly the Emperor wanted to give training (تربیت) to Tahawwur Khān, the son of Ṣalābat Khān and Khwājah Abu al-Makārim and two or three other sons of Khāns, who had shown bravery and performed noble deeds and

tried to carry out the orders of the Emperor. In reply to the petition of Khān Jahān Bahādur he had, repeatedly, sent orders containing the censures on him, and praises of the services of I'tiqād Khān and Tahawwur Khān, saying that although they were so young that their mouths still emitted the smell of milk, they had shown greater loyalty than this old man. Khān Jahān Bahādur, who nurtured a grudge in his heart, wrote the following letter to the *Sardārs* of Sambha, who were openly and secretly helping the Bijapuris and Hyderabadis : "Scarcity and the paucity of provisions in the army has been reported to the Emperor, and I will send I'tiqād Khān, Khwājah Abu al-Makāram, Tahawwur Khān and others to bring the corn. You should attack them with a large force in such a way that they are either captured or killed (by them)."

By chance, the letter fell into the hands of Sa'ādat Khān, who was *Dīwān* in the army of Khān Jahān Bahādur and the *Dāroghah* of the couriers. Though Sa'ādat Khān, owing to his associations with Khān Jahān Bahādur, as a despatch-writer (واقعه نویس) for the whole of the Deccan, had a friendship with him; yet he had a greater regard for his loyalty to the Emperor and friendship with Jumdat al-Mulk. Nevertheless he did not think it advisable to disclose the secret in public. He went to I'tiqād Khān in secrecy and after taking an oath from him to keep the matter secret, he revealed the true facts to him. I'tiqād Khān was very much disturbed, and it was decided [P. 315] to inform Shāh 'Ālam about it in privacy. When this was brought to the knowledge of Shāh 'Ālam, he, on account of his good manners, gave a reply that it would not be proper to inform Khān Jahān Bahādur about it, and that he would accept his recommendation about sending I'tiqād Khān, but the latter should be informed on his behalf that he should decline to accept the responsibility of going there. In short, as the scarcity of provisions and fodder had reached the highest extent in the camp of the Prince, they wanted to march to the town of Kohir and wait there for subsequent instructions in regard to some affairs.

In the meantime Mīr Hāshim, the son of Sayyid Muẓaffar Hyderabadi, who along with his son had reached the camp of the Emperor at Awrangabad and offered his services and had received favours, arrived near Hyderabād with Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm and other important *Sardārs*, bringing with him some jewels and a *khil'at*, which had been sent as a matter of policy (by the Emperor) on the request of Shāh 'Ālam. Rumour had, however, spread among the high and the low that the despatch of jewels and *khil'at* was meant to deceive Abu al-Ḥasan and that Mīr Hāshim, the son of Sayyid Muẓaffar, who was the chief claimant to the throne, had come to capture the fort of Hyderabad with the help of the Imperial forces. The army of Abu al-Ḥasan, under the command of Sharzah Khān, 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān Lāri and others, attacked the newly arrived Imperial forces which had been sent there. As they were taken unawares and no reinforcements came from the Emperor; one or two *Sardārs* along with Mir Hāshim were wounded and taken prisoner; the rest of the forces were routed.

Shāh 'Ālam marched from Hyderabad with the reputation of spreadīng reports about the scarcity of provision in his camp and encamped at Khir. At this time [P. 316] there being certain ideas in the mind of the Emperor, Qilij Khān, known as 'Ābid Khān, arrived with a large force in the camp of the Prince giving out that he had come to realise the tribute. The Prince was called back to the Court.

CHAPTER VI

CONQUEST OF BIJAPUR.

The siege of Bijapur having become prolonged, it occurred to the mind of the Emperor that he should march in person to subjugate it. Accordingly on the 4 Sha'bān of the same year, he raisad his victorious flag and moved in the direction of Bijapur.

After the arrival of Khān Jahān Bahādur at the Court, a great quarrel arose and mutual fighting took place between the followers of Mu'aẓẓam Khān, the father-in-law of Prince Kām Bakhsh; and those of Khān Jahān Bahādur in front of the camp on the question of the passage of the palanquin. The Emperor posted troops to restore order and sent Khān Jahān Bahādur to control his men, but on coming out he ordered his men to plunder the market of Mu'aẓẓam Khān. This action added further to the displeasure of the Emperor over and above the already existing dissatisfaction. As at this time the reports of the mischief created by the Jats near Agra had reached the Emperor, he sent Khān Jahān Bahādur to punish and uproot them and to demolish the fortress of Sasni[1] which those infidels had built, and in which they took shelter when they plundered the caravans of merchants every month. They raided the vicinity of Akbarabad also. There was trouble and disorder in Bijapur in the time of Sikandar, who was not its legitimate ruler; moreover he was assisting (زناقت) the enemy (*i. e.*, Sambha). Reports were continuously reaching the Emperor. He sent repeated *farmāns* [P. 317] full of advice, threat and promises and warnings but without any result. At last he sent Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, with some experienced *Amīrs* and a well equipped army to subjugate Bijapur. On his arrival near Bijapur, the Prince found that the Deccani forces under the command of Sharzah Khān and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf were hovering on different sides of his troops. In that

1 The editor of the text gives Samni as a variant in another Ms. (The name of the village is Sāsni, not far from Aligarh. Tr.)

year a calamity had befallen the crops and the prices had risen very high in the surrounding territories. The Deccanis surrounded the Imperial troops on all the sides and blocked the passage of provisions to the city of Bijapur. The scarcity and dearness of grains in the Imperial camp reached such an extent that it was difficult to get a loaf of bread even for one's life. No detachment of troops sent to collect fodder returned safe. (The enemy) with large forces used to attack the camps of the Prince from different sides, and carry away the provisions. Muḥammad A'ẓam and his companions were in great difficulties.

Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān defeats the Deccanis near Bijapur.

When this state of affairs was reported to the Emperor, he despatched Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jang, with Mujāhid Khān, Tīr Andāz Khān, Khanjar Khān and other experienced *Amīrs* to arrange the supply of provisions for the army of the Prince. When Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur with provisions loaded on nineteen or twenty thousand bullocks, reached within a distance of fifteen or sixteen *Kruhs* of Bijapur, the Deccanis leaving a few thousand horsemen and foot soldiers to continue the siege of the camp of Prince A'ẓam, advanced to meet Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān with a force of fifty thousand horse and two lakhs Carnataki foot soldiers. In the camp of the Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, men and horses, owing to starvation, were reduced to mere skins and bones, and matters had reached such a stage that according to popular version (به قول مشهور) Jānī Begum, the chief wife of the Prince shot arrows, from the back of her elephant and thus tried to encourage the *Amīrs*.

[P. 318] When the armies faced each other, nothing could be seen upto the farthest limits of sight except arrows and spears, horsemen and foot soldiers; such was the number of Deccani troops. Although the Imperial army was not even one tenth of the numerous Deccani forces and panic had spread in ranks to the extent that most of their companions had lost heart, the two brothers, the veteran commanders Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jang and Mujāhid Khān Bahādur, did not

bother about the superior number of the enemy forces. Remembring their God and reciting the verse[1] "help from Allāh and present victory," they spurred their horses. A great battle took place, the like of which has not been witnessed by the eyes of the onlookers under the blue sky nor by the eyes of the variegated sky throwing its shadow on the earth during the ages. In the thick of the battle where cries of catch and hold were raised, the brave, Mughul warriors had no alternative but to sacrifice their lives, in order to avoid defeat. So many heads and bodies of the warriors rolled on the ground that a river of blood began to flow from each side.

Verse:—

A battle started like the down-pour of rain
The hailstone from the arrows and showers from the swords.

At last, owing to the continuous charges of the brave warriors particularly the efforts of Mujāhid Khān, the brother of Fīroz Jang who struck off the reputation of legendary Rustam (from the pages of history), ranks of the enemy forces were dispersed and the provisions reached the camp of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam without any further trouble. Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam having been relieved of the siege which had troubled him so much, could not control himself; he embraced Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān in his arms and honoured him with favours and presents. [P. 319] The evening of adversity which had fallen on the Imperial army was changed into the morning of rejoicings. When 'Ālamgīr heard the news (of this victory) through his despatch-writers and the couriers, he granted them (Ghāzi al-Din Khān and his brother) suitable promotions and also conferred other favours, and prayed: "As God Almightly, through the efforts of Fīroz Jang, has saved the honour of the descendants of Timur: so may He protect the honour of the descendants of Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān also till the day of resurrection."

In short on hearing about the disaffection in the camp of Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam; the Emperor sent Qulich Khān Bahādur alias 'Ābid Khān, who knew his temperament and was a useful (کار طلب) officer; to settle some of the important affairs of

1 نصر من الله و فتح قریب *al-Qur'ān, Sūrah* 61, Verse 13).

State which were in his mind, although it had been given out that he was going to realize the tribute from Abu al-Ḥasan. A well equipped army under Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm Thatti, known as Amir Khān, and Muḥammad Hāshim who had been with Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, was also sent with him (Qulich Khān).

Owing to the protracted duration of the siege of Bijapur and the report received by him of the dissensions among the *Amīrs* who were with Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, 'Ālamgir thought of proceeding thither in person. In the beginning of Sha'bān in the 28th year of the reign, he started from Sholapur towards Bijapur, and on the twenty first of that month with celestial grandeur the tents were pitched before the fortress of Bijapur. A great panic spread among the besieged who lost heart and senses. The Emperor appointed Shāh 'Ālam, Rūḥ Allāh Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jang, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān Bārihah and other experienced veterans to help Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam in the siege and reduction of the fort of Bijapur, [**P. 320**] uttering before them soul stirring words. Every one of them, in order to show his merit and sense of duty, girded the loins of courage to capture the fort. They constructed entrenchments and the mines, filled the moat and made assaults and showed marvels of courage and bravery.

Mu'aẓẓam's Treachery.

Shāh 'Ālam, who was posted on the right in front of the Shāhpūr gate, wanted that the credit of the capture of the fort by placating the *Amīrs* of Bijapur should go to his name. It was generally on the tongue of the people that Shāh Quli, named Īraj Khān, a trusted officer of Shāh 'Ālam who was known to be a fearless and brave warrior, had secretly gone to Sikandar inside the fort. From the other side also, Sayyid 'Ālam used to bring conciliatory messages to Shāh 'Ālam. Shāh Quli wanted to do the impossible, *i. e.*, to obtain the keys of the fortress (for the Prince) through his scheme ignoring the truth :

Verse :

"How can a secret remain a secret when it is discussed in an assembly."

It was very difficult to conceal the secret, and particularly in a case where Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, the rival of Shāh 'Ālam and a possible claimant to the throne, had a hand in the affair. The young Shāh Quli was a vagabond and had no restraint on his tongue. When he went to the entrenchments at the foot of the fort to change the troops of the Shāh, he told the besieged loudly : "These are your own men. You should fire any balls and bullets, and throw stones bearing this in mind." He also assured his own men that they would not get any trouble from the side of the besieged. As these words were on the tongues of the common people, they also reached Muḥammad A'ẓam. The Emperor also came to know of it through mischievous informers. They also reported to him that on the day of the assault, Shāh Quli was [P. 321] with Sikandar, inside the fort, and that one Sayyid 'Ālam came out of the fort every night and held secret talks with the Prince. When this news was later comfirmed by Rūh Allāh Khān, the *Kotwāl*, before the August Emperor, he issued orders that the movements of Sayyid 'Ālam should be secretly watched and he should be arrested at the time of his arrival before Shāh 'Ālam. Orders were also issued to arrest Shāh Quli but the *Kotwāl* could find no pretext for it. At last it was planned that a certain person should lodge the complaint in the court of the *Qāḍī*, against Shāh Quli who was accordingly summoned and arrested and brought before the Emperor. In the beginning the Emperor asked him about his visits and about his correspondence with the besieged, using kind and consolatory words, but Shāh Quli persistently denied and replied in a rude manner (اوبا شانه). The Emperor then ordered that he should be bound and subjected to torture in a rack (شکنجه نمودن) On receiving a few blows of the stick, he began to cry and removed the curtain from the secrets and named some other persons including Momin Khān Najm II, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān Bārihah, Brindraban the *Dīwān* of the Prince and Muḥammad Ṣādiq; as his accomplices. The Emperor summoned Shāh 'Ālam to a private interview and complained to him about these negotiations and put him to shame in spite of his protests that Shāh Quli was

not his servant. He ordered the arrest of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān, and the expulsion of the others from the army. The Emperor was already dissatisfied with Shāh 'Ālam on account of his behaviour at Hyderabad, now, when the doubt was changed into certainly, the estrangement increased every day ; though outwardly the status, the *manṣab* and the paraphernalia of the heir-apparent were kept intact. As Ruḥ Allāh Khān had repeatedly pleaded for Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān, he was given in his custody and after some days owing to [P. 322] his intercession orders were issued for the release of 'Abd Allāh Khān.

Regnal Years 29 and 30

An account of the regnal years 29 and 30 corresponding to 1096-7 H.[1] *in which the conquest of Bijāpur and Hyderabad took place.*

Through the efforts and exertions of Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jang ; the besieged *Amīrs* and the troops of Bijapur were reduced to great distress, many Deccanis and their animals died within the fort, for want of supplies of provisions and fodder, Sharzah Khān and other *Amīrs* sued for peace on behalf of Sikandar and in the beginning of the 30th regnal year *i. e.*, beginning of Dhu al-Qa'dah 1097 H. they surrendered the keys of the fortress to the Emperor. Sikandar was taken prisoner and the cries of victories were raised. A chronogram of the date of surrender of Bijapur was presented before the Emperor in the words "Sadde Sikandar Girift"[2] (he captured the rampart[3] of Alexander).

It is said that Shaykh Hidāyat Kesh, the *wāqi'ah nigār* of the whole of the Deccan submitted his despatch to the Emperor to

1 The year 1096 H. commenced on Friday 28 November 1684, A.C. and the year 1097 H. commenced on Wednesday 18 November 1685 A.C.

2 It is a well known legend that Alexander the Great had built a strong rampart to check the inroads of Gog and Magog. It came to be known as Sadd Sikandar. Tr.

3 The chronogram yields' 1098 and not 1097 as mentioned in the text.

be included in the detailed records. 'Ālamgīr wrote in his own hand :

' With the help of my fortunate son, who is free from deceit and fraud *i. e.*, Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Fīroz Jang, the fort has been conquered. '

The same was written in the *farmān* despatched to Amīr Khān, the Ṣūbehdār of Kābul.

Sikandar was confined in the fort of Dawlatabad. The commandant of the fort was instructed to take all possible precautions to guard Sikandar and show respect due to him ; suitable daily allowance was fixed for him.

After granting substantial (شایان) promotion to the servants of the Court and after making suitable arrangements for the administration of the territories of Bijapur, the Emperor proceeded towards Gulbargah in the end of the month of Muḥarram giving out that he intended to pay a visit to the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Bandah Nawāz Sayyid Muḥammad Gesu Darāz.[1]

1 Gesu Darāz, Khwājah Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayni (d. 1421 A. C), generally known as Gesu Darāz (having long curls) was a disciple and *Khalīfah* of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd *Chirāgh* of Delhi in Chishti Niẓāmi *Silsilah*. His tomb at Gulbargah is visited by large numbers of pilgrims.

CHAPTER VII

CONQUEST OF GOLKUNDAH

The Emperor, now, sent threatening and consolatory *farmāns* to Abu al-Ḥasan and [P. 323] Sa'ādat Khān, the *Ḥājib* of Hyderabad, pertaining to the payment of the arrears of tribute due from that unfortunate prince (Abu al-Ḥasan). Secret instructions were also sent to Sa'ādat Khān, *Ḥājib*, that as he (Emperor) had a firm intention to conquer Hyderabad, and he would presently march with his world-conquering standard in that direction, Sa'ādat Khān, as far as possible, was to realise the entire amount of the arrears and despatch it to the Court and consider it to be a means of gaining audience. Sa'ādat Khān persuaded Abu al-Ḥasan to entertain hopes of favours from the Emperor and made his best efforts to realise the arrears of tribute. Abu al-Ḥasan expecting his safety in showing submission, wrote to Sa'ādat Khān; explaining his inability to pay the tribute in cash and offering jewels and jewelled ornaments of the ladies of his *ḥarem* and his other precious articles. He requested him to send his young eunuch so that he (Abu al-Ḥasan) might collect the jewels and other things in the presence of the eunuch and hand them over to him. Sa'ādat Khān declined to send his eunuch. After these negotiations for some days when the news of the arrival of the Emperor at Gulbargah spread among the people, Abu al-Ḥasan who was in a state of hope and fear, sent for the servants of the *Ḥājib* (Sa'ādat Khān), and sent with them nine trays, full of jewels and ornaments, and other precious articles wrapped in pieces of cloth duly sealed with wax along with a list of the valuables, for safe custody with him, without evaluating them. It was agreed that Sa'ādat Khān was to keep the trays in his house and within a period of two or three days Abu al-Ḥasan would send as much money as was possible along with the officer (صاحب جمع) of the treasury with a *Muqawwim*[1] in order to evaluate the

1 One who could estimate and fix the price of the jewels.

price of the jewels. [P. 324] They had instructions to obtain a receipt under the seal of Sa'ādat Khān *Ḥājib* after the evaluation of the price of the jewels and send it to the Court along with a petition from him containing a statement about Abu al-Ḥasan's submission and obedience and a recommendation for merciful consideration of the forgiveness of crimes. It so happened that Abu al-Ḥasan sent some *bahngīs*[1] of fruits for the Emperor ; Sa'ādat Khān also sent some coolies (کہار) with baskets[2] of fruits on his own behalf.

Even a day or two had not passed when news reached Abu al-Ḥasan that the Emperor had left Gulbargah and was proceeding in the direction of Golkundah. Rumours were spreading that he was determined to conquer Golkundah. On hearing this startling news Abu al-Ḥasan wrote to Sa'ādat Khān: "My purpose in surrendering the jewels and ornaments of my wives was to receive kindness from the Emperor. Now, I have received the distressing news that the Emperor is marching in this direction with no consideration for my helplessness. I have no hope of forgiveness from him. Please, return the trays of jewels." Sa'ādat Khān replied: "As I had received no information from the Emperor about his march in this direction, in view of my fidelity and regard for my master, I sent the trays of jewels with their seals intact along with the baskets of fruits to the Emperor. Now, I have nothing but my own head, in place of the jewels which I am ready to sacrifice for the King". As a result there followed a heated exchange of messages and confusion (شر و شور). Abu al-Ḥasan posted troops at the house of the *Ḥājib*, and these differences lasted for two days. Sa'ādat Khān sent a message to Abu al-Ḥasan: "There is no doubt that in this case the right is on your side however, I, keeping in view the intention of the Emperor, [P. 325] my loyalty to salt and my deliverance, had no other alternative but to send the trays of jewels to the Emperor. Now, you may kill me and I shall thus sacrifice my life for my benefactor." The

1. بہنگی a device used in India for carrying loads. It consists of two baskets hung with ropes on either end of a bamboo. To carry it the porter suspends it on his shoulders.

2. ڈالی literally branch. It signifies the presents of fruits to dignitaries.

Emperor, who has been seeking for a long time a pretext to destroy you, will get no better excuse than the murder of his *Ḥājib* (at your hands). Otherwise, as long as I am alive, there remains a hope of the forgiveness of your crimes. If I live, I shall try my best for your deliverance."

As in some cases, Sa'ādat Khān, against the will of the Emperor, had shown his faithfulness to Abu al-Ḥasan, he also, keeping in view the consequences, accepted the apology of Sa'ādat Khān and refrained from causing him any trouble and sent for him. He honoured him more than before, praised him and presented to him a *khil'at*, a dagger and diamonds.

An Fxample of 'Ālamgir's Piety

At this time one day in the council (مجلس) of Abu al-Ḥasan, learned men of Hyderabad, in some connection, intentionally introduced a discussion on the qualities of the Emperor. The conversation reached a stage when they said that 'Ālamgir's claims to piety, virtues and wisdom were known throughout the world. But Tarbiyat Khān, his envoy to the court of the Shāh of Īrān, had to return with disgrace on account of his bad manners. In consequence of the wretchedness (نحوست) of Tarbiyat Khān, hostilities started between the Emperor and the Shāh, which ended in preparations for war on both the sides. About this time the horses sent by the Shāh reached the Court of the Emperor, who, due to a prejudice against the Shāh, ordered the horses to be slaughtered and their flesh distributed among the beggars. This action of the Emperor despite his claims to strict observance of *Shari'ah* Law on his part and piety; was mere waste [P. 326] and was against the path of *Shari'ah* and could be imputed to nothing but obedience to uncontrolled passions. He should have distributed those horses among the learned, the pious and other deserving people so that a large number of them would have benefitted from them."

Sa'ādat Khān in reply (to their charge) said: "The generally believed story, that the pious (دین دار) Emperor, owing to the haughtiness (بی دماغی) of the Shāh of Īrān, had slaughtered the horses and distributed their flesh among the poor, is absolutely

wrong. The true facts are that: When the Emperor was informed of the arrival of the horses sent by the Shāh of Īrān, he issued orders that they should be presented before him at the appointed time. By chance, when the *Akhtah Begi*[1] brought the horses for being shown to the Emperor, he was busy in reading the *Qur'ān*. The Emperor thought that the inspection of the horses would take a long time, so he postponed the reading of the *Qur'ān* for the next day and began to inspect the horses. In the meantime he came across the verse referring to the Prophet Solomon, who deferred the offering[2] of the *Sunnah* and, according to some authorities, the obligatory (فرض) prayers; while he had seen nine hundred horses out of one thousand that had been sent to him.[3] The *Sūrah* 38, *verse* 30-32[3] Prophet Soloman, in atonement, ordered the slaughter of those horses. 'Ālamgīr resumed the recitation of the *Qur'ān*, with tears in his eyes. Finding the verse applicable in his own case as a warning against his desire (to inspect the horses), he acted upon the tradition (سنت) of the Prophet Solomon. Making it unlawful for himself to ride on those horses, he ordered the horses to be slaughtered. People may think on hearing this whatever they like."

The learned men of Hyderabad said: "Where was the need of sending the horses to be slaughtered at the gates of the Iranian Amīrs?" Sa'ādat Khān said: "This report also, as current among the people, is wrong. [P. 327] During those days Shāh Jahān Ābād had been recently built, every *Muhallah* was known after the name of an Irānian Amīr. There was no *Muhallah* in which one Iranian Amīr or other did not have his mansion. If the

1 اختہ بیگی Master of the royal horses.

2 Obligatory prayers are prescribed by Law, *sunnah* are *extra* prayers offered by the Prophet.

3 The English rendering of the actual words: And We bestowed on David, Solomon. How excellent a slave! Lo! he was ever turning in repenting (towards Allāh). When there were shown to him at eventide light footed coursers. And he said: Lo! I have preferred the good things (of the world) to the remembrance of my Lord; till they were taken out of sight behind the curtain. (Then he said): Bring them back to me, and fell to slashing (with his sword their) legs and necks.

horses had been slaughtered at one place only, many people would have assembled there and the beggars would have received the benefit after great difficulty, so the Emperor ordered that one or two horses be slaughtered in every *Muḥallah* and their flesh be distributed among the deserving people."

When the reports of this exchange of questions and answers of Sa'ādat Khān with the learned people of Hyderabad reached the Emperor through the *wāqi'ah nigār*, he praised him.

'Ālamgīr's Visit to the Tomb of Khwājah Gesu Darāz

On reaching the vicinity of Gulbargah the Emperor several times offered *Fātiḥah* at the grave of the model of pious men (قدوة الصلحاء) Sayyid Muḥammad Gesu Darāz. He distributed twenty thousand rupees among the attendants of the tomb. He stayed there for a week and then turned the reins of his attention towards Ẓafarābād. Here he stayed for twenty days and then ordered his advance party to march towards Hyderabad.

On receiving this disturbing news Abu al-Ḥasan realised that his ascendency would, very soon, be changed into his fall. He sent a letter through his servants, who knew the language, to the Emperor, containing protestations of obedience and request for the forgiveness of his crimes and a promise to abandon his previous ways. He also sent some presents not realising the significance of the hemistich :

Rains, out of season, are of no use for cultivation.

The Emperor gave a reply to his request through the tongue of blades of sharp swords of the brave warriors. In reply to the recommendations of Sa'ādat Khān that were made in regard to the forgiveness of Abu al-Ḥasan's crimes ; he sent a *farmān*, the contents of which may be given :

[P. 328] "The evil deeds of this unfortunate man are beyond description (احاطه تحرير). But one out of hundred and a few out of many can be mentioned (به شمار می آيد).

The first thing is that he has given control over the administration of his state in the hands of a vile and tyrannical infidel, and subjected the Sayyids, Shaykhs, and the 'Ulama and the learned men to his domination ;

He has given unrestricted currency to open debauchery and depravity and is himself indulging in drunkenness and other evils night and day, due to the intoxication of the power of kingly authority and wealth ; he remains submerged in the ocean of sins.

Making no difference between infidelity and Islām, tyranny and justice, obscenity and devotion to God, he has persisted in helping the hostile infidels (كفار حربی). Disobeying the Divine injunctions to do good and avoid evil, he has continuously been helping the hostile infidels, a warning against which has clearly been given in the *Qur'ānic* verse, and thus has earned reproach from the Creator and the created. Several *farmāns* containing advices were sent to him through discreet and trusted persons (آداب دان مزاج گرفته), but he did not remove from his ears the cotton of carelessness (*i. e.*, he paid no heed to them).

Only recently, it was reported (to the Emperor),

That he had sent a *lakh* of *huns* to the wicked Sambha. With all this folly, and intoxication of the wine of worthlessness, not to look at the wickedness of his own deeds and entertain hopes of deliverance in this world and in the next (is stupid).

Hemistich: "What a false idea and what an impossible thought."

When Abu al-Ḥasan lost all hope of forgiveness he decided to send his army under the command of Shaykh Minhāj, Sharzah Khān, Muṣtafā Khān Lāri and other experienced Sardārs of the Deccan to oppose the Imperial forces. At the time of their departure he instructed them that, in case of their victory over the Emperor they should try as far as possible to capture him alive and bring him with due honour. The misguided and the foolish among his Amīrs said: "Our hearts [P. 329] in respect of Muḥammad 'Ālamgīr are like censers full of burning embers. It is impossible for us to show any regard to him after gaining a victory over him."

In short when the Emperor reached within a distance of two stages from Hyderabad, some of the Deccani *Sardārs* came out with a body of forty or fifty thousand horse and after making vain efforts they encircled the Imperial forces, (cautiouly remaining at a distance.

The despatch of Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jang, who had been directed to besiege Ibrāhīm Garh, after the conquest of Bijapur, reached the Emperor containing the good news of its capture along with the golden key of the fort. He had also communicated the news of his own march, in all haste, towards the Imperial camp.

On the 24th of Rabi' al-Awwal the Imperial army encampted within a distance of gun-shot of Golkundah. This caused a great panic in the region resembling that of the Resurrection. Orders like those of the Fate were issued for the posting of the forces on the trenches, collecting necessary material for the capture of the fort, uprooting the foundations of the lives of the besieged by killing them, destroying its towers by bombardment with the enemy crushing bullets of the guns and raising batteries. Frequent reports reached the Emperor about the spreading of Abu al-Ḥasan's army around the Imperial forces and its impudence (شوخی). When the Amīrs accompanying the Emperor were ordered to punish in hand to hand fighting, combats, clashes and skirmishes between the two forces started (in real earnest). From above the fort also, fire balls and rockets began to be showered. In the beginning great activity was shown by the enemy. Khwājah Abu al-Makārim with some of the Amīrs, Mughuls, and noted Sayyids of Bārihah, from among the servants of Prince Shāh 'Ālam were wounded. A number of men in the opposing forces, were killed. Subsequently when, from every side, experienced and brave warriors did full justice to [P. 330] bravery, the unfortunate Deccanis took to flight.

On his arrival in the camp Fīroz Jang was given the charge of the digging of the trenches, erection of ramparts, driving the mines and the disposition of forces. The siege began and battles took place every day. At the commencement of the siege when trenches were being prepared, a ball from the guns of the fort struck the right arm of Qulich Khān, the father of Fīroz Jang who was one of the prominent and experienced Amīrs, and in the course of two or three days he left for the abode of eternity.

Treachery of Prince Mu'azzam and his imprisonment.

Prince Shāh 'Ālam, who in the past, at the time of the siege of Bijapur, had fallen under the displeasure of the Emperor, commanded the right wing at the siege of Golkundah. His good fortune and prosperity had for some years been changed into calamity and bad luck. He was now, continuously, receiving friendly and repented messages from Abu al-Ḥasan, along with gifts and presents, to secure his service and that of his associates for obtaining forgiveness for his past crimes. Shāh 'Ālam also desired that peace or war should be decided with his consultations as the heir-apparent, and, as far as possible, he should keep Abu al-Ḥasan under his obligation. He did not realise that this would become a cause of trouble and disgrace for him, until the tray of his notoriety fell from the roof (*i.e.*, the secret became known). Some calumniating and villainous persons getting information of these facts reported them to the Emperor in exaggerated terms.

Nūr al-Nisā Begum, the daughter of Mirza Sanjar, who was stated to belong to the house of Najm II, was the chief wife of the Prince. She had many good qualities. She was expert in composing Hindi poems [P. 331] and was reputed for her charitable deeds. By trying to serve and please her husband she had gradually gained complete control over the Prince, and so his other wives had become jealous of her. The accusers told the Emperor about the lack of observance of the laws of chastity by her, and accused her of being the link of negotiations between the Prince and Abu al-Ḥasan and also of other evil (بد مزه) deeds. Thus they poisoned the ears of the Emperor. Those who claimed to support the Emperor had on their tongues the talk of the visits of Nūr al-Nisā Begum, in disguise, to the fort of Golkundah, with an offer that in case the Emperor refused to accept the request of Abu al-Ḥasan, the Prince would join him. In this connection owing to his misfortune, the Dārūghah Pāliki of the Prince informed him that the carriages reserved for his women, were stationed at a distance from his tents and the besieged, coming out of the fort, now and then, attacked the ramparts. It was

quite possible that some misfortune might fall on them. The Prince ordered the carriages to be brought near the main tent on which some of the supporters of Muḥammed A'ẓam Shāh informed the Emperor that Shāh 'Ālam was thiking of flying to the fort. The fire of the Emperor's wrath was imflamed. He sent for Ḥayāt Khān, the Dārūghah of the Prince's *Ghusl khānah* to his presence in privacy and inquired in harsh language about the intentions of the Prince. The Emperor also questioned Khwājah Abu al-Makārim, who though brought up in the service of the Prince, was regarded by the Emperor as devoted to him. So that he (the Emperor) might know about the secret intentions of the Prince. Both of them said that no sign of bad intention of the Prince had appeared but that he only wanted, that the request for the forgiveness of the crimes of Abu al-Ḥasan be granted through him or the fort be reduced and conquered through his personal efforts. [P. 332] How could they use their tongues to indict the son of their patron ! Inspite of his efforts to clear the position of the Prince by plausible arguments, Ḥayāt Khān could not remove suspicion from the mind of the Emperor.

The Emperor, after giving secret orders to the *Bakhshīs* and other trusted servants that they should keep brave and experienced people in readiness in the *Chawki Khānah*,[1] wanted to send a detachment of troops under Ḥayāt Khān to bring Shāh 'Ālam. Ḥayāt Khān said : "If it pleases your majesty, a *Chelah* (slave) will go to the Prince, who has no other intentions but to obey your orders; and he will bring him in your presence." On the 18 Rabi' al-Thāni in the 29th year of the reign, as requested by Ḥayāt Khān, a *Chelah* was sent to the Prince, and he asked him to present himself in the Court along with Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, his second son. The moment he received the order, Shāh 'Ālam took himself to the presence of the Emperor. He had sat before the Emperor for a moment only when Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān, who, sometimes before had been directed to intern Shāh 'Ālam, quietly whispered in the ear of the Prince : "According

1 Watch house

to Imperial orders, some matters will be communicated to you in privacy." He took the Prince along with him to a house which was selected for the purpose, and told him that under orders from the Emperor, the Prince and Muḥammad 'Aẓīm were to unarm themselves and withdraw from all the affairs and pass their days for some time, in prayers. The Prince had no alternative but to obey the orders. At the same time Mu'izz al-Dīn and Rafī' al-Qadr with other brothers arrived ; they were also disarmed and lodged with their father. It is said [P. 333] that one of the sons of Shāh 'Ālam on receiving the news and before being disarmed, wanted to disobey the orders, Shāh 'Ālam cast a stern glance at him and hinted to him to obey the orders. The Emperor also issued orders that the stores (کارخانجات) of Prince Muḥammed Mu'aẓẓam, as well as of the Princes, should be confiscated to the state and that he should be deprived of his *manṣab* of forty thousand and forty thousand horse, seven thousand of which were *do-aspah* and *seh-aspah*, and his *in'ām* allowance of ten *Karore dāms*. The *Maḥāls* of his *Jāgīr* were to be given in salaries of the officers. On the first day, he issued orders that Nūr al-Nisā Begum, the wife of the Prince, be kept in imprisonment but her property should not be confiscated. On the third or fourth day, the eunuch named Yāqūt, who later got the title of Maḥram Khān, and was notorious for his impertinence and rudeness, was ordered to take Nūr al-Nisā, with the clothes she was wearing and imprison her in a tent with equipment suitable for prisoners in disgrace. All her stores and her ornaments, which she had on her ears, neck and body were to be confiscated. The eunuch went to Nūr al-Nisā Begum, talked to her rudely and while searching the house for cash and ornaments, he used improper and unkind words. His impertinence reached to such an extent that Nūr al-Nisā Begum started abusing him and said : "The Emperor is just like my father. All this honour, respect, gold and wealth have been bestowed on me by him. If he takes them back, I have no objection. But it is not proper for you to behave towards me in this rude manner."

When the complaint of Nūr al-Nisā reached the Emperor through Yāqūt, the ennuch; he became all the more inflamed with anger. The step-sister (همشیرہ بے مادری) of Shāh 'Ālam, interceded on her behalf, on which the Emperor ordered that arrangements for her board and other necessaries of life be made sparingly. Similarly [P. 334] more strict conditions were imposed on the Prince from day to day.

It is said that the Emperor after a few days' imprisonment of the Prince, sent a message to him that if he would confess his crimes and implore forgiveness, he (the Emperor) would overlook his countless sins. The Prince refused to admit his guilt and said: "It is beyond doubt that, in essence (باطن) I am guilty before God and before my revered father but I know of no crime openly committed by me for which I should repent and beg forgiveness." On receiving this reply the fire of Emperor's wrath was inflamed more than before and he issued orders prohibiting the cutting of Prince's hair, the clipping of his nails; and the use of good food, cool water, and clothes of his liking. Rāni Chatur Bā'i and other wives of the Prince who were innocent were spared of the displeasure of the Emperor. Nawayd, a eunuch of the palace, who was reputed to have the knowledge of the secrets of Nūr al-Nisā Begum, was ordered to be imprisoned; his property was to be confiscated. Orders were given for him to be put under torture[1] to extort information about the evil intentions of the Prince and complicity of Nūr al-Nisa Begum and about her coming and going to the fort. Inspite of threats, torture, and other punishments; nothing could be extracted from him beyond expressions of faithfulness and devotion to the Prince and obedience to Nūr al-Nisā Begum. However, when he reached the verge of death, they released him. Mirza Shukr Allāh, the uncle of Nūr al-Nisā Begum, having the title of Shākir Khān, who according to the back-biters was the intermediary between Shāh 'Ālam and Abu al-Ḥasan, was also imprisoned

1 شکنجه کشیدن *lit.* pressing in a rack.

with disgrace. Two other eunuchs of the Prince were also arrested and put to torture, but they were released after investigation.

Siege of Golkundah.

[P. 335] Now putting off the further description of the incidents (مکروهات) relating to imprisonment and liberation of the Prince, for a proper occasion, I proceed to write an account of the siege of the fort of Golkundah.

Every day and every week, owing to the efforts of the brave warriors, the lines moved forward. One day when Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Firoz Jang was arranging the ranks, Shaykh Niẓām and Muṣṭafa Khān Lāri, known as 'Abd al-Razzāq along with others came out of the fort and showed great audacity in front of the Imperial forces. Then ensued desperate fighting, and a severe exchange of blows. Kishore Singh Hāra, was severely wounded and fell down from his horse, and many Rajputs were also killed, in an attempt to wrest him from the Deccanis. Some of the Deccanis also were killed and wounded. The Deccanis had thronged in such large numbers that the Imperial forces tried their utmost but failed to wrest even one dead body from them. They carried away all the dead bodies of their men along with some of those of the Imperial forces. Ultimately, however, owing to the efforts of the warriors of Iran, Tūrān and the bravery of the Sayyids of Bārihah, the Afghāns and the Rajputs ; the party of the Deccanis was put to flight. After that day, the Deccanis showed less audacity. On the contrary Shaykh Minhāj, Shaykh Niẓām and many of the officers of Abu al-Ḥasan, deserted him and joined the Imperial camp and were awarded suitable *manṣabs* and titles. Muḥammed Ibrāhīm, who had taken the right path, was awarded the *Manṣab* of seven thousand, six thousand horse and was given the title of Mahābat Khān. He made efforts, more than all others, to capture the fort. Shaykh Niẓām, on joining the Imperial service, was awarded the *Manṣab* of six thousand, five thousand horse and the title of Taqarrub Khān.

[P. 336] Among the leading officers of Abu al-Ḥasan, who did not desert him, and showed marvels of bravery beyond imagination till the day of the surrender of the fort, was Muṣṭafa Khān Lāri, known as 'Abd al-Razzāq.

In short, the siege dragged on for a long time. As the fort had an adequate store of gun-powder and artillery ammunitions, there continued incessant showering of balls, gun-bullets, rockets and other fiery shells from the gates, walls, towers and turrets of the fort. Due to continuous firing and density of smoke no difference could be made between day and night. No day passed when the Imperial troops did not lose useful men in killed or wounded. The Imperial troops made great exertions, particularly Fīroz Jang, Ṣaf Shikan Khān, the son of Qiwām al-Dīn Khān, Ghayrat Khān, the commandant of artillery, and Mahābat Khān, who along with other fort-conquering warriors showed greater firmness than others in the process of sacrificing their lives. The work of advancing the lines to the very edge of the ditch, that would have taken one year, was completed within one month and some days and orders were given to fill it. First of all the Emperor, himself after making ablutions sewed the seams of the first cloth bag to be filled with earth and thrown into the moat. High ramparts were raised and dragon like guns were posted on them opposing the fort to bombard it and owing to heavy bombardment by them, great panic spread among the besieged.

The scarcity and dearness of food-stuffs reached such a stage that many wealthy men lost heart, and nothing could be said of what passed on the indigent and the poor. [P. 337] Due to the scarcity of timely rains in the early part of the year throughout the Deccan, the ears of *juwār* and *bājrah* the chief grains of autumn harvest of the country and the staple food of the poor had not sprouted and dried up. In addition, the cultivation and production of the *shāli*[1] on which depends the life of the people of Hyderabad, had not been possible due to war and scarcity of the

1 A kind of rice.

rains. Secondly, the Deccanis and the forces of Sambha, the hell-dog, who had come to the help of Hyderabad, were hovering round the Imperial forces and had cut off their supplies of provisions. Besides, pestilence had broken out and caused the destruction of many lives. Owing to the above mentioned calamities large numbers of men perished. Many unable to bear the hardships of hunger and poverty, approached Abu al-Ḥasan, while others, by their treacherous behaviour, secretly began to help the besieged.

As the duration of the siege became long, the Emperor recalled Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, who, owing to the treason of S̲h̲āh 'Ālam, had been sent to administer the territories of Ujjayn, and Agra and had reached Burhanpur. Rūḥ Allāh K̲h̲ān, one of the leading and experienced (Amīrs) and an adviser in the affairs of state, who had been left for the settlement of affairs at Bijapur, was also recalled to the Imperial camp. When Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam reached the camp, the dearness of grain had passed all limits.

Mirza Yār 'Alī, who, on account of his integrity and administrative ability had become famous throughout the world and had, inspite of the favours of the Emperor, refused to accept promotion and titles, was entrusted as a mark of kindness and appreciation, with the charge of stores of provisions. However, keeping in view the four-fold calamity of the time, he thought that [P. 338] the discharging of that responsibility will not add to his good reputation and will diminish the confidence of the Emperor in him. He hesitated to accept the office and ultimately refused to comply with the wishes of the Emperor. Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, who, owing to the strictness of the Mirza in some affairs of state wanted to bring him to disgrace, complained to the Emperor and said: "Inspite of all the favours of Your Majesty, the scoundrel (پاجی) is bold enough to disobey the orders of his master." This annoyed the Emperor and he ordered that the neck of the Mirza should be tied and he should be driven out of the Dīwān. On the recommendation

of Rūḥ Allāh Khān, orders were issued that Sharif Khān known as Mir 'Abd al-Karīm, owing to whose strictness in the collection of *Jizyah*, the people had to face great distress and the hearts of the Imperial revenue officers were full of blood like the seeds of a pomegranate, was entrusted with the duty of procuring provisions for the army, a duty in respect of which innumerable taunts and abuses passed on the tongues of the people.

It would require another volume if the details were described of the efforts of the faithful officers of the Imperial army in facing the besieged, who had an advantage on account of rains, and floods besides the dearness of prices and other calamities.

Ni'mat Khān, alias Mirza Muḥammad, who later received the title of Dānishmand Khān, was counted among the able and learned men of his day. He was an expert writer of prose and poetry and had a mastery over most of the national and traditional sciences. All his writings were marked by satirical stings. He has written a satirical account of the siege of Hyderabad. I reproduce here a few select lines from his writings [P. 339] to make my narrative interesting.

When the siege had lasted for three months, in the middle of Rajab Sipāhsālār Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Fīroz Jang, on receiving reports of the slackness of the besieged and expecting success in an attack, issued orders to his brave warriors at the foot of his entrenchment, that after three watches of the night, during which the besieged would be under the attack of the forces of sleep, they should climb over the walls of the fort at the beginning of the fourth watch with the help of scaling ladders and ropes longer than the span of the life of the enemy, with an approach more lengthy than the longevity of hope, make a night attack on the besieged and should raise the standard of the capture of the fort.

Two of the brazen-bodied (brave warriors) from among the veterans of war, catching hold of the skirt of boldness and placing their feet on the ladder of intrepidity raised their heads to march to the skies through the loop-hole of the turret of the fort as

high as the sky. Other brave warriors following in their footsteps began to ascend the walls of the fort with the help of ropes which had been tightly fastened to the scaling ladder with hooks and began to reach the top of the fort like the rope-climbers. The moment the two brave warriors leading the party reached the top of the wall, a dog which appeared to be trying to jump into the ditch over the dead bodies, began to bark. The guards of the fort woke up on hearing the barking of the dog and finished the two warriors. Other watchmen jumped up from their posts like sparks and like a flame ran in all the directions and lighted lamps and torches. Discharging their duties of protecting the fort they cut off the ropes of ladders and thus cut off the chain of life of those who were half way up. [P. 340] Several other persons were burnt to death by fire missiles (حقه آتش بار) Ḥāji Miḥrāb, one of the chief servants of the household, immediately at the moment when the brave men had ascended the walls, without ascertaining the result, fled to the presence of the Emperor, because he wanted to convey the good news to him before others. Faster than the wind, he betook himself to the Emperor early at sunrise when he was busy in reciting the daily اوراد[1] on the prayer carpet; he communicated to him the good news, having started offering congratulations from a distance on his own behalf and on behalf of Fīroz and other warriors posted in the advance entrenchment. The Emperor was happy (to hear the news) and ordered the beating of the drums of jubilation. He ordered his special robe and transport to be brought. Most of the servants in attendance congratulated the Emperor with their tongues and hands and signs of intoxication of jubilation appeared on the faces of the faithful followers of the Imperial household.

Verse:—

نوید فتح و ظفر چون به پادشاه رسید
نوائے عیش و طرب تابه مہر و ماه رسید

When the news of victory reached the Emperor
The noise of rejoicings reached the sun and the moon.

1 Literally commemorations. It signifies continuous reciting of some devotional expressions usually after prayers.

ز صدمه گوش ملائک بر آسمان کر شد

ز بس که نعرهٔ شاباش و واه واه رسید

The ears of the angels on the sky became deaf because of the loud cries of 'well-done' and ' bravo '.

شگفتگی ز تبسم به خنده منجر شد

سخن گذشت ازان هم به قاه قاه رسید

The state of pleasing smile led to laughing, then the discourse surpassed even that stage and reached a loud laughter.

به صحبتے شده مشغول هریک از طرزے

که کیف شادی شان زود چون پگاه رسید

Every one was engaged in such a manner in society that his hilarity came up there soon like dawn.

یکے به جست که فال من است آمده راست

تمام شد غم دل حالت رفاه رسید

One of them jumped saying that his prophecy had proved to be correct.

The sorrow has come to an end and welfare has commenced.

[P. 341] یکے به شرط که فرداست کوچ تا دهلی

توان به عرض چهل روز یا دو ماه رسید

One of them swore that the next day will be a day of return march to Delhi.

Which will be reached within forty days or two months.

یکے دواند پے ساربان خود قاصد

که خلعتے دهمت گر شتر پگاه رسید

Another sent a messenger to his camel driver.

And announced that he would give him a Khil'at if he would reach on the following morning (with camel).

یکے به گفت که پالاں به دوز اے ظالم
چپر شگافتم این است چوب و کاه رسید

One of them said: "Oh cruelman"; sew up the vestibule, for I have torn up *chhappar* (hut) and here is the wood and grass.

یکے سوار شد و رفت و گفت با نوکر
بیا اجین که خواهی به نیمه راه رسید

One of them rode on and went and said to the servant:

'Come to Ujjayn, where you will have traversed half the way of the travel.

ز قلعه گوله' افتاد در همین اثنا'
کشید ناله اجل کشته که آه رسید

In the meantime a cannon-ball from the fort fell among them
And the dying uttered a moan of death.

چو غنچه جمع شده زیر لب بهم گفتند
چه بود این ز کجا از کدام راه رسید

All of them gathered together like the leaves of a bud and spoke in an under-tone.

What was it, where from has it come and how has it come ?

چو گل به خنده یکے گفت شلک فتح است
چه خوب شد که برین مدعا گواه رسید

Some one said laughing: 'It is roaring of guns pronouncing victory (شلک فتح)

And it is well that it being a witness to this object has reached here.'

هنوز بر لب او بود این سخن که ز دور
گلوله' دگر آمد به بارگاه رسید

These were the words that were still on his lips when
Another ball fell near the Imperial tent

یکے به پشته بر آمد که من به بینم چیست
بلند شد ده وسه گامے به قعر گاه رسید

Another warrior ascended the ramparts to find out what it was,
He had gone hardly two or three steps when he reached the bottom of the well.

به خاست دیگرے از جا که همچو باید دید
از ان و قوف گلوله به قتل گاه رسید

Another got up from his seat to find out in the same way
When he came to know of the ball, he reached the place of his murder.

مد برے به عقب رفت و دور بیں طلبید
به دید و گفت شکستے بدیں سپاه رسید

A statesman went behind and sent for his telescope
He saw and uttered that the Imperial army had suffered a defeat.

[P. 342] دریں مکالمه بودند تا خبر آمد
که چشم زخم عظیمے به فوج شاه رسید

They were talking when they brought the news
That great misfortune had fallen on the Imperial army.

On the following day it was reported by the spies, that the wicked Abu al-Ḥasan, decorated the dog with a golden collar (طوق), an ornamented chain (قلاده) and a brocade covering cloth (جل), and ordered that the dog should always be kept tied before him. In short, great and new calamities befell the Imperial army, and every one was involved in affliction and trouble and was deeply immersed in pondering over uncertain result. Only the young boys who had wiped off the dust of sorrow from their faces with the sleeve of

carelessness remained engaged in their lessons in the school of thoughtlessness with open and cheerful faces and in a sportive mood.[1]

[P. 343] Orders had been given that three mines were to be driven under the turrets, at the foot of the fort. The miners, now, informed the Emperor that mines were ready and they would be charged with gunpowder very soon. A reference has already been made to the fact that the Emperor had inquired from the Qāḍi Shaykh al-Islām about the lawfulness (according to Islām) of the expeditions against Bijapur and Hyderabad. The Qāḍi had given an opinion against the wishes of the Emperor. Since he had for a long time entertained a desire to go on a pilgrimage to the House[2] of Allāh, he tendered his resignation and was permitted to proceed thither.

About this time Qāḍi 'Abd Allāh, who was appointed on this post, said; "Abu al-Ḥasan is a Muslim and is prepared to obey your orders. In the fighting many Muslims are being killed daily on both the sides, if the pen of forgiveness is drawn over the list of the evil deeds of Abu al-Ḥasan, the warfare and blood shed will be changed into peace according to the precept 'Peace is always good'[3] and under the *Sharī'ah* mercy on the Muslims will not be a wrong act."

In reply to this improper request (غرض بیجا), the Emperor ordered that the Qāḍi should remain engaged in giving judgments in his tent and should not appear in audience. Here I give some verses from the ode of Ni'mat Khān, known as *Shahr Āshob* containing the details of the misfortunes in the duration of the siege.[4]

[P. 346] In the middle of the month of Sha'bān heavy rains fell for two or three days. The grace of God was changed into a calamity

1 (Here follow some satirical lines which do not add to our information. See Appendix A to this Chapter :

2 i.e., The *Ka'bah* at Makkah.

3 الصلح خیر

4 (On page 344 and 345 there is a satirical ode having no historical bearing). See Appendix B.

for the men of the army. There was not a single tent which did not float like a bubble on the waves and there was not a single covering sheet or a tent which had not fallen down and torn to pieces. With the exception of the shades and the tents of clouds which were supported by the ropes of the showers and covered the rich and the poor; every thing else was rolling in the water and mud and a great calamity fell on the Imperial army. Great damage was done to the ramparts as high as sky and safety trenches, which were built with so much labour and effort. Owing to the overflowing of the brooks and rivulets, water passed over the batteries and the walls of many positions fell down. Thus much labour was wasted. The besieged, who had little dignity but were large in number came out of the openings of the fort like particles of dust, and taking advantage of the situation, they launched a surprise attack on the besiegers, (surrounding them) like a whirl-pool of flood. They took by surprise, the men of the artillery and trenches and the staff of the stores of fire arms and other equipment who were busy in guarding themselves against the flood of water, and killed many of them by their swords shining like lightning, heart piercing spears and arrows. Salim Khān, the Abyssinian, who considered himself to be a valiant warrior in the beginning, jumped from his post like a flame and tried to resist those cowardly men (کم فرصتان). After some time he realised that it was the best thing to save his own life [P. 347] and so he threw himself down in a pit. Ṣaf Shikan Khān, who was making efforts to capture the fort, more sincerely (به دل و جان) than others, came into contact with 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān Lāri who had reached his (Ṣaf Shikan Khān's) entrenchment. As he had already received wounds, he fell down among the wounded who were rolling in mud and water but was able to save his life. Jamshid who always boasted of his bravery, inspite of making some efforts, could not stand the blows of those ill-natured people and took himself to a side. When this unexpected flood of calamity reached the position of Ghayrat Khān the commandant of artillery, he ran away, and

sought asylum in a pit which he considered a place of safety but which in the end proved a trap of suffering—a grave for the dying person. The moment he reached the pit, a body of the enemy troops came there, but as he was covered with mud and water and was lying like a dead body, they did not recognise him and he was taken prisoner like other men. Just at that time an Afghān, who was formerly in the service of Shāh 'Ālam but had lately joined Abu al-Ḥasan, reached the place where the unconscious (دل و هوش باخته) fellow was lying. He recognised him (Ghayrat Khān) and considered him a prey which had fallen into his hand without any effort, he made a sign to other men who pulled him out of the pit, passing him from one hand to another. In the same way Sarbarāh Khān, known as Jalāl, the slave (چیله) ; who was one of the old and trusted servants of the Emperor was taken prisoner with twelve other *manṣabdārs*, by those mean and disrespectful fellows.

Later when the report of the flood and the sallies of the miscreants reached the Emperor, he ordered Ḥayāt Khān the Dārūghah of the elephant corps, to march with seventy or eighty huge (کوه پیکر) elephants covered with iron to the brink of that rivulet, and help the army in crossing it [P. 348] and assist the brave warriors in every way possible. Owing to the huge volume of flood water, even the giant-like elephants could not do any thing. Till the passing of one third of the night, Ḥayāt Khān, with his contingent, remained inactive and perplexed in the whirlpool of astonishment. After midnight he returned to his tents.

In short all those who were made prisoners were presented before Abu al-Ḥasan. Ghayrat Khān behaved as if he was lifeless or as if he had lost his senses. They touched his forehead with the fuse (فتیله) of a gun and found that he was alive. Abu al-Ḥasan extended hospitality and honour to his prisoners for two or three days. He presented a horse and a *khil'at* to Ghayrat Khān as well as Sarbarāh Khān. Others were also given *khil'ats* and were honourably sent

back. He sent Sarbarāh Khān to the stores of grain and gunpowder to see heaps (bags) of grain which rose as high as the sky. Then he wrote a petition to the Emperor and explained its purport verbally to Jalāl. He allowed him to go after taking from him an oath by the honour of Almighty and the august head of the Emperor, that he would deliver the letter and his message to the courtiers close to the Emperor.

Ghayrat Khān was deposed from the *manṣab* of one thousand two hundred horsemen to five hundred, but he was allowed to retain his title, and was posted in Bengal. As to Sarbarāh Khān, he said that: "Flight suits the slaves only." His title was taken back, but the coward fellow was allowed to retain his *Dhāt Manṣab* (personal rank) of four hundred. The petition of Abu al-Ḥasan was sent to Fīroz Jang who was to make an abstract of it [P. 349] and present it before the Emperor, if there was any thing worthy for being communicated to him. When Jalāl requested for communicating the oral message, he was ordered to communicate it in privacy after one third of the night had passed. The purport of the petition and verbal message was:—"I consider myself as one of the life-sacrificing slaves of your Court. If I have knowingly or unknowingly committed any crime, I have suffered punishment for it. Now I beseach your kindness and forgiveness. In case, the servants of Your Majesty occupy this fortress, you will hand it over to some other person this ravished and devastated state and will return to your capital. I request you that I may be considered as that person. If any other Amīr is appointed (in my place), he will draw from the government a sum of money greater than the revenues as his salary and that of his followers and other expenses that he may re-populate this entirely devastated country and engage himself in the work of settlement. Every one knows that it will take seven or eight years to settle the country which owing to the presence of the (Imperial) army has become the abode of owls. He will not be able to realise the amount which I will present to Your Majesty. If my

request is granted and you return (back to your capital) I will pay to your revenue officers one crore of rupees, at every stage where you stop in my dominion. Further I will pay one crore of rupees as *nadhr* to the feet of Your Majesty as many times as they have touched the foot of the fort. I am making these submissions so that more blood of the Muslims may not be shed and the Imperial troops may not further remain deprived [P. 350] of their properties and families. If, however, my request is not granted, and you further wish to waste your time, in order to help your troops, I am ready to send five or six hundred thousand maunds of grain, which your Chelah Jalāl has seen in my stores." When these proposals were reported to the Emperor by Jalāl, he, in reply to improper and absurd words of Abu al-Ḥasan, said: "If Abu al-Ḥasan is not beyond our orders and instructions, he should come in our presence with folded hands or is brought with hands and neck tied, then at that time he will be treated by us with due consideration (مروت)."

Inspite of the request of Abu al-Ḥasan, orders were issued on the same day to the *Mutaṣaddis* of Berar, through the mace-bearers, that they should despatch fifty thousand bags of linen each two yards long and one yard broad with bullocks, balls of cotton thread and other material for conducting the siege, so that the moat may be filled anew and the work of assault undertaken. On hearing this, some of the loose-tongued people said: "It will be long before the bags arrive and the ditch is filled. We wish that the request of Abu al-Ḥasan regarding the offer of grain be accepted, so that it would become the source of our survival and those very bags of grain would be utilised for filling the ditch." The young and the old men in the army were drowned in the sea of anxiety. But the care-free children were busy in reciting in the following metre بحر[1].

[P. 351] (Here again follow some irrelevant verses).

On the 19th of Sha'bān it was reported by the workers at the foot of the fort that they had run three mines

1 The author has used the word بحر in both its meaning i.e., sea and metre. Arabic vocabulary with a Persian translation in rhyme. (See Appendix C.)

under the bastions [P. 352] of the fort and the artillery men had filled them with gunpowder, and were waiting for orders to apply the fuse to the mines. The Emperor ordered that all the men who were posted in the advance lines should come together and raise war cries as if they were about to make an attack, so that the cowardly and panicky enemy, on hearing this, might assemble on the turrets of the fort on that side like poppy seeds. When the enemy had thus assembled, the mines should be set on fire.

On the other side when 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāri and the other besieged came to know of this, they busied themselves in finding out the exact position and the way to the mines. In the course of some days after great efforts they found the place opposite to those mines. With the help of clever stone cutters and expert sappers, they quickly removed the earth and stones from the other end of the mines. They took away the gunpowder and the fuse from one mine and from the other mines they took away some gunpowder and poured so much water in both of them that they had become satisfied to some extent that they had been rendered useless for the blowing up of the tower and the wall of the fort on that side.

On the side of the Imperial forces when the war cries were raised, many people appeared on the walls of the fort. The artillery men who were waiting for the concentration of those men gave the signal to set one of the mines on fire. As the greater part of the powder on the side of the besieged was taken away by them and the rest had become useless by the action of water, at the time of setting the mine on fire, the heat and shock of the gunpowder did more injury to the besiegers than to the besieged. In the twinkling of an eye the greater part of artillery men and musketeers, who were posted there, the soldiers and the sight seers, who were waiting for an assault, were burnt to death. The pieces of men-crushing (آدم ربا) stones killed many persons whose number reached approximately of the Hijrah year (1096). [P. 353] Among them a number of well known persons were killed. Some men of the besieged also

lost their lives. The Imperial troops were waiting to find a breach in the wall to get a passage for an attack, but the scales of fortune turned against them. Cries were raised by the dying, the wounded and those of the besiegers whose hands and feet were severed from their bodies. A great volume of smoke and dust arose and the bastion fell on the men of the Imperial forces. This gave the besieged an opportunity which they did not lose. They sallied forth and made deadly attacks which came like a calamity from the heavens on the Imperial troops. They became a source of misfortune for the lives of the remnant of artillery men and other soldiers, and they occupied the entrenchment. When it was reported, (to the Emperor) orders were given to expel the ill-fated group. After great efforts in which many men on both the sides were killed, the lines were cleared of the enemy and the positions were re-established. They had not taken their positions yet and the casualties were being counted when the second mine was set on fire. Thousands of stones big and small, were thrown up the air like flying birds and, as before, fell on the Imperial troops. Cries and wailings of the dying and the wounded reached the sky. Twice the number of those who were killed before, equival to the choronogramic calculation of the letters of '<u>Gh</u>aw<u>gh</u>a'[1] were killed. Some of them instead of being killed had lost their teeth or hands or feet and were wailing, and they said : "We had come to the foot of the fort of Hyderabad in the hope of the precious stones. Grinding the teeth of greed, in the hope of appropriating the diamonds and rubies, we had great expectations. We never knew that we would lose our hands, feet and teeth by the blows of stones." [P. 354] Others having been deprived of a hand or a foot cried with depressed hearts : "We are striking our heads against the stones and the stones against our heads but inspite of all this the hard-hearted Abu al-Ḥasan still clings to the fort of Golkundah. On the day of resurrection our hands will seize the skirt of his garment.

For a second time the headstrong (خیره سر) besieged again sallied forth in an impertinent manner and wanted to occupy the positions

1 The figure yielded by the letters of *<u>Gh</u>aw<u>gh</u>a* comes to 2007.
غوغا : غ = 1000 + و = 6 + غ = 1000 + ا = 1 : 2007

round the fort, which had been built up by the lion-hunting brave warriors during a period of six months. G͟hāzi al-Dīn K͟hān Bahādur Fīroz Jang, followed by his brave warriors reached the place, and began punishing the assailants ; and heavy firing started from both the sides. In the counter attack many were killed and a well contested battle was fought and a scene like the day of judgment ensued. Those killed on the Imperial side were equal in number yielded by the letters of *Ḥas͟hr Gāh.*[1] Inspite of the fact that Fīroz Jang made great efforts in that battle, he could not stop the daring sallies of the besieged.

'Ālamgīr personally directs the operations of the siege.

When this was reported to the Emperor, the fire of his wrath inflamed. He ordered his conveyance (سواری) to be brought and joined the men of the army, shoulder to shoulder. The lion-hunting brave Amīrs gathered together around the Emperor. The Emperor, a Rustam on the field of battle, looked like world illuminating sun and mounting on the throne that shone like the rays of the sun, he ordered his personal conveyance, to be carried within the range of gun-shot of the fort. Then he directed his brave Amīrs to prepare themselves for the assault. Inspite of the falling of a shell which blowing off an arm of a personal attendant, close to the travelling throne (تخت رواں) without the letting slightest fear enter his mind, such bravery was shown on that day by [P. 355] the enemy-punishing Emperor, that if Afrāsiyāb[2] had seen it in his dream, his bile would have melted away. Fīroz Jang and other veterans also showed great marvels of bravery while fighting by the side of the Emperor. There was no doubt left about the passing of the lustre of the swords of the conquering army over the heads of the besieged and their complete annihilation, but the rain and storm, out of season, interfered with the work of the brave warriors. The Sulṭān of the rainy season, as if to help the besieged, spread the canopy of clouds.

1 حشر گاہ : ح = 8 + ش = 300 + ر = 200 + گ = 20 + ا = 1 + ہ = 5 : = 534

2 An ancient ruler of Tūrān who has become famous through the legendary account given in the *S͟hāhnāmah* of Firdawsi.

over their heads, unfurled the standard of wind and dust, beat the drum of thunder, and surrounded the Imperial forces with the elephants of fast moving clouds, and with the great earth shaking sound of lightning showers fell, great panic seized the army of the Emperor. Then followed a mountain carrying flood and surrounded them from all sides.

Verses:

بر آمد یکے میغ (از تیغ) کوه به غرید غریدن با شکوه

A cloud appeared from the sword of mountain
And began to thunder in a thunderous manner,

به جنبش در آمد زمین و زمان تو گفتی به خواهد پریدن جهان

The space and time began to shake,
It appeared as if the world would be blown off,

چو باران نیسان به بارید تیر تو گفتی شده پاره ابر مطیر

When the drops of rain shot their arrows,
It appeared that the raining cloud was torn to bits.

وزان سو برین لشکر تیز چنگ ز قلعه همه گوله بارید و سنگ

From that side on this army, having sharp claws,
There was a constant bombardment of balls and stones, from the fort.

Matters reached such a pass that the Imperial forces began to fall back and the troops of the enemy became bolder. The flood water passed the chests of the horses and there was no possibility left of making any effort. Owing to excessive rains and the ravages of the flood, the foundations of the high ramparts were buried in mud. The besieged (پرده نشینان چهار بند حصار) finding their opportunity, came out of the enclosure of the fort and attacked the entrenchment. They easily captured the dragon-like heavy guns that were taken up over the ramparts after hard labour and at a great expense. They carried whatever they could, along with them, and spiked the guns which they could not carry rendering them

useless. [P. 356] They pulled out of the moat the logs of wood and many thousand bags full of earth, which, at a very great expense and labour, had been used for filling the moat, for the second time. Those devilish and beastly people (the besieged) removed these things like spoils of the booty hand by hand. They carried them inside the fort and used them to repair the breaches in the walls of the fort which had been made by the blowing up of the mines, and appeared to recite with the tongues of their condition (زبان حال) .

Hemistich :

What a good fortune! Two birds are killed by one stone.[1]

Though there were deep nullahs obstructing the passage of the victorius army, yet many brave warriors, following Firoz Jang and the attendants of the Emperor, sparing no effort, made many man-ravishing attacks, but they proved to be of no avail. An elephant, reserved for the personal use of the Emperor, valued at forty thousand rupees ; fell to the ground on account of the blow of a shell and the severities of wind and rain. The druggist of death circulated the opium pot of unexpected calamities and all of them intoxicated with the spirit of laying down the life. Every one who took a nut of the ball from a gun, died at once.[2] Every one who took the poppy seed of small shot, though its effect was less, also had his full share.[3] The noise of the laughing of the guns from every turret upset the whole world. The cadence, the noise of muskets, pistols and carbines acted like the harping of the tunes on the mind of the Ṣūfīs like men of the battle-field and made them intoxicated with the wine of senselessness and indulged in the dance of misfortune. In this condition there were great differences of opinion. One of them said: "Which of the towers has fallen." The other replied : [P. 357] "Do

1 چه خوش بود که بر آید بیک کرشمه دو کار

2 The author has used the expression از حال خود رفت which means becoming senseless, on account of intoxication and also signifies death i.e. a change in the condition.

3 i.e., They also died.

you not see that the smoke from gun powder has raised a curtain and hidden it and has surrounded it like a thick cloud. The wind has blown it off into bits. How can you distinguish between a tower intact and one broken ?" The third said in anger : "Owing to the excessive rains comrades have turned blind. They do not see that the enemy has carried away the logs of wood and bags, from the moat, has repaired the breaches and has made them look like a wall." Another one rubbed his hands in astonishment and said "How has he rebuilt a fallen wall to such a height in such a short time ?" This exchange of words led to abuses and culminated in mutual quarrels to the extent that the besieged laughed at and ridiculed them. To bring the quarrel to an end the interceders and arbitrators came in from all sides. They wanted to get a telescope to see it, but as the evening had approached, it became impossible for those fools (مجہولان) to know what could not be determined (مجہول). Its ascertainment was postponed till the following morning. The soldiers stayed at their positions to rest for the night.

Verse:

دگر روز چون گنبد لاجورد بر آورد و بنمود یاقوت زرد

The next norning when the blue dome of sky
Appeared and changed the ruby from red to yellow colour.

The next morning the world conquering king 'Ālamgīr mounted his horse and gathered all the notables of the Court so that the third mine be set on fire in his presence and then an assault, be made.

Verse :

به توسن نشسته شه پر شکوه چو خورشید رخشنده بالائے کوه

The king sitting on his horse in all his dignity,
Appeared like the shining sun at the top of a hill,

در افتاده دریائے لشکر به موج چو ماهی زره پوش گردان فوج

The army moved like a river with waves.
The armoured warriors looked like fishes,

زمین جمله گردید صرف غبار زخون یلان شد حباب آشکار

The whole of the earth was reduced to dust,
Bubbles appeared out of the blood of the warriors,

امیران همه جابه جا دور شاه به نوعی که انجم بود گرد ماه

The nobles, here and there round their king,
Appeared like stars round the moon.

ز گل در بهاران سپه بود بیش ولی همچو غنچه همه سر به پیش

The army exceeded the spring flowers in number,
But like blossoms they carried their heads forward,

[P. 358] یکی سرخ پوشیده اما زبیم رخش زرد و خیره شده با غنیم

One of them had put on red dress,
But his face was pale and dark owing to the fear of the enemy.

یکی غنچه سان گرز افراخته ولی همچو گل رنگ را باخته

Another had raised his mace like a blossom,
But his colour had faded like a flower.

کجک بر کف فیلبان می نمود چو ماه نو از آسمان کبود

The driving hook in the hands of the elephant drivers,
Appeared like a crescent on the blue sky.

Under the orders of the Emperor they repeatedly tried to set fire to the third mine but without success. They made all possible efforts to know the reason of the mine not catching fire but without any result. True facts were, however, known from the statement of a truthful spy and it became clear that the besieged had removed the gunpowder and taken away the fuse. On this, the Emperor abandoned the idea of investigating the reason, postponed the assault for the next day and returned to his tents. As Fīroz Jang had received two wounds by arrows and a number of other men were also wounded in the effort, the Emperor handed over the charge of the command of the army

and the duty of conducting the siege to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam.

For some days no notice was taken of Abu al-Ḥasan. The pillars of the state (ارکان سلطنت) said to the Emperor that when Hyderabad and other important cities would come in the possession of the Emperor, the unfortunate Abu al-Ḥasan whose star of fate was disappearing because of the nearness of the sun,[1] would make useless efforts to remain besieged in the fort. The siege, however, would last only for a few days and he would stay behind the curtain for a short time only. The Emperor, accordingly, appointed judicious *dīwāns* (دیوانیان کفایت شعار), and other judicial officers with capacity to rehabilitate the places. He ordered that Hyderabad should be mentioned as *Dār al-Jihād* Hyderabad in all the official papers and orders. 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān *Buyūtāt* was appointed Muḥtasib with orders to purge the city of some of evil practices of the infidels which had been introduced by the irreligious Abu al-Ḥasan. [P. 359] He was to build mosques and demolish houses of idol worship.

A strange story is related about Ṣaf Shikan Khān, the son of Qiwām al-Dīn Khān, who unlike other Iranians, was making sincere efforts to capture the fort. One day one of the Iranian scholars, who was among his companions and friends, said to him : "A large number of the faithful (مومنان) , the pious (صالحان) , the Sayyids of true descent and learned men are among the besieged in the fort. They (Imperial forces) are making all these efforts to conquer the fort which will mean the destruction of the besieged, the dishonour of their wives and children." He replied : "I will continue trying to capture the fort even if Imām Ḥusayn himself be in it." This remark made by him spread from one tent to the other. Owing to animosity

1 احتراق (literally heating) signifies the state of the disappearance of a planet when it comes too near the sun.

which is usual among rivals and the reactions of this absurd statement he came under Imperial displeasure was interpreted to be indicating for complicity with the besieged. A detailed account of this and other reasons (of displeasure) will become too lengthy for this narrative. After depriving him of his confidence and keeping him in prison for some time, and confiscating his property, the Emperor ultimately drew the pen of forgiveness on the list of his crimes. He was appointed commandant of the artillery (میر آتش). This post had been offered to Ṣalābat Khān and other cowardly persons who had not accepted it and therefore the affairs of the artillery for a long time had been in a state of great disorder. It is rightly said ;

Verses :

کسے در مقسم اقبال و ادبار

بغیر از قدرت حق نیست مختار

"There is no one who is an authority in the distribution of prosperity and misfortune except the Divine Power."

یکے در ساخت با تو دم ساز

بر آرد سر افرازی سر افراز

"He made one through His favour raise his head high."

یکے را بے سعادت کرد بدنام

که پستر رو تو ناکامی تو ناکام

"Deprive another of His favour He made him notorious and ordered him to go down deep into disappointment and failure."

I have followed the account given by Ni'mat Khān with necessary changes in his impertinent remarks. In view of the superfluity of his details, I omit them [P. 360] and narrate the facts pertaining to the capture of the fort till its end.

Golkundah Captured ; Abu al-Ḥasan arrested.

Many of Abu al-Ḥasan's officers had come over to the side of the Emperor, and had been given suitable titles, *monṣabs,* drums, horses and elephants and jewels. I need not give their details: The house and property of Shaykh Minhāj were confiscated by Abu al-Ḥasan and he was imprisoned, because report had become current that he was about to go over (to the Imperial side). Of all of his leading nobles, none remained with him except 'Abd al-Razzāq Lari entitled Muṣṭafā Khān and 'Abd Allāh Khān Panni. Till the end of Shawwāl, when the siege had lasted for eight months, they remained faithful to Abu al-Ḥasan and were ready to sacrifice their lives. At last, 'Abd Allāh Khān, also secretly communicated with the Emperor a message offering his services and readiness to open one of the gates for the entry of the Imperial forces. (The Emperor) sent repeated letters for 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāri promising to offer him a *manṣab* of six thousand, and other favours, but he refused to accept them. Further more, that impertinent and loyal fellow (to his master) not caring for his honour and life exhibited the letter of the Emperor, in a most insolent manner before the troops of his bastion and then tore it into pieces. He sent a verbal reply through the spy, who had brought the placatory letter : "This battle without doubt resembles the battle of Karbala, 'Abd al-Razzāq, as long as he is alive is hopeful of not joining the twenty two thousand horsemen, who had offered *bay'ah* to the Imām but had later drawn their swords against the martyr of Karbala. (On the contrary) he would like to remain faithful to his Imāms's seventy two followers and [P. 361] gain good name in this world and the next." When it was reported to the Emperor he outwardly condemned 'Abd al-Razzāq by calling him Lāri Bāzāri,[1] but inwardly he praised his loyalty to the salt as will be mentioned in proper place along with the consequences of his faithfulness.

1 زبے بد بخت لاری بازاری lit. a man of the market, the term is used to speak of a person in contempt.

The besiegers continued to make great efforts in pushing the siege. The moat was filled again and again with thousands of bags containing earth and straw, and with the dead bodies of thousand of animals and men who had died of famine and plague or killed during the assaults. Several times, the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls, but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts. The besiegers sacrificed their sweet lives in the bitterness of defeat, but nothing was gained and the fort could not be conquered. In the end, however, the good fortune of 'Ālamgir prevailed, and after the siege had lasted for eight months and ten days, the fort was conquered without the force of sword or spear and Abu al-Ḥasan was taken prisoner. The details will be described later.

Regnal Year 31.

(Corresponding to 1098 H.)[1]

About the end of the month of Dhu al-Qa'dah at the commencement of the 31st year of the reign corresponding to 1098 H. (September 1687 A. C.) negotiations, began in consequence of the efforts of Rūḥ Allāh Khān, through Ran Mast Khān Afghān Panni with 'Abd Allāh Khān Panni one of the confidant officers of Abu al-Ḥasan, who had the charge of the gate of the fort called *khirki*.[2] In the last watch of the night, Rūḥ Allāh Khān, Mukhtār Khān, Ran Mast Khān, Ṣaf Shikan Khān, Khwājah Makārim, who had been given the title of Jān Nithār Khān, and had gained many favours for his resolute efforts during the assaults on the fort, climbed the ramparts at a signal given by 'Abd Allāh Khān Panni, by means of sky high ladders and entered the fort through the breaches made by gun fire. Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam arrived at the gate, along with his

1 1 Muḥarram fell on 7 November, 1686 A.C.

2 *Khirki*, lit. a window.

army, riding an elephant and was waiting for the opening of the door. When the besiegers entered the fort they busied themselves with the posting of men on different points and opening the gate and raised the cries of the conquest of the fort.

When 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāri heard this, he had no time to gird up his sword or to saddle his horse, so due to his personal bravery and faithfulness to the salt, he took a sword in one hand and a shield in the other and riding a horse with a saddle cloth on its back, accompanied by ten or twelve horsemen, rushed to the gate to resist the Imperial troops, who had reached there and were entering the fort like a flood. Despite the fact that the followers of 'Abd al-Razzāq, dispersed in the melee, he attacked the Imperial forces alone like a drop that falls in the ocean or like a particle of dust which rivals the sun, and exhibiting great valour made his utmost efforts crying, aloud : "As long as I have life, I will sacrifice it for Abu al-Ḥasan." He continued advancing forward, although he was attacked by thousands of people, playing with his own blood. He received many wounds from the top of his head to the toe of his feet. As the moment of his death had not yet arrived, he did not fall to the ground and went on fighting proceeding to the gate of the citadel. [P. 363] He had received twelve wounds on his face alone, the skin of his forehead falling on his eyes and nose. He had also received a severe wound on one of his eyes ; on the body the wounds were as numerous as the stars. His horse also, having received many wounds on its body reeled under his weight. He left the reins of his horse and sat firmly on it. It carried him to a garden which was in the vicinity of the citadel and was known as Nagīnah garden, and reached at the foot of an old coconut tree, he caught its trunk and reclined against it dropping himself from his horse. Next morning a body of the troops of Ḥusayni Beg happened to pass that way. They recognised him by his horse and other signs of identification. By way of sympathy, they placed his half dead body soaked in

blood, on a cot and carried him with his equipment and horse. His men having come to know of it, started treating his wounds. This is only a brief reference to his personal bravery; a detailed account of his loyalty to the salt will be given later.

When the unfortunate Abu al-Ḥasan heard the noise of 'capture and keep' (دار و گیر) and cries marked by consternation and fear began to rise inside his palace and outside it. He tried to console the women of his harem, asked all of them to pardon him and bade them farewell. Though greatly distressed he tried to keep himself composed, came out to the hall of his private audience, and seating himself on the *masnad* of self-respect he waited for his uninvited guests. As it was the time of his meals he instructed his servants to serve them. When Rūḥ Allāh Khān, Mukhtār Khān and some other notables mentioned above, came to him, he greeted them before all others. Not losing the royal dignity [P. 364] he responded to their greetings and talked with them in a cordial and eloquent style maintaining his self-respect and showing regard for every one of them. The experienced sages have said when the unfortunate but dignified men are confronted with calamities[1] and when they have to face the attacks of the treacherous and cruel sky, they do not forsake their forbearance beeause they have no other protection but the armour of obedience and the support of resignation.

***Verse* :—**

با تیر قضا سپر نجوید هشیار
بالجمله بتقدیر چه صحرا چه حصار
خفتان رضا گزین و حصار از تسلیم
با خیل حوادث چو بینند پیکار

"The wise man does not try to shield himself against the arrow of death.

1 لیل و نهار lit. day and night.

Fate does not care about the field or fort.

Seek protection under obedience and resignation,

Whenever you come across hosts of misfortunes."

They had a cordial sitting till the break of dawn. When the (بکاول) superintendent of the kitchen announced that the meals were to be served, he sought permission of the nobles to take his meals[1] and invited them to dine with him (هم نمک شدن). A few uncultured people did not consider it advisable to give him that permission. Some of the Mughul nobles took no notice of their advice and allowed him to have his meals. Mukhtār Khān with one or two other nobles joined him in his meals. Rūh Allāh Khān, on being informed, asked him in surprise: "Is it the proper time for having his meals?" Abu al-Ḥasan did not understand intentionally or unintentionally the real significance of the question, and answered: "I always take my meals at this time." Rūḥ Allāh Khān replied: "I know this, but I wonder how in this state of distress you feel an inclination for taking your meals." Abu al-Ḥasan said: "You are speaking about the behaviour of the common people. I have firm belief in God Who has created me, the king and the begger, Who never takes away His kindness from His creatures. He bestows upon every man the food destined for him. My paternal and maternal ancesters had passed their days in prosperity and honour but it was the will of God, [P. 365] that I passed fifteen or sixteen years of my life in the garb of a *faqīr*. After that when He became kind to me, without the least possibility of such an idea on my part and beyond all expectations of others in a moment, He bestowed the kingship on me. All praises be to Allāh; now there is no longer any desire left in my heart. I have given lakhs of rupees to the people in gift and have spent crores. In punishment for some bad deeds which I committed during my reign, He has taken away His grace from me. Still I thank Him that He has transferred the reins of my authority to

1 خبز lit. a loaf of bread.

the hands of such a religious person as the Emperor 'Ālamgīr for the rest of the few years I have to live:

Verse:

سر ارادت ما آستان حضرت دوست
که هرچه بر سرما می رود ارادت اوست

"I have put the head of obedience on the threshold of my Friend.

Whatever passes over my head is in obedience to His will."

In short he sent for his horse and with a necklace of pearls around his neck, he rode, accompained by the nobles. Prince Muḥammed A'ẓam Shāh, who had a small tent pitched at the gate of the fort, was waiting for him. When he was presented to the Prince, Abu al-Ḥasan, maintaining the cheerfulness of his countenance took off the necklace from his neck, offered it to him and he accepted it. He put his hand on the back of Abu al-Ḥasan and did whatever he could, to encourage and console the unlucky man. The Prince, then, took him to the Emperor who received him very courteously with grace befitting a forgiving sovereign. He was treated honourably and after a few days, as I will relate later, without any duty having entrusted to him, was sent to Daulatabad. A suitable allowance was sanctioned for his requirements regarding food, clothes and scents so that he could pass his days in comfort.

[P. 366] After that Rūḥ Allāh Khan and other *Mutaṣaddīs* busied themselves in searching the property of Abu al-Ḥasan and that of his nobles and in taking their possession.

'Ālamgīr's kind treatment

Rūḥ Allāh Khān was informed of the fighting of 'Abd al-Razzāq against the Imperial forces and of the wounds inflicted on his body. He was then brought to Rūḥ Allāh Khān in a state of unconsciousness with only a spark (رمق) of life left in him; The moment the eyes of Ṣaf Shikan Khān fell upon him, he cried: "This is

the vile and insolent Lāri. His head should be cut off and hung on the gate." Rūḥ Allāh Khan said : "To cut off the head of a man already on the verge of death when there is no hope of his survival, without orders from the Emperor is far from being humane." The Emperor was informed of these facts. When he came to know about the daring, courage and loyalty of 'Abd al-Razzāq, out of his sense of justice and a regard for him, he ordered two surgeons,—one European and the other an Indian Hindu—to be provided for his treatment. They reported to him, daily, about his wounds and whether there was any hope for his survival.

The Emperor called Rūḥ Allāh Khān before him and said to him : "If Abu al-Ḥasan had one more servant as faithful as 'Abd al-Razzāq, it would have taken us much longer to capture the fort." When the surgeons examined his wounds they reported that they could count about seventy wounds on his body, besides wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Though one of his eyes was not wounded, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both the eyes. They were again ordered to take special care about his treatment. After thirteen days, it was reported that 'Abal Razzāq had opened his eyes and started stammering a few words, and that there was some hope of his recovery. The Emperor ordered that a message [P. 367] should he conveyed to 'Abd al-Razzāq on his behalf that all his past crimes were forgiven, and that he should send his eldest son, named 'Abd al-Qādir, and his other sons who were fit for service, so that they might be given *manṣabs* and they might offer thanks (to the Emperor) for the pardon granted to their father and for the *manṣab* and other favours.

When the kind message from the gracious and forgiving Emperor was communicated to that peerless, brave and faithful hero, he gasped out a few words, and after thanking for the appreciation of his services he said in reply : "There is little hope for my life. If God Almighty, in His grace and power grants me a second life, I, having lost the control over my limbs, will not be fit for service. If, however, I become fit for service, I feel that

no one whose flesh and skin of the body had been sustained by the salt of Abu al-Ḥasan should join the service of 'Ālamgīr." When these words were reported to the Emperor a sign of displeasure appeared on his face. But out of his sense of justice he praised him and said: "We should be informed when he has recovered completely." Of the property of 'Abd al-Razzāq the greater part of which had fallen into the hands of the victors, whatever was left was restored to him. The concluding portion of his account will be given at its proper place.

What was seized of the property of Abu al-Ḥasan after the disorders, consisted valued at sixty eight lakhs and fifty one thousand Huns, two crore and fifty three thousand rupees, the whole, in terms of rupees, amounting to six crore, eight lakhs and ten thousand, in addition to jewels, precious goods, and silver and gold utensils. The revenue of the territories as recorded in the registers was one *arab*, fifteen *karore* thirteen *lakhs* and some *dāms*.[1]

[P. 368] 'Abd al-Karīm who, during this expedition was given the title of Multafit Khān and in the end got the title of Mīr Khān, and who was considered to be a brave warrior of the Court, wrote a chronogram of the conquest in the words "Fath Qil'ai Golkundah mubārak bād"[2] and presented it to the Emperor who appreciated it.

Description of the fort of Golkundah.

I shall be deviating from my story if I begin to write an account of its strength, the beauty of the city, its pleasant climate, and its verdure and fertility. However, I will briefly describe it. The mud

1 One *Arab* is equal to 100 *karore* or one thousand millions.

2 The valuation of the letters is given below :

(ف	ت	ح	ق	ل	ع	ه	گ	و	ل	ک	ن	ڈ	ه	م	ب	ا	ر
80	400	8	10	30	70	5	20	6	30	20	50	4	5	40	2	1	200

(1098	=	ک	ب	ا	د
		20	2	1	4

fort of Golkundah was bui't by the ancestors of Raja Dev Rai.[1] The Bahmani Sulṭāns brought it into the possession of Islām after great efforts. After the disintegration of the Bahmanide Kingdom, a detailed account of which will be given in the third volume (of this book) which deals with the history of the Bahmani Sulṭāns and the twenty one provinces of Hindustan (Hind-Pakistan).

Sulṭān Muḥammad Quli, who had the title of Quṭb al-Mulk, was one of the important Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani. He established his independent government when anarchy (ملوک الطوایف) prevailed in the provinces of the State. Muḥammed Quli rebuilt in lime and stcne the mud fort of Raja Deo Rai of Golkundah which stood on the top of a hill. Quṭb al-Mulk became the general title of his descendents. After some generations, when Muḥammad Quṭb al-Mulk became Sulṭān, he extended the fortifications of the fort of Golkundah. He was madly in love with one of his women named Bhāgmati. At her request he founded a city at a distance of two *kruhs* from the fort and named it Bhāgnagar after her name. After some time when Bhāgmati died, he realised the ugliness of the name [P. 369] Bhāgnagar and changed it to Hyderabad.[2] The city is still called Bhāgnagar by the common people. The woman (زنکه) had built many taverns and shops of intoxicants in the city. Its rulers, therefore, generally became debauchees and passed their days in depravity, openly violating the holy laws. As Abu al-Ḥasan was inclined towards debauchery more than the other Sulṭāns, the city became notorious (in his time) for its immorality (فسق و فجور). When it was conquered by 'Ālamgīr it was named Dār-al-Jihād. Later during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam,

1 The author probably refers to Devray (d. 1413 A.C.) who is by some authorities identified with Bakka II. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. p. 394.

2 The story of the renaming of Hyderabad is related with slight differences by the other writers According to them the Sulṭān gave the title of Ḥaydar Maḥal to Bhāgmati and renamed the city as Hyderabad. For details see Abd al-Majid Siddiqi, *Tārīkh Golkundah*, pp. 407-410. Also see *Memoir* No. 5 published by Pakistan Historical Society.

(as will be related) it was described as Farkhundah Bunyād (lit. with auspicious foundation) in official record. It has a temperate climate both during winter and summer seasons and rice, its main agricultural product, is the staple food of its people. If the rains fall[1] softly and gently during the four months of rainy season, nothing is produced. If it rains heavily for a day or two the ponds are filled with water and the same water is sufficient for the cultivation throughout the year.

Submission of Pidiyah Nā'ik.

There is a fort named Sakar between Bijapur and Hyderabad, it is an important town of that region.

The Ḥākim of the place named Pidiyah Nā'ik belonged to the worst tribe of carrion-eaters of the Deccan. He was the hereditary chief (سرزبان) of the place. During the sieges of Bijapur and Hyderabad he had helped Sikandar and Abu al-Ḥasan with twelve thousand horse and countless footmen. He had blocked the routes of the provision for the Imperial army and had shown great boldness against it. During the siege of Golkundah, the world conquering Emperor had deputed Khānah Zād Khān, the eldest son of Rūḥ Allāh Khān, who had surpassed many war veterans, in bravery and dexterity to ravage [P. 370] the country of Pidiyah Nā'ik and capture the fort of Sakar.

While Khānah Zād Khān was ravaging the towns around Sakar with great efforts, the news of the conquest of the fort of Golkundah spread. That wicked and vile fellow realizing that his future welfare lay in offering obedience to and seeking shelter under the Emperor, opened negotiations in all humility with Khānah Zād Khān who granted him peace and gave him expectations of forgiveness of his crimes by the Emperor and sent a despatch to the Emperor. In the month of Ṣafar of the same

1 The text has, نبارد , but it appears ببارد would make better reading and so we have translated is as such.

year, Pidiyah came out of the fort with its keys and had an interview with Khānah Zād Khān who ordered the *adhān* to be recited, which had never been heard before, by the infidels of that territory. He also laid the foundations of a mosque in that sky high fort on the top of the hill, and entrusted its command in accordance with the orders of the Emperor, to one of the Imperial officers. He took Pidiyah with him to the Court and presented him before the Emperor. It is said that Pidiyah who was born among the infidel carrion eaters, notorious for their in-born wickedness, had a very ugly face. He looked like a concentrated vapour coming out of an indigo jar or a cauldron of coal-tar assuming the form of human body. Although the Emperor, for reasons of his policy, had given him a *manṣab* of five thousand, four thousand horse, whenever any noble of the Court saw the ugly face of Pidiyah and thought of the *manṣab* granted to him, he could not control his laughter and could not help uttering the phrase of '*La Ḥawl*'.[1] However within a short period of even less than two or three weeks he proceeded to his eternal home [P. 371] as a result of natural death. The Emperor raised his son and other followers to ranks that were beyond the ambition (حوصله) .

'Ālamgīr's march to Bijapur.

The Emperor sent Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroze Jung with twenty five thousand horsemen as an advance guard of Prince Muḥammed A'ẓam Shāh to capture the fort of Adhoni which was in the possession of Mas'ūd, an Abyssinian Chief of Bijapur. As the incomes of the jāgīrs of the Mughul nobles had remained in arrears which could not be realised, he ordered the salaries of the Mughul officers of the army of Fīroze Jung to be paid in cash. Prince Muḥammed A'ẓam Shāh with an army of forty thousand horsemen and a large park of artillery was sent to support Fīroze Jung.

1 The reference is to the phrase which is recited to ward off the evil influence of Satan.

After settling the affairs of the territories around *Dār al-Jihād* Hyderabad, the Emperor himself, unfurled his invincible banner and proceeded in the direction of Ẓafarabād at the beginning of Rabī' II. On reaching Ẓafarabād Bedar, he appointed Jān Sipār Khān to escort Abu al-Ḥasan to the fortress of Dawlatabad, who for reasons of policy, was still in the retinue of the Emperor. Accordingly he was despatched to the said fort. He (the Emperor) again issued instructions to arrange for the supply of his requirements and whatever was liked by him.

In the beginning of Jumāda, he (the Emperor) reached the city of Gulbargah, where he visited the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Sayyid Muḥammad Gesu Darāz, and stayed for seven days. He then started for Bijapur and pitched his victorious tents in its vicinity at the end of the month. As already described the surroundings of the city of Bijapur owing to calamities of the Time had been reduced to mere wilderness, the Emperor ordered the construction of cantonment and other buildings, repair of the houses of the inhabitants of that place and efforts were to be made to please them.

Regnal Year 32.

Corresponding to 1099 H.

[P. 372] *Capture of Malgaon*

Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, while on his way to conquer the fort of Adhoni, reached the fort of Malgāon,[1] which is one of the strong forts within the jurisdiction of Bijapur. He came to know that the commandant of the fort had died and the garrison had appointed a young son of the deceased, an officer of the King of Bijapur, as their new commandant. The Prince ordered the fort to be besieged. The garrison after making some vain efforts surrendered the fort along with its keys. When it was

1 Balgaon in some Manuscripts,

reported to the Emperor he named the fort as A'ẓam Nagar. As the rainy season had set in, the Prince under orders of the Emperor, encamped there.

Adhoni captured.

On reaching the foot of the fort of Adhoni, he (the K͟hān-e-Fīroze Jung), asked the wicked (نا محمود) Mas'ūd, who was one of the old Abyssinians of Bijapur, to surrender and show foresight. The foolish old man,[1] however, refused to obey his orders. After plundering and devastating the territories of that country, Firoz Jung ordered the advance of the lines, the running of mines and began to capture and kill the parties of the people who were bold enough to make sorties from the fort. Great efforts and brave assaults were made (by his men). The senseless and misdirected commandant took out the plugs of cotton from his ears and submissively surrendered the fort to the Imperial troops and became an obedient servant (حلقه بگوش) of the Court and sent his sons to the illustrions Court and [P. 373] requested that he might be exempted from Imperial service. His request was graciously granted by the Emperor.

Lari becomes a Manṣabdār.

As the news of the complete recovery of 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāri reached the Emperor, he ordered the Ṣūbehdār to console him and send him to the Court. 'Abd al-Razzāq offered an excuse for not complying with this order and requested : "I hope that I, along with my sons, will be allowed to go on a pilgrimage to the House of Allāh. After securing the honour of circumambulating (طواف) the two Ḥarams, I will return to my homeland and will remain engaged in praying for the long life of the Emperor." When this was reported to the Emperor, he ordered that he should be sent to the Court as a prisoner. On coming to know of this Fīroze Jung interceded on his behalf. In a conciliating way he called 'Abd al-Razzāq and tried to console him, and keeping him with himself for some time. After one year, he

1 پیر نابالغ literally immature old fellow.

(Lāri) accepted a *manṣab* of four thousand, three thousand horse and was included among the Imperial officers.

Regnal Year 33.

Corresponding to 1100 H.

In the beginning of the thirty third year of the reign, the sons of Sīdi Mas'ūd, along with the golden keys sent by Fīroze Jung, reached the Court and gained audience. On every one of them a suitable *manṣab* and other favours, were conferred, while an annual allowance was fixed for Sīdi Mas'ūd. When Khān Fīroze Jung reached the Court, he got a promotion of one thousand, one thousand horsemen and received other favours.

Sa'ādat Khān, alias Muḥammad Murād, the *ḥājib* of Hyderabad, was a faithful servant and a life sacrificing officer of the Court. When he was a *ḥājib*, owing to his good nature, he had in the hope of securing forgiveness for Abu al-Ḥasan, concealed two or three matters [P. 274] from the Emperor, because he did not want that the fire of the Imperial displeasure should become more intense. One of these was that Sa'ādat Khān knew that Abu al-Ḥasan had sent a large amount of money to the wicked and vile Sambha but had not informed the Emperor, who, however, came to know it from other sources. Besides this, Sa'ādat Khān failed to carry out one or two orders of the Emperor because he thought that their compliance would be against his sympathy for Abu al-Ḥasan. Consequently, after the conquest of Golkundah when Sa'ādat Khān reached the Court and presented himself before the Emperor, he was censured by him. His *manṣab*. was reduced by one hundred, and one hundred horse,[1] and he was deprived of title. Sa'ādat Khān informed the Emperor, that out of the money which he had realised, when he was the *Ḥājib* of Hyderabad, he had a balance of eighty thousand of rupees.

1 'Two hundred and two hundred horse' according to another Manuscript.

The Emperor ordered it to be recovered from him. He had with him nine trays full of jewels, sealed in wax, which had been valued at ten lakhs of Rupees, deposited with him by Abu al-Ḥasan as part payment of the *Peshkash*. He had kept in tact, and, as has already been mentioned, during the displeasure of the Emperor he had repeatedly tried to deposit them in the treasury, but the treasury officers had refused to accept them without orders and permission of the Emperor, making excuses, as there was no inventory of the contents of the trays, which was considered to be a necessary routine of the Dīwāni. Muḥammad Murād (Sa'ādat Khān), being under the displeasure of the Emperor, did not have courage enough to inform him about this case. He feared an inquiry and remained greatly disturbed, night and day, about the consequences of his conduct and one year passed in this state. The officers of the *Jawāhir Khānah*[1] informed the Emperor that Muḥammad Murād wanted to deposit nine trays full of jewels but the marks on wax of seals were not clear and there was no inventory of the contents signed and sealed by the *Mutaṣaddīs* [P. 375] of Abu al-Ḥasan. The Emperor, owing to his kindness and gracious treatment of his slaves,[2] said : "I am satisfied that Muḥammad Murād is not guilty of embezzlement. He has been brought up in my family and has played by my side and shoulders (دردوش و کنار ما بازی کرده) .As he had done something against my will when he was a Ḥājib, some sort of admonition was necessary." On the same day he restored the cuts in his *manṣab*. The Emperor wanted to confer on him his father's title of Murshid Quli Khān. He said : "I am one of those slaves of the household who have very often committed mistakes. It will be long before this blot disappears from my name and people forget it. I do not consider myself worthy of the title of my father. Therefore I hope that I will be given a title referring to the names of *Khānahzāds*." The Emperor smiled and accepted his request.

1 جواهر خانه lit. house for jewels.

2 خانه زاد lit. children born of the slaves of the household.

As the writer of these pages had lived for a time with Muḥammad Murād Khān, he has an intimate knowledge of his manners and habits. Many of his near and distant friends (همدمان اندرون و بیرون) had suggested to him to replace some precious jewels with inferior ones maintaining their total number, keeping in view the confidence which his master had in him, he did not agree and did not make the slightest change (in Jewels) nor committed embezzlement. I have repeatedly heard him saying : "Owing to my honesty and non-embezzlement on that occasion, God Almighty, has protected me against the evil of investigation and explanation of my conduct during the period of my disgrace."

A Brief Accounts of Leading Amīrs noted for their honesty and trustworthiness.

As reference has here been made to the honesty (of the people), I am writing a few words about it with my truthful pen. Many of the *Mutaṣaddīs* of these days and [P. 376] many selfish and wretched persons, do not consider any man to be honest because they pursue their own interest only. They consider that honesty and trust are useless in this world. It is, however, clear to the foresighted and sagacious persons, that in this world there is no virtue more praiseworthy than honesty and trustworthiness, and they realise that their blessings, honour, promotion, stability of wealth, and safety against being subjected to explanations in the two worlds, and their welfare in the Hereafter as well as those of their descendents, lie in honesty and causing least injury to the people ;

Verse :

آسمان بار امانت نتوانست کشید

قرعه فال بنام من دیوانه زدند

(The heavens could not bear the burden of trust.

The dice fell to the lot of man the insane.)

provided, honesty is practised according to the will of God and on the principle of non-injury to the people of God and it has for its object the prosperity of the land and not the pleasure of any section of the people at the expense of a large number of others, regardless of the explanation to be given on the day of resurrection.

امیں باید از داور اندیشناک
نه از زجر دیوان و رفع هلاک

(A trustee should be cereful about God. He should not be so because of fear of punishment by the *Dīwān* or destruction.)

It should not be practised to serve their own interests or to gain the favour of a ruler or a minister by oppressing the people. God Almighty makes the same oppressed people turn against them and they take brains out of their heads. In this connection, I will give a brief account of some of the servants and nobles raised to high position by the Emperor, who are gifted with these good qualities, as I have a personal knowledge about them. It is not possible to write about all (who had these qualities).

Amānat Khān

First of all was 'Āqil Khān Khwāfi known as Amānat Khān. Though he lived an active worldly life yet he passed his days like a *darwish*. [P. 377] As has been described before, he always tried to gain the favour of the weak and looked after the affairs of the oppressed but at the same time he was keen to collect the dues of the Emperor. Of the well known concessions, which he had allowed to the cultivators and *zamīndārs* of Awrangabad and Khāndesh and other provinces, was the remission of dues of twelve lakhs of rupees which had fallen in arrears during the past years and which the poor peasants owed to the government. Every year the *manṣabdārs* and *Aḥdīs* were sent by the officers of the *Dīwān* to collect the revenue. They collected some amount and appropriated it to themselves, entering it as unrealised in official record and deposited the papers in the

office. Thus there was a large amount of *Peshkash* outstanding against the poor *zamindārs* which had not been realised, and none except *Manṣabdārs* of and other officers of the *Ta'alluah* benefited from the collection of the revenue. All such arrears were remitted by him by one stroke of pen.

One day in the presence of the Emperor[1] there ensued a discussion about the qualities of honesty and integrity. The Emperor praised Amānat Khān. The latter said: "No body is more dishonest than me because I remit several lakhs of rupees belonging to my master in favour of cultivators (رعایا) who are in arrears. I hope to receive forgiveness from the Emperor who forgives his servants for their faults." The Emperor said : "I forgive you because I know that you replenish our treasury in this world and the next world."

One day Rashīd Khān the Dīwān Khāliṣah, who had a rivalry with Amānat Khān and was not favourably disposed towards him, showed to the Emperor some permits of the remission of *Jiziyah* which Amānat Khān had given to some Hindus. The Emperor was very particular in regard to the collection of *Jiziyah*. He also said that Amānat Khān [P. 378] had issued permits of the remission of *Jiziyah* to nearly more than half of the Hindus. This displeased the Emperor and he said to Amānat Khān : "You have full authority in issuing permits of remission in other branches of revenue, but the remission of *Jiziyah*, in enforcing which on the infidels we have faced great difficulties, is an act of *bid'at*,[2] and it wlll upset the arrangment for the collection of *Jiziyah*. From that day Amānat Khān refrained from remitting the *Jiziyah*. Throughout his life he wore poor clothes and a *pājamah* of rough (گنده) white stuff. He had no female slave in his house, and there were many other good qualities in that noble Sayyid. It is due to his good qualities that his descendants for four generations have held up till now, *i. e.*, 1135 H. the offices

1 خلد مکان is epithet used for 'Ālamgīr after his death.

2 بدعة lit. innovation.

of the Dīwāni of the Deccan and other high posts, without having met with misfortunes at the hands of the Time which is very rare in the case of the oppressing *Mutaṣaddīs*.

Ḥājī Shafi' Khān Sabzwāri

Another really honest person was Ḥāji Shafi' Khān Sabzwāri. Owing to his strict behaviour towards his superior officers and towards the people, he at last fell under the displeasure of the Emperor and lost his *manṣab*.

Mirza Yār 'Ali

After him (the above mentioned) comes Mirza Yār 'Ali who was brought up in the family of the Emperor. His honesty had reached a stage that although the Emperor wanted to raise his *manṣab* and title over others equal to him, he repeatedly refused to accept the promotion. From the very beginning he was *peshkār* to the Bakhshi. He performed the duties assigned to him in all integrity, but he had become notorious for his rigidity and severity (دقت) .

He used to take great pains in settling the affairs of the people. Ultimately he gained access to all the affairs of state. [P. 379] For a long time he performed the functions of the *Dārūghah of Dāk* (Supervisor of the mail) along with his other duties. While he was *Dārūghah of Kachahri* no Imperial *Sanad* was issued without his endorsement. He performed his duties in respect of the people in all sincerity and connived at their mistakes in the performance of his duties. He was rather impertinent (گستاخ) in his replies (to the Emperor). One day he presented a youth (امرد) for a certain *manṣab*, on which the Emperor pointed out that he was too young. He said in reply that his beard would become grey by the time he would be able to get his *manṣab* and enters the fold of the Imperial Servants.[1] One day the Emperor sent to him in gift some fruits from the leavings of his table (اولش). The next day when he came to the

1 Yār 'Ali reffered to red taptism in government offices.

presence of the Emperor, he forgot to thank him for the gift. The Emperor, in order to remind him of it (gift) inquired from him about the taste of the fruits. He went to the foot of the throne and bowed[1] four times before the Emperor as was the custom, and adding four other bows he said : "These are by way of *Sajdah Sahw*"[2] He was censured for such replies frequently. On an other day while commenting on the evidence of a Tarter in a legal case he said : "He is a Tarter. How can one have trust his evidence."

One day in connection with the evidence of a Tūrāni in a *Shara'i* case he remarked : "He is a Tūrāni, how can his evidence be accepted as reliable ? "

This displeased the Emperor who said ; "He did not take into consideration even this fact that we are also Tūrānis."

Shaykh al-Islām

Another person among the honest men was Shaykh al-Islām Qāḍi al-Quḍāṭ, the son of Qāḍī 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Contrary to the ways of his father and his brethren and in fact other Qāḍīs of the age, he showed a remarkable honesty and selflessness in the scrutiny of cases. Keeping in view the bad time, when most of the people shamelessly gave false evidence, he would rarely accept the evidence of the witnesses as true, and therefore in most cases tried to make the plaintiff and the respondent enter into an agreement.

Yār Khān.

[P. 380] Another of the Amīrs of noble birth is Muḥammad Yār Khān, the grandson of Āṣif Khān. Besides being honest he had other good qualities.

2 *Sijda-e-Sahw*, Lit. prostration for forgetfulness. To rectify an involuntary error in the perfarmance of prayers one has to offer extra prostrations.

1 چہار تسلیم in 'Ālamgīr's time the old practice of the Mughul Court i.e., offering سجدہ prostration and زمین بوسی (kissing the ground) before the Emperor was abolished and the people were simply to bow four times.

Fāḍil Khān

After him comes Fāḍil Khān, the *Khān-e-Sāmān.*[1] He was a Khurāsāni. He was for a time the *Dīwān Tan* and never took bribe. He performed creditably the duties assigned to him.

Shujā'at Khān

Another honest person was Shujā'at Khān Isfahani who was known for his honesty and for not oppressing, by the people. The Emperor had not seen him and he was one of the junior *manṣabdārs* posted at Ahmadabad.

He was raised to the *manṣab* of five thousand, five thousand horse, and made Ṣūbehdār of Ahmadabad, and the Ṣubehdari of Ajmer and Jodhpur were in additional charge. He never extended the hand of greed in the important or ordinary cases.

I'timād Khān.

After him comes I'timād Khān, known as Mulla Ṭāhir. He was one of the associates of Shujā'at Khān. He was promoted from the *manṣab* of two hundred to that of two thousand in absentia. He held the offices of *Mutaṣaddi* of Surat and the Dīwāni of Aḥmadabad for a long time. His reputation reached such a stage that he came to enjoy great respect in the Court of the Emperor. He was very strict in collecting the taxes of the State. Āgha Muḥammad Zamān a business man, who was his real brother, came from Iran with some mercantiles and stayed in the house of I'timād Khān. He did not want to exempt his brother from the payment of the (عشر) customs duties[2] on mercantile goods, which amounted to two hundred rupees. After apprising the goods he wanted to deposit the money on behalf of his brother. On being informed of this, Āgha Muḥammad Zamān stopped him from this and, paid the duty himself, but having been

1 *Khān Sāmān* or *Mir Sāmān* who was incharge of Household affairs ; see Qureshi, pp. 75-76. Dīwān Tān was responsible for the payment of salaries, *Ibid*., p. 75.

2 عشور (lit. one tenth). Ten percent duty was charged on mercantile goods.

displeased with his brother, he left for Aḥmadabad. I'timād Khān did not see the face of his brother till the moment of his death.

'Ināyat Allāh Khān

[P. 381] Another (honest person) is 'Ināyat Allāh Khān who belonged to one of the noble families of Kashmir. The lost respect of the people of Kashmir was restored as a result of his good services and honesty which he practised in the performance of his duties as a *Dīwān* and in other positions. Promotions in his *manṣab* and his position were made from day to day and the Emperor had a regard for him. One day a quarrel broke between the followers of Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān and those of 'Ināyat Allāh Khān about the site of pitching their respective tents. The parties came to blows (پرخاش). The Emperor ordered Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān to go to 'Ināyat Allāh and apologise for the behaviour of his followers.

Other honest officers

Other honest persons who had been brought up in the Imperial Household were the sons of Islām Khān, named Ashraf Khān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān, Ḥāji 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān who held the posts of the Bakhshīs and other important posts and worked with honesty and enjoyed a good reputation.

In the same category was Mukhliṣ Khān, the son of Ṣaf Shikan Khān, the grandson of Qiwām al-Dīn Khān. He was proficient in composing poetry and writing prose. He passed away from this world, having never been censured for non-performance of duties.

Another honest person was Amīr Khān, known as Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm Bahmani ; he was one of the conscientious workers of his days and was brought up in the Imperial Household.

Similar to them was Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān the son of Sarbarāh Khān Kotwal. He was counted among the honest men of his days.

'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān Buyutāt and Mir Aḥmad Khān, who were mentioned as brothers; they wore the mantle of honesty [P. 382] and had the reputation of having been strict in several cases.

Among the *manṣabdār* of lower rank, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Astarabādi, who was appointed as the Dīwān of Hyderabad, was a really honest man.

Besides the above mentioned persons, there were many others who had received their training under the care of the Emperor, and had earned the reputation of bearing these qualities. If I start giving their number I shall deviate from my purpose. No body can escape the censure of the tongue of the people. Only God Almighty is without fault.

Plague in the Imperial Camp

At this time ruinous epedemic plague which had broken out in the Deccan since the last few years and had spread up to Surat and Ahmadabad, reached Bijapur and the Imperial camp in all its intensity. The situation became such that, because every body found himself exposed to the danger of destruction, he did not hope that any one would come to nurse him or bury his body. The guest killing black cup of the sky wanted to destroy the very seed of human race in the field of the world, and the cold wind of destruction was so much after cutting down the trees of the lives of the living beings that it wanted to root out the tree of life from the surface of the world. The symptoms of the plague appeared in the form of glands equal in size to jujube or lote (عناب وکنار), in the arm pit or behind the ears or in the groin or a redness surrounded the pupil of the eye which was the sign of pestilential fever. (On the appearance of the symptoms) it became incumbent upon the heirs of the patient to arrange for shrouds and internment. Thousands of obscure and the unfortunate poor people died in the palaces and in the markets, and very few of them got shrouds and graves.

Among the important persons who fell victim to the

unexpected death and who packed their luggage of life (for departure) from this transitory world were, the slave of Awrangābādi [P. 383] Begum, Fāḍil Khān the Ṣadr, Muḥammad Rāḥ, who, under the name of the son of Jaswant Singh, was being brought up in the palace by the begums, besides other nobles. The following line gives the chronogram of the death of the group.

'It was a day of resurrection or the noise of the storm of epedemic.[1]

The epedemic, as has already been stated, broke out in the twenty seventh year of the reign and prevailed for seven or eight years. At last on the request of some of the leading courtiers, the Emperor moved from Bijapur in the direction of Aklūj. The pestilence abated to some extent.

1 قیامت بود یا شور و با بود The chronogram yields 1101 A.H.

Chapter VIII

DEFEAT AND EXECUTION OF SAMBHA

Regnal Year 34.

Corresponding to 1101, H. (1690 A. C.)

Muqarrab Khān captures Sambha and his family.

The Emperor sent Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam with a body of experienced persons and Amīrs in the direction of Bahādurgarh and Gulshanābād, to punish and destroy the ill-natured infidels and Fīroz Jung with a well equipped army, towards Rājgadh etc. to reduce the forts in its vicinity. Muqarrab Khān alias Shaykh Niẓām Hyderabadi was sent with some important servants to punish the ignoble Sambha. Every one of them endeavoured to distinguish himself in the performance of duties for which they were sent.

Muqarrab Khān, who was distinguished among the warriors of the Deccan, for his skill in fighting, reached the vicinity of Kolhapur with a view to reduce the fort of Barnāla. He despatched reliable and swift-footed spies in all directions. They were to collect information about the spreading of the infidel troops, particularly the abode (مکان) of the wicked Sambha who, in committing evils, was ten times worse than his father Siva, the hell dog, and who had taken [P. 384] the title of Sambha Sivā'i and had raised the standard of ill fame higher than his damned fore-fathers.

By chance that man of ignoble birth had left his original home, at Rāheri, and had taken shelter in the fort of Khelna. After satisfying himself about the condition of stores, and the settlement of the surrounding country, under the guidance of

adverse fortune, which kept him unaware of the approach of the Imperial forces, he went to bathe in the water of the Mān-Ganga, on the borders of the parganah of Sāngamner,[1] which is at a distance of one day's journey from the sea-coast, and is situated in a valley surrounded by high mountains with difficult passage. Here Kabkalas (Kavi Kaylas), the unclean Dīwān of that filthy dog had built a huge building embellished with paintings and other ornamentations, surrounded by garden full of fruit trees and flowers. Sambha with his wives and his son Sāhu and his other faithful followers in the company of Kabkalas and a body of two or three thousand horsemen was staying there after having taken a bath, unaware of the approach of the falcon of destiny. Relying on the fact that the building was surrounded by the hills and valleys also because the passages were difficult and full of dense thorny trees, he stayed there. Unlike his cruel father being addicted to wine and being fond of the society of beautiful women, he gave himself up to pleasure. The swift-footed courtiers of Muqarrab Khān informed him, of the worst types of pleasures in which Sambha was indulging and which have ruined many a misguided people.

To cut the thread of the life of that cruel and accursed fellow, not caring for his own life, nor minding the strength of the fort, Muqarrab Khān with two thousand selected and experienced horsemen and one thousand footmen archers left Kolhapur where he was camping, and which was at a distance of forty or fifty *kruhs* and advanced towards the place where that ill fated infidel was staying with audacity. His followers tried to stop him [P. 385] after giving him information about the arduous route and lofty hills like Amba Khāta etc., on the passage where thirty or forty men without arms could hold the road against a large army by simply throwing down stones. That brave and courageous warrior, began his march with the intention of fighting *Jihād* (holy war) in which he would become a martyr if the scales of fortune

1 Sangameshwar in the Ghats, see (Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 350.)

turned against him, and would be included in the group of the *Ghāzīs* if he overcame the infidel. He advanced by rapid marches on his difficult journey. In the most difficult places he would first of all dismount from his horse and march on foot and then his adherents followed suit. They advanced, like lightning, through that pass full of dense forests till they reached near that doomed and wretched fellow.

It is said that when the couriers of that filthy dog informed him of the approach of the Imperial army which was called Mughul army in the Marahta parlance; that heedless fellow intoxicated by the wine of pride and boastfulness thought that its approach in that fortified place was simply a whim and a false idea. Being led away by his false pride and the influence of wine in addition to it, he ordered the clipping off the tongues of the couriers and did not care to have his horse ready or get the intrenchment (مور چال) thrown. Thus, that brave warrior (Muqarrab Khān), along with his son and nephews and ten or twelve of his other relatives and two or three hundred quick-footed horsemen with drawn swords fell on those panick-stricken and doomed (خون گرفتگان) persons. When all was lost Sambha, who was not in his proper senses, thought of putting on his arms and defending himself with the help of the small number of troops left with him, as most of his soldiers had gone into hiding. Kabkalas, his wazir, who was known as one of his brave and faithful followers [P. 386] kept Sambhaji under the cover of his own body and advanced to meet the Imperial forces along with a party of famous Marahta fighters. At the very outset, an arrow struck his right hand and disabled him for further action. He fell from his horse and cried : "I am disabled." Sambhaji who was thinking of fleeing away, jumped down from his horse and cried : "O Pānji (father) ! I am also disabled." Four or five Marahtas were cut to pieces and the rest of the Sambha's troops fled away. Kabkalas was captured, while the ill fated Sambha took protection in the building of a temple, and hid himself there. After a search having

been made for him, he was found out. He made a vain effort to escape.[1] After some of his insignificant followers were killed, he was taken prisoner with his family including his son Sāhu, a boy seven or eight years of age. All his men and women, twenty six in number including his seven or eight years old son named Sāhu and two women from among his relatives, and other responsible servants, except his younger brother Ram Rajah who was kept as a prisoner in one of his forts, were seized and made captives. Their hands were tied, they were dragged by the hair and brought to the foot of the elephant of Muqarrab Khān. Although Sambha had shaved his beard, smeared his face, with ashes on and had changed his dress, he was indentified by the pearls he wore under his garments and by gold rings on the legs of his horse. Muqarrab Khān seated Sambah on his own elephant behind his back. The other captives were chained and seated on the backs of horses. He ordered the beating of the drum of victory, and returned victorious to his camp. He wrote to the Emperor what had happened.

[P. 387] Before the arrival of the despatch of Muqarrab Khān, the Emperor had learnt of this victory through the news-reporters and spies. This happy news spread rejoicings among the young and the old, from tent to tent. Soon after, the Emperor was informed of the coming of Muqarrab Khān with the prisoners. He ordered him to stay at a distance of two *Kruhs* from Aklūj[2] where he was camping. Lakhs of people, who could not be counted had come out to see those doomed and cruel persons. The Emperor further ordered that Ḥamīd al-Dīn, the deputy kotwal should receive him and bring them (prisoners) to the camp after putting wooden caps[3] on their heads and clothing them in funny dresses, as is the custom in Iran. They were to be brought in all disgrace and then paraded

1 دست و پائے لا حاصل زدن گرفت

2 Aklūj: At the south of the river Nira about half way between Bijapur and Poona.

3 تختۂ کلاہ : In Iran it was a custom that a wooden (buffoon) cap was placed on the head of the criminal.

on camels to be viewed by the spectators and other people. They were to be escorted with the beating of drums and the playing of trumpets. The sound of the beating of drums of rejoicing was heard by the people who had been anxiously waiting for the good news. The happy news removed the anxiety from the minds of so many *Lakhs* of Hindus and Muslims who were the victims of the excesses of that infidel and cruel rebel, and even the skies felt its soul nourishing effect. It is said that for four or five days after the news of the arrival of Muqarrab Khān had reached, the *purdah* observing women and men who had lost control because of joy could not sleep. They had come out for two stages to see the prisoners and offer thanks to God. In the towns and villages on the route by which they passed, and at other places where the news reached, drums of rejoicings were beaten. Wherever they reached the doors and roofs of the houses were full of happy people who saw the prisoners and had come out [P. 388] by way of enjoyment to look at them. For some time the nights were the nights of *Shab-e-barāt*[1] and the days were the days of *'Īd.*

At last, the captive along with his followers was produced before the Emperor at the time when he was holding his Court and Salāṭīns,[2] Amīrs and the rich and the poor from among the people had assembled. Orders were given that the accursed party should be brought to the foot of the throne. When the Emperor saw them, he came down from his throne and offered two *Rak'ats* by way of thanks to God.

It is said that the Emperor on seeing him, coming down from his throne to offer devotional prayers, the wretched Kabkalas, who was proficient in composing Hindi verse, and had all his limbs, his head, neck and hand firmly tied and could move only his eyes and tongue, composed a Hindi couplet extempore, which meant:

"O Rājah! on seeing you, the Emperor 'Ālamgīr, in spite of his pomp and dignity, could not sit on the throne. He lost

1 *Shab Barāt* 14 th night of Sha'bān is observed by the Muslims as a night of joy and the first day of Shawwāl is celebrated as *'Īd* (day of happiness).

2 *i. e.*, the princes and relatives of the Emperor.

control over himself and has come down from his throne to honour you."

All of them were sent to prison house. Some of the faithful officers of the Court advised the Emperor to grant them their lives and keep them in perpetual imprisonment and taking the *keys* of the different fortresses from Sambha's *Qi'ahdārs* appoint Imperial *Qil'ahdārs* in their places. The wretched fellows knew that ultimately their heads would be hung on the gallows of punishment and that even if they were kept in disgraceful confinement and deprived of the luxuries of life, every day would [P. 389] mean for them a new day of death. Both the wretched fellows (Sambha and Kabkalas) opened their tongues in showering abuses and making as offensive remarks as they could, about the officers and closely associated courtiers of the Emperor. As it was the will of God that the root of the tree of turbulance created by them (Marhatas) was not to be destroyed and the Emperor was to pass the rest of his life in conquering the fortresses and in his expeditions in the Deccan, his sense of honour did not allow him to give them a lease (of life). He ordered the cutting of the trees of the lives of those ignoble fellows and the destruction of the seed of disturbances. As he expected that the fortresses would be conquered in no time, he did not accept the advice about granting them their lives and demanding the keys of the fortresses. He ordered that the tongues of both the devils should be pulled out first, so that they might not utter any improper words, and then their eyes be taken cut of their sockets and then along with ten or eleven other persons, they should be put to death after being subjected to tortures. The skins of the heads of Sambha and Kabkalas were to be stuffed with straw and displayed in all known cities and towns of the Deccan with the beating of drums and trumpets and the playing of flutes. Verily, such is the retribution of the evil deeds of the rebellious,[1] wicked and oppressive fellows.

1 Some writers say that Sambha had used abusive words for the Prophet and demanded the hand of one of the daughters of the Emperor. For details see Faruqi, p. 383, also see Sarkar, (Vol. IV, p. 403.) who has given the version of a Hindu writer Ishwardas.

Sāhu, the seven years old son of that wretched man, along with a few other persons of that party, was granted his life. He was ordered to be placed in the (Gulālbār)[1] and suitable persons were appointed for his training. A *manṣab* of seven thousand was conferred on him. According to the advice of the leading courtiers, *Dīwān* and a *Bakhshi* were appointed for him. This action was tantamount to killing a snake and looking after its offspring or extinguishing a fire and keeping alive its embers. Its consequences after the death of the Emperor will be described in their proper place. It was [P. 390] as the couplet says :—

عاقبت گرگ زاد گرگ شود　　گرچه با آدمی بزرگ شود

"The cub of a wolf will grow up into a wolf.
Even if it is brought up in the company of man."

Some women, including the mother and daughters of Sambha were sent to the fort of Dawlatabad. The chronogram of the events was found to be :—

"Sambha along with his women and son became prisoner."[2]

This was approved by the Emperor and a *Khil'at* was conferred on (the composer).

During the days when the writer of these pages was staying with 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān Lāri in the mansion, near the fort of Rāheri which was constructed by Siva, he heard from the people in its neighbourhood that the unclean fellow (Sambha) was the root of evils in the world. The author is writing a few sentences about whatever he has come to know of the wicked deeds of Sambha.

The country side here resembles the region of hell, and the whole of it is covered with hills. Towards the end of the summer season water becomes very scarce and people suffer great hardships. Siva, the hell-dog, had constructed a *Bāoil* (big well) near his residential abode, and by its side he had built a seat,

1 گلال بار Gulal : The red powder thrown about and rubbeed on one anothers, body by the Hindus at the time of Holi festival.

2 بازن و فرزند سنبهاشد اسیر yield 1100 H.

like a carpet, cut out of hard stone and had also a piece of stone shaped like a pillow. He used to sit there and distributed fruits of the season to the children and wives of the *Sāhūkārs* and other poor women, who came there to draw water. He addressed them in the manner in which a person talks to his mother and sister. Later, when the wicked Sambha assumed the government, he also used to sit there. The women and the brides of the people had no other course but were forced to come to that *Bāoli* to draw water. They climbed the stairs of the *Bāoli* holding the pitchers full of water on their head with one hand, and the other hand on their sides. They had to pass by the seat of this wretched dog. [P. 391] The accursed devil stretched his hand in order to press the breasts of the women, as they came out of the well. The women would throw away their pitchers and free themselves after a struggle for one hour (گهری) from his clutches with great difficulty and insult. At last the people whom his father had settled in that locality migrated to the settlement of the Europeans which was nearby. Ultimately this miscreant had to suffer for his wicked deeds.

Regnal Year 35.

Corresponding to 1102 H.

As the world conquering Emperor had turned his invincible banner from Ajmer towards the Deccan to punish that ill-natured fighting infidel, and no respectable Prince or any dignified noble had secured such a notable victory, from the beginning of the troubles and the expedition against that ill-bred person (Siva) till the present year as had been gained by Muqarrab Khān, he (the Emperor) wanted to reward him for his commendable efforts and meritorious services with substantial promotion, by conferring on him the title 'Umdah and other favours to distinguish him among the nobles of the Court and those of the Deccan. Some of the nobles closely associated with the throne (مقربان پائے تخت) and old slaves brought up in the household, out of

rivalry and jealousy, advised the Emperor not to do that. They put forward political reasons and arguments and did not allow Muqarrab Khān to be rewarded according to his services. However, Muqarrab Khān, got a promotion of one thousand horse in the *manṣab* and was given the title of Khān-e-Zamān Fatḥ-i-Jung. He was also awarded fifty thousand rupees in cash, and a *Khil'at*, a horse and an elephant with gold and silver trappings and equipment, a dagger and *dhop* (a kind of sword) and ornamented sword-belt (پرتلا). Ikhlāṣ Khān, son of Muqarrab Khān, who was a *manṣabdār* of four thousand, and four thousand horse, [P. 392] was given a promotion of one thousand along with the title of Khān-e-'Ālam, Three or four other sons and nephews of Khān-e-Zamān were given the titles of Munawwar Khān, Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān, *etc*. They were also granted other fovours. All other *manṣabdārs* attached to Muqarrab Khān received promotions according to their ranks. The drums of victory were beaten for three days. The Emperor sent ten thousand rupees in charity to be distributed among the attendants (at the tomb) of Ḥaḍrat Sayyid Muḥammad Gesu Darāz.

About this time the news was received that the eyes of Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroze Jung were ailing and that he had lost sight. The Emperor was very much grieved and felt sorry for him. He sent an expert opthalmologist for the treatment of his eyes.

Chapter IX

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST MINOR CHIEFS AND FORTRESSES

Loss of Rajgarh

In the meantime the news of the loss of the fort of Rajgarh, which was the seat of government of Siva and Sambha, reached the Court. It had been captured after great efforts by the Imperial troops. Abu al-Khayr Khān, the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān, who, it was said, was brought up and had received training in the household of Bayrām Khān, Khān-e-Khānān, was given rank of three thousand, and had been appointed commandant of the fort. He had risen to the rank of a *Manṣabdār* of three thousand on account of his bravery and through his good fortune. For some time he was the commandant of the fort of Khaybar and had made remarkable efforts. In view of the fact that his father was famous for his ability to command forts, he had been appointed commandant of the fort of Rajgarh. When the news of the capture of Sambha spread in all directions, the army of the infidels surrounded the fort and showed intentions of attacking and conquering it. They asked Abu al-Khayr to evacuate the fort. That cowardly fellow, lost heart in spite of the fact that the troops of Firoze Jung were encamping in the vicinity, He thought that there was no chance of escaping from the enemy. He took a promise from him for the protection of his life and property and of the members of his family and escaped in the night with two or three litters carrying the women, with the rest of the females [P. 393] going on foot. Thus, taking with him a few covered baskets (پٹارہ) and some boxes containing the articles of the women including cash and ornaments, he came out

of the fort. The Marahtas, who were dispersed all around, were waiting for his exit. When they came to know of his coming out, in spite of the promise which they had given for the protection of his life and property, they captured the commandant of the fort on the way. They plundered all his cash and property and left Abu al-Khayr and his females in great disgrace. After two watches of the night had passed, he reached the camp of Fīroze Jung and expressed great regret and felt ashamed at his folly.[1] On being informed of this, the Emperor deposed him from his *manṣab* and confiscated his *jāgīr*, and ordered that he should proceed to Makkah and that a mace-bearer should escort him to the port of Surat.

The Emperor had a very great faith in Shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭīf, pious Shaykh (معارف آگاه) of Burhānpur. The mother of Abu al-Khayr Khān and all her relations were also the disciples of the Shaykh. She got a letter from him recommending pardon for the crimes of Abu al-Khayr, and in all humility, submitted it to the Emperor. He withdrew his orders, permitted Abu al-Khayr to return and restored his *manṣab*. These orders were sent to the Ḥākim (lit. administrator) of the fort of Surat. But, by the time, they reached there, Abu al-Khayr had already embarked on the ship which had raised her anchor.

Quarrel among the Officers of the Artillery

To be brief, the Emperor left Aklūj and marched in the direction of Kor Gāon[2] and Shikārpur in the vicinity of Poona. After the Emperor had stayed there for some time **[P. 394]** one day it was reported to him that Suhrāb Khān second Mīr Tuzuk had struck a certain self-respecting person of the artillery with his stick. Some attendants of the artillery, who were present at the spot, assembled and assumed an audacious attitude and insulted Suhrāb Khān. Ṣalabāt Khān, who was the first Mīr Tuzuk wanted to punish them, but the situation took a different turn and great tumult arose;

1 به آه و ناله ندامت دست افسوس می سائید

2 Other readings Kosh Gāon or Korah Gāon.

Muttalib Khān, who was one of his Mīr Tuzuks and was there, was insulted. Matters reached such a stage that the Imperial Court rose and strict orders were given to Mukhliṣ Khān, who on account of the death of his father, had become the Dārūghah Topkhānah to suppress the trouble. Ṣalābt Khān, protected by the shields and swords of his followers, somehow or other managed to reach his house. On the following day, fearing trouble he remained within his house. Next morning all the men of the Artillery, joined by the jobless Mughuls, unemployed adventurers and the vagabonds of the market, assembled in a crowd, Rūḥ Allāh Khān according to orders, tried to make understand the trouble creators the situation and also warn them and with great difficulties escorted Ṣalābat Khān from his house to the presence of the Emperor. The disorder was suppressed with much difficulty. Some of the officers of the army were degraded from their *manṣabs* and others fell under displeasure and were forbidden audience before the Emperor.

Ri ing of the Jāts : Āghur Khān's Death.

From the despatch of Agra it was learnt that Āghur Khān, under orders, was coming to the Emperor from Kabul. Near Agra the 'āts attacked him and his party, and plundered some of the carriages (ارابه) in its rear and carried away some of the women. On knowing of it Āghur Khān, chased them [P. 395] and reached their *Garhi.*[1] After great efforts he liberated the women and sent them back, to vindicate his honour, he bravely besieged it. In the course of the siege a ball from a gun struck him and he died along with his son-in-law. The former Khān Jahān Bahādur Kukaltāsh was deputed by the Emperor to punish the Jāts. When he reached the spot, he made great efforts and tried his best to destroy the *Garhi* of Sansani[2] and other fortified places of the infidels. But the expedition did not conclude satisfactorily. As the Emperor, owing to his (Khān Jahān) former slackness in the performance of duties in the past, was not happy with him

1 *Garhi*—a small fortress.

2 Sasni according to a manuscript Ed. Sasni is not far form Aligarh.

(Khān-e-Jahān), he deputed Prince Bedār Bakht to uproot the Jāts. Khān-e-Jahān was transferred to the *Ṣūbehdāri* of Bengal. While still on his way to Bengal, he was deposed and re-appointed as *Ṣūbehdār* of Lahore. Again, he was sent to another province. Thus he passed three or four years in going from one province to another. Wherever he went, he was unable to gain the benefit of the income of his *Jāgīr* and thus spent all his money. Ultimately he was called to the Court.

Some Administrative Regulations

About this time, orders were issued that the Hindus were not to ride on palanquins or on Arab or 'Irāqi horses without a permit.

Controllers of price (نرخيان) were being appointed by the Emperor in all the cities upto this year. The learned 'Ulama, however, informed him that the fixing of rates was against the *shari'ah* and the owner was entitled to sell his goods [P. 396] on what ever price, he liked, he issued orders to discontinue the control of prices throughout the kingdom and no controller was to be appointed henceforth.

Another order was issued that the statements about the *manṣabdārs* appointed by the Emperor, which formerly, after being prepared, remained with the *manṣabdārs* were now to be kept in the offices of the Bakhshis. The Muster rolls, which used to be kept separately, were now to be attached to them.

Reform of Audit Rules

In former days at the time of the auditing of accounts, most of the *manṣabdārs* were found in arrears of state dues. For this reason *Saẓāwals* (Revenue officers) were now appointed to audit the accounts. The *manṣabdārs* by spending money managed to escape the audit of their accounts. Subsequently, a small balance having been left in the treasury and a large number of *manṣabdārs*, having been appointed from among the Marahtas and the Deccanis, the old slaves (خانه زاد) of the Household in most cases, could not get any thing from *jāgīrs* for four or five years. When Mūsawi

Khān[1] was appointed the *Dīwān-e-tan*, it was decided that an agreement was to be taken from the newly appointed *Manṣabdārs* to the effect that after their appointment, they could not claim any payment till they actually got the *Jāgīr*. The intervening period between their getting the *Jāgīr* and the actual payment was to be written off at the time of auditing the account. As this unfair measure was attributed to Mūsawi Khān, he became notorious for this innovation. In order to remove this defect, a rule was made that immediately after the confirmation, the newly appointed person, was given a post in the army. On the request of Mūsawi Khān, it was decided that the place of posting was not to be mentioned till he had received a *Jāgīr* [P. 397] unless he chose some position by himself. In spite of the agreement about not demanding the salary by a *manṣabdār* from the date of his appointment, the amount was mentioned to the government record. The *manṣabdārs*, therefore, repeatedly reminded the accounts department for the settlement of their arrears, the *Mustawfis*, however, turned a deaf ear to their requests and did not settle the account. In case, any *manṣabdār*, by his personal efforts or by engaging a compassionate (دل سوز) pleader or securing a patron, and after running about for seven or eight months and spending a large amount of money, was able to prove his case, he could get only a fourth part of his dues. However, in course of time all the regulation about *muḥāsabah* fell in abeyance.

Regnal Year 36

(*Corresponding to 1103 H.*)

The Emperor encamps at Gulga

In the beginning of this year or towards the middle, the Emperor moved from Korgaon and Shikārpur towards Bedar. He stayed there for some time and then moved in the direction of Gulga, in the territory of Bijapur about a day's march from that city. He ordered the pitching of his camp at Gulga.

1 Mūsa Khan in some manuscripts.

As the evil days of Prince Mu'aẓẓam came to a close and the time of his acquiring the wealth and dignity approached, the Emperor wanted to know what was in the heart of the Prince, by making a show of his favours on him. One day he sent an inkstand with its accessories and a pen-knife, to the Prince through a trusted eunch. To send a knife or a big or small dagger to a self-respecting prisoner was against all rules. The Emperor instructed the eunuch, [**P. 398**] that in case the Prince, after opening the inkstand refused to keep the pen-knife with him, he should say that it was sent intentionally; if the Prince kept the pen-knife without any hesitation, he should take notice of that and inform the Emperor accoidingly. When the eunuch, according to orders, took the inkstand to the Prince, he after showing due respects opened the inkstand. He saw the pen-knife but he did not touch it and said: "Perhaps it has been sent by mistake." The eunuch said: "By way of special favour and kindness, the Emperor has personally placed it in the inkstand and told me about it." The Prince again offered his respects and kept the knife with him. When the eunuch came back and informed the Emperor what he had seen, he said: "I know about the dignity of my sons. On a slight displeasure of His Majesty (اعلى حضرت), I had resigned from my *manṣab* and taken to a life of retirement. I had kept the grudge in my heart and at last, I behaved rudely in retaliation for that."

After some time one day the Emperor, in his own handwriting, sent to the Prince the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet saying that: "A person who knew the *Qur'ān* by heart, whatever his crime, should not be kept in perpetual confinement." The Prince, who had a sound knowledge of *Ḥadīth* and knew by heart several thousand *Ḥadīthes*, after finding out the favourable intention of the Emperor, wrote in reply another *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "One, who knew the *Qur'ān* by heart, should not be kept in perpetual

1 The first day of Muḥarram of the year 1103 H. fell on 14 September, 1691.

confinement, but a father, in spite of due respect for the *Qur'ān*, could keep his son in perpetual confinement." After receiving this reply, the Emperor began to show greater regard for the Prince. He cancelled the order prohibiting the cutting of his hair. Some other rigours of the punishment were also removed and there was now some hope of his release from confinement.

[P. 399] Since ancient times certain cities, towns and forts had Hindi names. Their last letter (ہ) is pronounced as (ا) e.g. in Malwa (مالوہ), Bangala (بنگالہ) Parnala (پرنالہ). Mīr Hādi, known as Faḍā'il Khān was the head of the department of correspondence (دارالانشا), he brought to the notice of the Emperor the fact that in Hindi script, the last letter (ہ) is neither written nor pronounced. In Hindi the letter (ا) alif is also not written. Out of the thirty letters of the Persian alphabet, thirteen i. e. (الف) (حا) (خا) (ذال) (زا) (صاد) (ضاد) (طا) (ظا) (عین) (غین) & (قاف) are neither written nor spoken in Hindi language and are not included in the Hindi alphabet In place of (عین) (الف) and (همزہ) they have a letter which is written and spoken. This letter is not used in the middle or end of a word. There are ten or twelve vowels in Hindi language[1] and words are made by using them. One of the vowels is called (کانا) which is always used at the end of the word. They write it in form of (الف) and they pronounce it like (الف). The Persian writers have mistaken these *Alif* for (ہ) ; they should be written with *Alif*. This was approved by the intelligent Emperor. It was ordered for the future that they should write (ا) for (ہ) as for example (Bangāla, Malva, Baglāna بنگالا، مالوا، بگلانا) etc. One who is well versed in Hindi will appreciate this change.

Mukhliṣ Khān was transferred from the post of the *Dārūghah* of Topkhānah.

Rāja Rām starts plundering activities.

[P. 400] It was reported that Rām Rāj, the brother of the hell dog and executed Sambha, who actually was kept

1 a, ā, i, ī, o, u, ū, and nasal sounds.

in confinement by the latter, had been raised to the throne (Rāj) of his father and brother by the Marahta chiefs, and that he had collected a large army and had come out of his fort with evil intentions. He had sent *Khil'ats* and gold bangles to the different Marahta chiefs and commandants of the forts, and had tried to conciliate the leaders of the army. Like his father and brother, he had sent his important officers to plunder and ravage the Mughul territories and capture the fortresses.

Submission of the Portuguese.

Previously while writing the history of Shāh Jahān, I had made reference to the activities of the Christians who had settled on the sea-coast. Now I am giving an account of them.

The officers appointed by the king of Portugal had constructed forts near the sea-ports, founded settlement and built defencive positions near the forts and towns on the sea-coast. They tried to look after their people and did not subject them to hardships. For the Muslims they had established separate colonies and appointed their leader from among themselves who acted in place of a *Qāḍi* and decided their petty cases, and the matters relating to the marriage etc. were left to him. But the Muslims were not allowed to say their prayers or call the *Adhān.* If any unfortunate traveller happened to pass through their territory, he faced no difficulty but he could not offer his prayers without undergoing some risk. Contrary to the practice of the English, they did not plunder any ships except those which did not pay their dues according to rules enforced by them. They, however, plundered the ships owned by the Arabs or the people of Masqaṭ because of an old enmity between them, they plundered each other's ships and whenever they got a chance they captured a ship. They also considered a defective ship coming from a distant port [P. 401] to be their legitimate victim. One of the acts of tyranny committed by their officers was that if any one of their subjects died a natural death, leaving behind a minor son having no elder brother they considered the child as the property of their king. They

took him to one of the churches which they had built everywhere, and the Padre,[1] who was their religious leader instructed him in the Christian faith and thus they converted him irrespective of the fact that he was the son of a Muslim Sayyid or a Hindu Brahmin. They also made him serve as a slave. In the 'Ādil Sh̲āhi Konkon, on the sea-shore they have the fortified town named Goa which is their seat of government. A permanent Captain is stationed there on behalf of the Portuguese king. They had also built other sea ports and a number of fertile villages (حرحاصل). Besides it, towards the south at a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles from the port of Surat up to the port of Manbi (Bombay) occupied by the English, and to the borders of the Abyssinian[2] territory called Niẓām Sh̲āhi Konkon, they had built seven or eight forts, in the rear of the hills of Buglāna with strong defences, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulsh̲anābād. The forts included those of Daman and Basi (Bassein) which they had taken from Bahādur Sh̲āh, the king of Gujrat by giving him pledges. They had strengthened them and had built villages round them which were in a flourishing condition. Their control extended over a territory of forty or fifty *kruhs* in length but in breadth it was not more than one or one and a half *kruhs*. They cultivated the land near the foot of the hills and grew valuable crops such as sugar-cane, pineapple and rice. They had coco-nut and betel-nut trees in abundance, from which they obtained a large revenue. In all the villages they had given currency to a silver coin called '*ash̲rafi*' [P. 402] which was equivalent to nine annas. Besides the *ash̲rafi* they had issued copper coins called '*Buzurg*', four of which were exchanged for one *fulūs* in the market. The Imperial orders were not enforced there. Villages were given to girls in dowry at the time of their marriage. They leave the internal and external management of the house in the charge of their wives, the women have complete domination over their husbands. Their religion allows only one wife, a second wife and slave girls are not permitted.

1 Padre—Portuguese for a priest.

2 Refers to the Island of Janjira occupied by Sidi Yāqūt.

Their wicked deeds were reported to the Emperor. The Captain in the vicinity of Niẓām Sh̲āhi Konkan was a subordinate of their Captain in Goa and as such was less powerful than him. Orders for their destruction and expulsion from the mountainous region with the help of the Abyssinians, were issued to Mu'tabar K̲h̲ān, the Fawjdār of Gulsh̲anābād. He belonged to the Nawā'iṭah tribe and was a relation of Mulla Aḥmad Bijāpuri whose account has been given under the reign of Sh̲āh Jahān and who was famous for his bravery and experience. Without waiting for the help (from the Abyssinians) Mu'tabar K̲h̲ān collected a large army with necessary equipment for capturing the forts. He ravaged their territories and made a surprise attack on one or two of their small fortresses which were not well defended and made an assault on them. They were weak in fighting in the open field and had no arms except a musket and a sword of the shape of small spike, and did not keep horses. They fled in the very first attack and most of them took shelter in the forts of Daman and Bassein. A number of the Europeans[1] with their women and children were taken prisoner. The two forts vacated by them were occupied by Mu'tabar K̲h̲ān. This created great fear [P. 403] and consternation among those people. All those who had lost courage and had assembled in the forts of Daman and Bassein began to fortify them and erect towers and redoubts.

The news reached the Captain of Goa, who was considered the Viceroy (نایب مستقل پرتگال). These people considered themselves to be the masters of the seas and in naval warfare no other nation had made greater efforts than they had done. The Governor, in all humility and submissiveness, wrote a petition to the Emperor and his associates. It said : "We are your unpaid servants and on your behalf we suppress the mischief of the pirates on the sea-coast. We are serving you by populating a tract of worthless land on the sea-coast which was given by the former rulers and governors to our predecessors. If this is against

1 The term فرنگی (lit. Franks) was used for Europeans in general.

your august wishes, we who are nomads and have our real abode on the water of the sea, will embark our ships with our bag and baggage, and as the orders of our king prohibit us from involving ourselves into a war with the Emperor of India, we will engage ourselves in patrolling the sea (محافظت دریا)." As they had sent money, presents and gifts for the courtiers and nobles, they suggested to the Emperor that the hive of the wasps on the sea should not be disturbed until our hearts are not free from settling the affair of the land and uprooting the infidels. Thereupon the Emperor ordered Mu'tabar Khān to forgive the crime of those people and to release the European prisoners.

Through the news writers (اخبار نویسان) of the province of Multan, information reached the Court that Sulaymān Shāh of Iran who had ruled over it for thirty years, had died, and in his place Sulṭān Ḥusayn had ascended the throne. Following the traditions of the Faith-protecting Emperor, [P. 404] he (Sulṭān Ḥusayn) had ordered the closure of all the brothels, the gambling dens and music houses as well as other centres of evil.

Shāh 'Ālam's sons released.

Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn and Prince Muḥammad 'Azīm, sons of Shāh 'Ālam (Prince Mu'aẓẓam) were released from imprisonment, and *ma'ṣabs* and dignities of both of them were restored. He (the Emperor) ordered the pitching of tents for both of them near Gulāl Bār.[1] After some days their restoration was confirmed. The Emperor placed a park of artillery and an army under Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn and sent him in the direction of Konkon to punish the cruel people there. Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm was to stay at the Court. It was also ordered that he could sign on behalf of the Emperor.

Asad Khān sent against Chinji

Reports reached the Court about the revolt of the chiefs (مرزبان) of Chinji and Chinjāwar in the territory of Bijapur.

1 گلال بار The part of the Imperial camp reserved for the residence of the Emperor himself.

They were notorious rebels and always had their treasury full. In fact they had been apointed by Sambha and their ancestors were stated to have been the vassals of Ram Raja of Vijaynagar in earlier times and had always revolted against the rulers of Bijapur. Relying on the strength of two or three forts which they always kept in their occupation they became more audacious. Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh was sent against them under the guardianship (اتالیقی) of Jumdat-al-Mulk Asad Khān with I'tiqād Khān, known as Dhu al-fiqār Khān, as commander of the advance guard. Bahrahmand Khān was appointed as *Nā'ib* of Jumdat-al-Mulk.

'Abd al-Razzāq Lāri appointed as Fawjdār.

[P. 405] 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān Lāri, whom Firoze Jung had kept for a time under his custody and conciliated, was appointed Fawjdār of 'Ādil Shāhi Konkon which lies on the sea-coast near the European territory of Goa. A *manṣab* of four thousand, three thousand horse, was conferred on him and he was sent to take up his new post. His son 'Abd al-Qādir, was detained at the Court. [P. 405] 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān had accepted the post against his will, and by his words, he, frequently showed the intention of returning to his home ; his behaviour towards the despatch-writers was very harsh. Reports reached the Court that 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān wanted to escape to his home on board a ship. Orders were issued that his son 'Abd al-Qādir was to be arrested. 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān was transferred from there and mace-bearers were appointed to bring him to the Court. When the news reached 'Abd al-Razzāq, he had no money and could not arrange for the transport of his baggage. He therefore burnt his tents and surplus goods and arrived at the Court alone in all haste before the mace-bearers could carry out the commands. On his arrival, the Emperor showered favours on him, and his son was handed over to him. 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān's *manṣab* was raised and he became a *manṣabdār* of five thousand, five thousand horse. He was now appointed the Fawjdār of Rāheri.

Tax on melons.

From the days, the Mughuls had occupied the Deccan, the revenue on melons, which were grown in the sandy-soil along the banks of the rivers by the poor and the destitute during the summer, were exempt from taxes. Not a single pice was realised by the Imperial officers and Jāgīrdārs, and no entry about them was made in the papers. About this time Mahram Khān, known as Khwājah Yaqūt, was appointed Dārūghah of the Imperial gardens. He came to know about the non-entry (عدم‌ضبط) of the tax on the melon fields along the banks of rivers. Owing to his personal wickedness, he reported that the revenue from melon fields amounting to a substantial sum was not realized and went waste, which meant a great loss to the State. Orders were issued to revenue officers (دیوانیان) to realise the revenue from melon fields. [P. 406] Owing to this innovation many poor *kahārs*[1] were deprived of their source of living for two or three months. Separate *Aḥdīs* and *manṣabdārs* were appointed to collect this tax on the basis of *Jarīb* (a land measure). This provided a new weapon of extortion for unscrupulous officers and *'Āmils*. In this way they collected money for the government as well as for themselves. For this reason people, who were engaged in this calling (شغل) and earned a paltry income for their families, left it altogether. Another innovation with evil results was that Maḥram Khān ordered the gates of the Imperial gardens to be locked which were formerly opened for public recreation and this deprived the people of the pleasure of sight-seeing and in going there for a walk. However the gates of the gardens were opened for those who could pay something to the wardens or flattered them.

Verse:

نیکوان رفتند و سنتها بماند ظالمان رفتند و لعنتها بماند

(The virtuous have gone but good traditions from them have remained.

Similarly the wicked have left but curses.)

1 Kahārs were palanquin bearers and porters.

His other activities (سخنہا) which became the cause of the dismissal of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and his imprisonment will be described at their proper place.

Daughters of Abu al-Ḥasan married.

Abu al-Ḥasan had four unmarried daughters. It was proposed to give the eldest one in marriage to some one, but every proposal was rejected by her. She, however, sent a request to the Emperor that she would consider it an honour if she were admitted into the Imperial harem after *shara'i* marriage for pouring water on the Emperor's hands at the time of ablutions and that she would keep herself aloof from all the pleasures of the world. A daily allowance for her was fixed and she was sent in honour to live with her father. One of them, was married [**P. 407**] to Sikandar the ex-king of Bijapur and was allowed to live with him in prison; the third was married to 'Ināyet Khān, son of Asad Khān. The fourth was married to a young man belonging to *Naqshbandi silsilah*, which was not liked by Abu al-Ḥasan.

Death of Rūḥ Allāh Khān.

Rūḥ Allāh Khān, the Mīr Bakhshi, who had inherited the quality of understanding the temperament of the Emperor, and who tried to serve the people, died. The chronogram of his death is "*Rūḥ dar Tan-i-Malik namānd*"[1]. Bahrahmand Khān, who was *Tan Bakhshi* and in addition held the post of Nā'ib Wazīr, was appointed Mīr Bakhshi. Mukhliṣ Khān who held the post of *'Arḍ Mukarrar* was appointed *Tan Bakhshi* and Sharīf Khān was made *'Arḍ Mukarrar*.[2]

During this year, the news of the release of Prince Mu'aẓẓam, led to the rumours about the evil intentions of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam. As a precautionary measure, the Prince was ordered to march from Bankapur towards Wākin Kherah, which lay on the

1 روح درتن ملک نماند yields 1103.

2 See Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, p. 49.

route of the Imperial army. Prince A'ẓam, with a well equipped force and with great pomp and show, reached near the Imperial army. Through scandal mongers the news of the evil intentions of the Prince passed from one tent to another. At the same time a few unguarded remarks had been made by the Prince and these also reached the ears of the faithful associates of the Emperor. Some absurd remarks ascribed to the Emperor were also spreading in the army of the Prince. The Prince sent a petition:

"Though the desire of being blessed by the kissing of your feet is beyond description, yet as I am ordered to reach my destination as soon as possible, I fear, if the soldiers of this slave are allowed to mingle with those of the Imperial army [P. 408] they will meet and stay with their friends and relatives and will show slackness in moving out. I am waiting for your further orders which I shall obey."

In reply a *farmān* in filial (فرزند نوازی) spirit was issued saying: "We are also very anxious to see our successful son, but as the entry of the light of our eye (beloved son) along with soldiers (in our army) is impolitic, we will go out alone for the purpose of hunting and you, also come out with both of your sons and a party of four or five hundred horsemen. We will bid you farewell immediately."

The Emperor issued orders that a small hunting tent should be taken out and pitched in a low lying tract of land, so that the army should not be visible from there. He gave secret orders that Ba<u>kh</u>s<u>h</u>is, Dārū<u>gh</u>ahs of the personal staff, the artillery, mace-bearers and the body guards,[2] should select, very few but experienced and well armed persons to accompany the Emperor. Openly, however, he issued instructions that people in large number should not accompany him. He posted Qarāwals

1 داروغه جلو خاص

2 مردم چوکی خاص

(Scouts) of the artillery, to guard the route of the army of the Prince and the surroundings of the Imperial camp in a way that even the wind might not enter it without orders. The Mīr-e-Tuzuks were ordered not to allow the public and spectators to approach the camp. When the Emperor reached the Imperial tent he sent orders to the Prince to the effect that the space in the Imperial Court (دولت خانہ) and the camp being limited, the Prince should not bring with him more than three hundred horsemen.

The Prince had hardly covered some distance when an order was sent to him that he should not bring more than two hundred horsemen. When the Prince had proceeded a few steps further he received a message, through a *chelah*, whom he knew, that he should not bring more than one hundred horsemen with him. Repeated orders were sent purporting the same purpose. When the Prince reached near the royal tent, Jamāl the personal servant (چیلہ) [P. 409] of the Emperor brought the message :

"The animals which I have brought within the range of my arrow would run away owing to the number of the people. The space in the Imperial camp is limited, you should not bring more than three personal guards. You should send back the rest of your followers."

In short the unfailing scheme of the Emperor like orders of the Fate had so favourably succeeded that when the Prince with his two sons came near the Emperor, the musket with its fuse ready for the game, was now in hands. Owing to the arrangements of the Mīr Tuzuk not more than two body guards, could enter the Court, and there was no body to hold the reins of his (Prince's) horse. At this time the colour of the Prince's face changed, because he now found himself in the trap of destruction. Mukhtār Khān brought orders that all the three should come in the presence of the Emperor after disarming themselves. The Prince was very much terrified, but Mukhtār

Khān consoled him and took them to the Emperor with him. When presented, the Prince offered his obeisance and after going thrice round the Emperor presented his gifts. The Emperor, out of kindness, embraced the Prince affectionately, and handing over the gun to him, asked him to shoot the game. Then he took him to his prayer room (تسبیح خانه) and allowed him to sit down. He kindly inquired from the Prince some details about his affairs. As the rumour had spread that the Prince had put on armour under his garment, the Emperor ordered a cupful of *argajah*[1] to be brought in order to sooth the nerves of the Prince and to bring down the temperature and then he asked him to open the tie of his upper garment. The Emperor, then applied the *argajah* on his body with his own hands. After that, taking his personal sword from the scabbard, which was lying near the foot of his throne, the Emperor said that it had come down to him form Firdaws Makāni (*i. e.*, Bābur)[2]. Then he gave it to the Prince. The hands of the Prince were trembling. After offering his respects, the Prince expressed the desire that he wanted it to remain with [**P. 410**] the Emperor, his father, who, however, as a token of favour gave it back to the Prince. The Emperor, said to the Prince a few words by way of advice and warning, hinting in his speech that he (the Prince) had fallen in his hands but that he (the Emperor) had released him. He added that the news (of his arrest) must have reached his followers and they must have fallen in great disappointment and sorrow, so he should go back soon. He was sent off with a *khil'at* and gift of jewels.

It is said that Jāni Begum the chief wife of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, as well as his other Begums and maid-servants of his palace had lost all hopes (of the safety of the Prince) and were engaged in weeping and wailing, until the receipt of the news of his departure (from the Court). On the receipt of the news of his release from that calamity,

1 ارگجه An aromatic preparation applied to the body, to produce soothing effects.

2 Firdaws Makāni is the epithet used for Bābur and not Humāyūn as has been stated in the Urdu Translation of the Book.

original colour of their faces returned. They say that whenever a *farmān* was issued to the Prince under the signature of the Emperor, and its contents could not be known through the wakīl, his mind was so greatly perturbed that his original colour did not return to his face until he had ridden his horse to receive it and learnt about its subjects.

Emperor warns a Darwi<u>sh</u> against recommending cases of Defaulters.

On account of his trustworthiness and confidence, Mirza Yār 'Ali the *Dārū<u>gh</u>ah Dāk* (superintendent of mail) discharged his duties with great honesty and integrity, consequently news-writers (سوانح نگار) of those territories and towns had secured so much importance and credit for good work that they had become almost the senior partners (شریک غالب) of the Ṣūbahdārs and Fawjdārs of those territories. During those days Muḥammad Bāqir, the news-writer of the port of Surat, had been transferred because of some fault. A great Sayyid and scholar of that town[1] Sayyid Sa'd Allāh who was one of the learned men who had worn a *<u>kh</u>irqah*,[2] lived in retirement but was known throughout the seven climes and his letters of recommendations carried great influence with the Emperor, who always sent their replies, under his signature and with due honour. [P. 411] The Sayyid was rather liberal in recommending the cases of the needy persons. He wrote to the Emperor recommending the restoration of Muḥammad Bāqir as well as one of the physicians (طبیب) of Dār al-<u>Sh</u>ifa who had been dismissed. When the case was submitted before the Emperor, he restored, both of them to their posts because of his regard for the Sayyid. But contrary to the practice of sending replies to his letters under his signature, the Emperor ordered a *farmān* to be sent saying:

"Though according to the recommendations of that eminent Sayyid, we have restored both the officers to their posts, yet being

1 سیادت و فضیلت پناه

2 *<u>Kh</u>irqah* is a cloak generally worn by darwi<u>gh</u>es and Ṣūfis. The author wants to emphasise that he was an eminent *Ṣūfi <u>sh</u>aykh*.

a learned *darwish*, you should recommend the cases of the learned persons and the *darwishes* only. What connection can there be between you and these persons who have adopted the professions of cruelty. Though they are hard-working and honest in the performance of their duties, yet they resort to tyranny in serving their own interests. Why should an act be done which is contrary to the clear injunction of the *Qur'ān*: helping tyrant means partnership in his tyranny?"

As the Deccan campaign had prolonged and the greater part of the Timurid treasure had been spent, only a small balance (of cash) was left and the number of the claimants (ارباب طلب) had risen beyond reckoning. During these days, when Rūḥ Allāh Khān, while submitting the list of new appointments, showed great audacity in spite of orders prohibiting new appointments, one day the Emperor in a surly mood said: "We have repeatedly declared that we no longer want any new servant. Why do you not refuse the people who approach you?" Rūḥ Allāh Khān in reply submitted: "The Empire of Hindustān, a gift of God, is a refuge for the rulers of the seven climes. It is beyond all dictates of obedience to tell a word of despair to the people who are in need, it would be an act of disrespect. Our duty is to make a request but you have the authority of accepting or rejecting it." Later, when Mukhliṣ Khān became Bakhshi, [P. 412] he wanted to open the door of patronage wider than Rūḥ Allāh Khān on the people of God and showed greater audacity than him in submitting the papers for orders. The Emperor warned them two or three times but it was of no avail. Ultimately one day in a surly mood, the Emperor gave a strict warning to the Bakhshis particularly to Mukhliṣ Khān. Rebuking them he said: "We have told you several times that we do not want any new servants. You do not understand the difficulties (قباحت) and are continuously disobeying the orders of your master." He rebuked them so severely that both the Bakhshis returned to their houses greatly disheartened. They told their Pishkārs (secretaries)

to reject the applications of the new persons and not to issue the new letters of appointments. Thus the door of efforts for service was closed on the needy people, and the Bakhshīs. when they used to come to the Court, stood motionless. The people who were running about after jobs for years were disappointed and began to nurture evil intentions in their heads and there were general lamentations (نوحه) in all the tents. Ḥāji Muḥammad Anwār, who was well versed in rational and traditional learning, and on whose face, the signs of greatness were apparent reached the Court and presented himself before the Emperor. He asked him whether any one from among his ancestors had served on any post at the Court. The Ḥāji replied that it was his low-mindedness which had made him take up a job. The Emperor was pleased by his upright answer and gave him a suitable *manṣab*, along with the title of 'Khān' and appointed him *pishkār* of Mukhliṣ Khān Bakhshi. He declined to accept the title. If I were to describe his honest dealings and good work in detail, it will make the account lengthy. As long as he held the office, he performed his duties with a good reputation. In the end he resigned his post and got permission to visit the Holy Places. The Emperor showed great favour to him and [P. 413] asked him to distribute on his behalf also a few lakhs of rupees among the attendants at Makkah. After performing his pilgrimage to the two *harams*,[1] and distributing the money he returned, but he fell ill and died at Aurangabad before he could attend the Court. The Emperor expressed his sorrow over his death.

Fort of Parnaloh recaptured by the Marhatas

In the meantime, news reached through the *harkārahs* (runners), that the forces of Ram Rajah had spread throughout the country side to ravage and plunder the Imperial territories and to recapture the forts which had been occupied by the Imperial

1 (حرمين) (lit two sanctuaries) i.e.. the Ka'bah at-Makkah and the Tomb of the Prophet at al-Madinah.

troops. The famous sky-high fort of Parnalah, which was in the territory of Bijapur and had been captured by the Imperial troops after great efforts, passed into the hands of the men of Ram Rajah with little difficulty. The Imperial commandant was informed of it when all was lost. He tried his best but he was wounded and taken captive.

It was reported that Ram Rajah intended to go to the help of the wardens (سرز بانان) of Chinji and was mobilising his forces for that purpose. On the receipt of the news, a dust of gloom covered the mind of the Emperor. For some time he pondered over it; then he said to Bahrahmand Khān : "It is not Parnalah which is lost, but Bijapur is lost. Now we should very soon make preparations to make amends for it." He wanted to send Bahrahmand Khān with a well equipped army. Necessary papers (muster rolls etc.) for the array of the army were prepared. Bahrahmand Khān appointed the officers (سرداران) of his advance guard and set out with his army. In the meantime it was reported that Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn had reached the foot of the fort of Parnalah and was preparing to lay siege to it. It was decided, as a matter of policy, that the Emperor personally should march to Bayrampuri[1] and despatch from there [P. 414] forces to punish the cruel infidels. He consoled the Bakhshīs by allowing them to submit papers for orders as previously. Thus the night of the misfortune of the unemployed was changed into the dawn of hope.

Regnal year 37.

Corresponding to 1104 H.[2]*/(1692-3 A. C.)*

In this year orders were issued to unfurl the invincible flags and proceed in the direction of Bayrampuri. When, owing to the

1 Birampuri—Elphinstone calls it Birampuri near Pundharpur on the Bhima, a tributary of the Krishna. The survey map of India has 'Brumpoore' lower down the river than Pundharpur and south west of Sholapur.

2 The year 1104 commenced on Friday, 2 October 1692.

arrival of the Emperor, the devastated country-side became populated and flourishing, he ordered the setting up of a cantonment there. He also directed that its name was to be changed into Islāmpuri. The Amirs started to construct buildings and the poor people their thatched houses (*chhappars*.)

The Qāḍi Shaykh al-Islām, as has already been stated, had acquired permission to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah. After he had reached the Holy Places, (حرمین شریفین) he performed two successive Ḥajjs and distributed money among the Sayyids and other people of those places. He constructed there houses for perpetual charity and returned. As the news of his arrival at the fort of Surat reached the Court, orders were given that he should be brought there with full honours. The Qāḍi Shaykh al-Islām willingly or unwillingly reached the Court and the Emperor showed all respects to him and applied perfumes with his own hand on his clothes. He asked him to accept his previous *manṣab* with suitable promotions, and the office of the Ṣadr and whatever other post he wanted. That virtuous follower of truth, however, declined the offer. When the Emperor repeated the offer, he had no alternative, so to evade the issue, he said:

"I hope that I will be allowed to go back to my home, so that on reaching Ahmadabad, [P. 415] I may visit (زیارت) the tombs of the pious persons (بزرگان) there and stay for some time with my family and help some of the indigent relatives. I will come back to resume service whenever I am ordered."

His request was granted and the Emperor allowed him to go.

After conferring a *Khil'at* on him for the conquest of Parnalah, Rajgadh and other forts forces were now posted at different places. Orders were issued to Firoz Jang, who was under instructions cantoning at Bahādur Gadh, that he should leave his camp and proceed personally to punish the infidels and conquer the forts in that area.

Marhata chiefs oppose the Imperial forces.

After the capture and execution of Sambha, the hell-dog, many Marhata chiefs, had spread in the country side under instructions from Ram Rajah to devastate the old and newly acquired territories. They were hovering round the Imperial armies, making their activities known and behaving in an audacious manner. They had performed avaricious deeds (کارهائے دست بستہ), a detailed account of which would mean going astray from the main narrative. Among them were Santa Ghorepurah and Dhanna Jadaw, two experienced warriors-chiefs with fifteen or twenty thousand horsemen. They were supported by other Marhatas. They inflicted severe losses on the Imperial troops. Santa particularly distinguished himself in ravaging important towns and attacking the Imperial officers. Any body who happened to encounter and fight with him, was either killed, wounded, captured or defeated, and if any one escaped, he had no other alternative but to destroy his own army and baggage with his own hands and regarded his life as a second life. On any side, where the accursed dog went to fight, [P. 416] no respected Amīr had the courage to meet him. Wherever he took his world disturbing forces, the hearts of the lion-hearted warriors quaked, as for example, Ismā'il Khān Yakkah[1] who was considered a brave and experienced warrior of the Deccan, came into clash with him. I will not describe the details of the encounter, but he was defeated in the very first action, his army was destroyed and he was wounded and taken prisoner. Santa kept him as a captive in his camp for some time and released him only after taking a large sum as ransom. Similarly Rustam Khān known as Sharzah Khān, who considered himself to be as brave as Rustam and as fierce as a lion, encountered him in the neighbourhood of the fort of Satarah. He was defeated and plundered by the Marhatas and fell into their hands. He got himself released on the payment of a large ransom. In the same way 'Ali Mardān Khān, also

1 *Yakkah*, literally a single trooper. It is used here as a brave and heroic person.

called Ḥusayni Beg Hayderabadi, a manṣabdār of six thousand, met that unholy dog. He made great efforts, but his army and baggage were destroyed, and many of his followers were either killed or wounded. 'Ali Mardān, also with some well-known persons was wounded and made captive. Santa kept him as a prisoner for some time and released him and his followers after taking from them a sum of two lakhs of Rupees as ransom.

The unhappy news of these events increased the dust of gloom on the mind of the Emperor. During these days Khān Jahān Bahādur who had been dismissed from his post in the province of Bengal and was deprived of all his resources (بے پرو بال) and Jāgīr was kept under surveillance at the Court. However, he seldom appeared in audience on account of impertinence بے دماغی . (At this time) the reputation of the bravery of Jān Nithār Khān and Tahawwur Khān, sons of Ṣalābat Khān, who had recently begun to appear on the fields of battle [P. 417] and had shown great efforts, had risen so high that the Emperor on several occasions referred to it by way of taunting Khān Jahān Bahādur. The Emperor had frequently praised the bravery of both of them. About this time news reached that on the frontiers of the Karnatak, Jān Nithār Khān and Tahawwur Khān etc. had encountered Santa. In the course of fighting a number of men were wounded and killed on either side. The Imperial army suffered a defeat and its entire artillery and baggage were plundered. Jān Nithār Khān was wounded and could manage to escape only after considerable efforts. Tahawwur Khān also having been wounded threw himself among the dead and the wounded who were rolling in mud and dust and, with difficulty got a new life which he considered to be his good fortune. Similarly many other notable persons who were in that army, lost all their good name and reputation. Some of them were captured while others, were able to escape with their lives by stratagem. When the news reached the Court, it increased the distress of the Emperor, but publicly he only said : "Man can do nothing. Every thing rests with Allāh."

It so happened that on the same day, Muḥammed Murād Khān, who was an old friend of Khān Jahān Bahādur, on returning from the Court went to see him. As the evil tidings (of the defeat of Jān Nithār Khān and Tahawwur Khān) had spread from one tent to the other, Khān Jahān, expressing joy at the reverses of his rivals, asked Murād Khān what the Emperor had said when he heard the news of the daring of Santa and the defeat of his servants. Murād Khān replied : "When the news was conveyed to the Emperor, he said that the fault did not lie with them. Every thing depended on God". Khān Jahān Bahādur said: "In the Divine word [P. 418] there is no change (in the decisions) ; a thing once given is not taken back. Every one receives whatever is destined for him. While I was the commander of forces, I never suffered any defeat and dishonour."

The tents of Prince Mu'aẓẓam were removed from the place where prisoners were kept and were pitched, under order, near the Gulāl Bār. He was also permitted to pay his respects at the audience and some times the Emperor sent *ulush*[1] and fruits from the Imperial table to him.

Regnal Year 38.

Corresponding to 1105 H. (1663-64 A.C.)

Siege of the fort of Jinji[2]

Prince Muḥammed Kām Bakhsh, Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān and Dhu al-Fiqar Khān Nuṣrat Jang arrived near Chinchi and encamped at a distance of cannon shot from the fortress, and started preparation for its siege. The fort of Chinchi had huge dimensions in length and breadth. It extended over several hills, each having a fortress bearing a separate name. Among them there were two situated on lofty hills and well furnished with artillery, provisions

1 Eatables from the Imperial table.

2 In the text it is written as Chinji. It was the name of a compact group of fortresses.

and other necessary stores. It was, therefore, difficult to surround the fort (Chinchi) on all the sides. However, efforts were made as far as possible, posts (مورچال) were assigned (to different commanders) and they became busy with digging the mines, erecting batteries and advancing the intrenchments. The expreienced and brave warriors were anxious to make exertions and efforts. The besieged infidels, after the manner of an experienced garrison, busied themselves in erecting towers and bastions. Assured of their safety, they did not bother about the presence of the Imperial troops. Occasionally they fired one or two shots. Meanwhile Zamīndārs of the country-side, far and near, the Marhata chiefs and their forces surrounded the Imperial army on all sides and showed great audacity in cutting off lines of supplies [P. 419] on its right and left. Sometimes they used to attack the intrenchments unawares, doing great damage and causing great confusion in the army. They would, some times, completely ruin and undo, all the efforts made to advance further the intrenchments. It would prolong the narrative if all the details of incidents and efforts of the Imperial forces and those of the besieged, were given. Owing to the long distance, the writer of these pages received different versions of the occurrences. He has given in outline what he considered to be authentic. In short the siege prolonged for a long time, and a number of men receieved martyrdom. The enemy's re-inforcement continued to increase daily. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān Bahādur, Nuṣrat Jang and other fort conquering warriors made such brave efforts that the besieged began to have a hard time. As the reins of the control of the army and the administration of political and revenue affairs and the settlement of the country were in the hands of Jumdat al-Mulk and Nuṣrat Jang it made the heart of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh heavy. Jumdat al-Mulk and Nuṣrat Jang warned the Prince, some times in bitter and harsh words, against his follies which are inevitable in the days of youth. This caused great offence to Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh. As the Prince was trying to have the capture of the fort to be reported to the Emperor in his name, and the *Sardārs* who had full authority were making efforts in this

connection on their own behalf, of the causes of quarrel and hostility between them increased every day. As the besieged came to know of this state of affairs they found a pretence [P. 420] to start negotiations with the Prince, which fanned the flames of discontent. This added to the danger of the threat to the army.

At this time, the news was spread that the accursed Santa, was about to arrive. The forces of the enemy surrounded the Imperial army and closed the roads so that for some days, orders and the mace-bearers, runners and messengers from the Court could not reach the besieging army. Neither the Emperor could get any information from the Prince, and Jumdat al-Mulk nor the Prince could receive any correct news about the welfare of the Emperor. Highly disturbing and intriguing messages were received by the Prince from the besieged, persuading him to join them. The Prince was so much vexed on account of the behaviour of Jumdat al-Mulk and at not receiving any news from the Emperor, that he almost intended to go over to the besieged. Jumdat al-Mulk and Nuṣrat Khān having received information about this, surrounded the tents of the Prince by surprise and took him prisoner.

In this state when confusion was spreading in the Imperial army, the accursed Santa, arrived with twenty five thousand experienced horsemen, and surrounded it. This shook the hearts of the old and the young in the camp and they were reduced to such straits that they thought it expedient to leave their heavy equipment and baggage to be seized by Santa and take shelter in a safe place. According to the popular version, in view of the expediency, a message of truce was sent to the effect that Santa was not to pursue the army and the officers, who were to be allowed to take with them as much equipment as they could [P. 421] and that he would plunder the heavy goods and equipage that would be left behind. Both the *Sardārs* withdrew, fighting a rear guard action, for some *kruhs* and ultimately took shelter at the foot of the hill, considering it a blessing to have escaped the clutches of that infidel. After the departure of Santa, they again besieged

the fort. The garrison was hard pressed and according to one version money was paid to them. However, they evacuated the forts and took to flight.

Kām Bakhsh released

After some time the Emperor received the information about the arrest of the Prince. As the news of the conquest of the fort had also been received at the same time, the Emperor outwardly appreciated the services of both the *Sardārs*, but inwardly he was displeased. He summoned both the *Sardārs* as well as the Prince to the Court. Until his arrival at the Court the Prince remained under arrest. When Jumdat al-Mulk waited upon the Emperor, he said to him a few words by way of advice and showed strained attention towards him, ordering the release of the Prince.

English Pirates create trouble

The story of the trouble created by the English at the sea, and the expedition of Sidi Yāqūt to the fort of Munbi (Bombay) has already been narrated. He had to discontinue the operations under orders of the Emperor just at the time when he was about to capture it. In this year the Imperial ship, named *Ganj-i-Sawā'i*, the largest in the fleet at the port of Surat, which used to take pilgrims every year to the House of God was returning to Surat with fifty two lakhs of cash in the shape of gold coins and Riyāls,[1] the sale proceeds of Indian goods in Mukhkha[2] and Jedda. The captain of the ship Muḥammad Ibrāhim considered himself to be a great warrior. He had got prepared the iron ladles (چمچه) and kept them, with him, and used to say that [P. 422] he would capture with their help the ships of the enemy and their men alive. There were eighty guns and four hundred muskets, besides other armaments on the ship. When the ship was at a distance of eight or nine days journey from the port of Surat, an English ship, which was very small compared to it and had not even one third or one fourth of its

1 (ریال) is the name of Arabian coins.

2 (مخه) Mukhkhah (Mocha), a small sea port near the strait of Bab-al-Mandab, famous for the export of copper.

armaments came forward to fight it. When it reached within gun shot distance, they fired a gun from the Imperial ship. Unfortunately for the men in the ship the gun burst and three or four persons were killed by the pieces of iron that flew from it. In the meantime a ball from the enemy's ship struck the central mast of the *Ganj-i-Sawā'ī*, which is called Daol, in the language of the sailors and on which mainly depends the safety of the ship. The Ship was damaged. On coming to know of this the men on the English ship, became bolder and brought it close to the Imperial ship and attacked it. They started fighting with their swords and jumped into it. The Christians were not as skilled in sword fight as the Muslims are and there was so much of armament on the Imperial ship that if its captain, had shown some courage, he would have freed himself from the trouble, but as soon as the English boarded the ship, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, the captain, who was also the *Fawjdār* of the ship rushed to the space under the planks of the deck. Some Turkish maids whom he had purchased at Mukhkhah and kept them as his slave girls (*Sariyyah*), and tied turbans on their heads, gave them swords and asked them to fight, but they fell into the hands of the Christians. The whole of the ship came under their control and they carried away all the gold and silver along with a large number of prisoners to their ship. [P. 423] When their ship became over-loaded, they brought the Imperial ship to the sea-coast, near one of their settlements. After having remained engaged for a week, in searching for plunder, stripping the men of their clothes aad dishonouring the old and young women, they left the ship and its passengers to their fate. Some of the women, getting an opportunity, threw themselves into the sea to save their honour while others committed suicide using knives and daggers.

When the report of this incident reached the Emperor and the news-writers of Surat sent to the Court some rupees coined by the English in Bombay with the unholy name of their king struck on them along with some people who had actually suffered, he ordered the capture of the English trade agents

(گماشته) who were posted at the port of Surat. Orders were also issued to I'timād Khān, *Mutaṣaddi* of the port of Surat and Sīdi Yāqūt Khān to make plans for the capture of Bombay. The confusion thus created, lasted for several years. The English were not prepared to accept the responsibility of this action, as they knew that Yāqūt Khān was disheartened because of having been slighted on a previous occasion they became more active than usual in building bastions and walls and in blocking up roads, so that they made the place quite impregnable. I'timād Khān, the *Mutaṣaddi* of the port of Surat, in view of the strength and fortifications of Bombay, thought that the matter was irremediable.[1] In case of the outbreak of hostilities against the people using hats (کلاه پوش) customs duties of the port of Surat, would suffer a great loss. He considered himself to be one of the thrifty officers of the Emperor and did not want to waste a single pice. Although he had arrested some English *gumāshtahs* (گماشته) at Surat, secretly he was trying to avert the infamy (of possible defeat) of the English by negotiations. The English, [P. 424] on hearing about the imprisonment of their *gumāshtahs* captured in retaliation every Imperial *manṣabdār*, about whom they heard, on the sea-coast or on water.

Khāfī Khān in the fort of Bombay

During the hostilities, the writer of the narrative was acting as an agent of 'Abd al-Razzāq at Surat. The armed followers (احشام) of the *Mutaṣaddi* of Surat were in full control there. By a strange chance, the writer had an opportunity of meeting the English men from Bombay. I was going to Rāhīri with two lakhs of Rupees in cash and some goods purchased at Surat belonging to 'Abd al-Razzāq, the *fawjdār* of Rāhīri along with some Imperial stores. I was travelling by sea, and had to pass by the territories of the Portuguese and the English. When I reached near Bombay, and while still in the Portuguese territory, I, according to the written directions of 'Abd al-Razzāq, had to wait there for

1 i.e. the Capture of Bombay, he thought, was not possible.

the guard supplied by Yāqūt Khān for ten or twelve days. As there existed an old (قديم) friendship between the English and 'Abd al-Razzāq since the days he was at Hayderabad, he had written to the English (commandant) also about the guard. He, therefore, sent the brother of his Dīwān inviting me with sincerety to his presence. The Frankish (Portuguese) captain and the men in my company, advised me against going there with so much wealth in my charge. The writer of these pages, having, however, full trust in God went to the English. I told the brother of his Dīwān that during the conversation, if an enquiry was made about the capture of the ship, I would not say things pleasing to them but would give true answers to the questions. The *wakīl* of the English, who was trying his utmost to finish the hostilities, encouraged me and advised me to say every thing boldly and to speak nothing but the truth.

[P. 425] When I entered the fort, I observed that inside the gate from the very start on each side of the route well dressed youths of the age of twelve or fourteen stood in rows with excellent muskets on their shoulders. A few steps further, well dressed young men, with beards just appearing and with muskets on their shoulders, were seen on both sides. When I advanced a few steps further, I saw English men with long beards and of the same age furnished with similar equipment. After them were seen, well dressed musketeers, with shaved beards arragned and drawn up in ranks. Further on, English men, with white beards, clothed in brocade, and having muskets on their shoulders were seen on either side. Next I saw some handsome aged English men wearing hats with pearls on their borders. In short I saw thus, upto the door of the house in which he lived, nearly seven thousand musketeers drawn in ranks on both sides dressed and accoutred as for a review.

I then reached the place where he was sitting on a chair. He preceded me in greetings in his own fashion. He rose from his chair and embraced me and asked me to sit down on a chair in front of him. Under the garb of asking the welfare of 'Abd al-

Razzāq and showing sincerity to him, the discourse turned upon different topics, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet ; questions and answers were made. Of these questions one was about the cause of the arrest of his agents. Trusting that God and His Prophet would protect me, I said in answer : "You do not take upon yourself the responsibility of the shameful deeds committed by your men, which are condemned by all sensible men. Your question resembles one raised by a wiseman who despite the rays of the sun all over the world, asks [P. 426) where the light was coming from." He replied : "The people who are hostile to us cast upon us the blame for the fault of others. How have you come to the conclusion that the crime was committed by our men and by what convincing evidence will you prove this?" I replied : "In the ship (*Ganj-i-Sawā'ī*) I had acquaintances, some of whom were wealthy persons, besides two or three darwishes who were free from the temptations of this world. I heard from them that at the time of plunder of the ship and of their arrest, there was a party of men, who appeared from their faces and dresses to be English men. They had scars of wounds on their bodies and hands and they said in their own language : 'These are the scars of the wounds we received at the time of the siege of Sīdī Yāqūt ; but today the blots of those scars have been wiped off our hearts (i.e, we have taken a revenge). A person who was their fellow traveller and who knew Hindi and Persian, translated their words to my friends."

On hearing my words, he burst out into laughter and said : "It is perfectly correct. They must have said so, but they are those English men who were wounded and taken prisoner by Yāqūt Khān during the siege. Some of them deserted us, became Muslims and took service with that Abyssinian. They stayed with him for some time and then fled away. As they could not show their faces to us, they went over to the men of Denkmar[1] دینک مار also called Sakanas[2] and joind their service. They lay violent hands

1 Possibly Denmark.

2 Possibly Saxon.

on the ships on the surface of the sea i.e. plunder them and have become their assistants in piracy. The officers of your Emperor are unable to successfully deal with them and therefore put the responsibility for piracy upon our men." I said in reply smilingly: "I have seen today what I had heard about your promptness in reply and your ready wit. All praise to your wisdom. You have given so reasonable and prompt reply in such a case without [P. 427] spending a moment in thinking over it. You must, however, bear in mind that the heriditary rulers of Bijapur and Hayderabad, and Sambha, the accursed, could not escape from the hands of 'Ālamgīr. The safety پناه of the Island of Bomby is evident!" I then said: The coining of money in the form of rupees by you is a clear indication of your rebellion." He replied: "We send every year, to our country, a large amount of money as profit on our mercantile goods. The coins of the Emperor of India are exchanged with a loss. Besides this, there is considerable alloy and counterfeiting in Indian coins. Therefore quarrels break up at the time of sale and purchase in this Island. For this reason I strike my name on the coins within my jurisdiction."

Besides this, other matters were also discussed, some of which were not liked by him. However, due to his regard for 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān and his promise to give me security he remained calm, and in accordance with their practice he showed hospitality and invited me to a farewell feast. But as it had been settled between us at the very outset, that no formalities would be observed, I contented myself with accepting *'atr* and *pān* and was glad to escape from that calamity.

The revenue of the island of Bombay most of which is derived from betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, does not amount to more than two or three lakhs of rupees. It is reported that the entire amount of trade of that wicked fellow is not more than twenty lakhs of rupees. The source of the remaining unstable income of the English is the plunder and capture of the ships going to

the House of God. At intervals of one or two years, they attack these ships, not at the time, when loaded with grains. They proceed Mukhkhah and Jeddah, but when they return bringing gold, silver, Ibrāhīmis[1] and Riyāls they attack the richest one after obtaining secret information.

The Marhatas [P. 428] have recently built new fortresses of Khanderi[2] (Kenery), Qulābah, Kansa and Katora opposite the island fortress belonging to the Abyssinians. They collect their war boats around their forts and attack the merchant ships whenever they find an opportunity. In the same way the Sakanas, also called Bawārils, who are a lawless set of people belonging to Surat, in the *Ṣūbah* of Ahmadabad are notorious pirates. They attack, from time to time, small ships coming from Bunder 'Abbāsi and Muscat. But they have not the courage to attack big ships plying on the route to Makkah. The English try to shift their ignomy to the shoulders of Sakanas.

Santa Plunders Mughul Amīrs

Another event of this year is that Qāsim Khān, Khānahzād Khān, known as Rūḥ Allāh Khān II ; Ṣaf Shikan Khān and other important *Amīrs*, who, due to misfortune had been captured by Santa-e-Ghorpure, the vagabond ; were plundered by him. I will briefly describe it.

When reports about the repeated raids of Santa reached the Court, Rūḥ Allāh Khān along with Ṣaf Shikan Khān Khwāfi and Muḥammad Murād Khān, the Bakhshi of the Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh, with the army of the Prince, and Mirẓa Ḥasan, the cousin (uncle's son of Mukhtār Khān) and other nobles of the Deccan with an army numbering twenty five thousand horsemen, on paper, which in these days actually meant five to six thousand horse, were sent to punish that evil natured infidel. They were instructed to combine their forces with those of Qāsim Khān, the *Fawjdār* of

1 The conis of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh.

2 These are small islands near Janjīrah.

the district of Danderi[1] in whose vicinity Santa and his forces were active , and then try to uproot the accursed fellow. The above mentioned nobles joined their forces with Qāsim Khān who had a well equipped army and efficient artillery. On hearing this, the accursed Santa rushed from a long distance to meet their forces. One day Qāsim Khān, with a view to meet the enemy, [P. 429] prepared his army for battle and sending his tents and equipage ahead marched with his forces as advance guard. Rūḥ Allāh Khān with other Sardārs was to lead the main army with necessary equipment. The couriers of Qāsim Khān brought the news that a detachment of the enemy forces had reached near the equipage which had been sent in advance and had plundered whatever they could, setting on fire the heavier of the tents, and that about ten or twelve thousand horsemen had started plundering the equipment of the army of Rūḥ Allāh Khān, placing the Imperial forces in severe difficulties. About seven or eight thousand of his horsemen had intercepted the Mughul line between the forces of Qāsim Khān and Rūḥ Allāh Khān. They were showing great audacity and no reinforcements could reach them. On hearing the news Qāsim Khān was greatly disturbed and wanted to help the other Amirs, sounds of 'capture and keep' (داروگیر) were heard in all directions. That day the armies of the Muslims and infidels contested for victory till sunset. Inspite of the great bravery displayed by the Imperial officers, most of the baggage of their army was plundered. On that day Rūḥ Allāh Khān and Muḥammed Murād Khān made extraordinary and brave efforts. Although there were no provisions, for men and fodder for animals, the officers and soldiers passed the whole night on the backs of the elephants and held in hands the bridles of horses to keep watch against night attack and to guard the baggage of the army. The moment the sun showed its head from the window of the orient, the Marhata army started their attacks from different sides and a severe battle was fought. In the action Mirza Ḥasan along with

1 Sarkar spells it as Dodderi Vol. V. p. 97.

some other well-known nobles and a large number of ordinary soldiers received martyrdom. They tried their best to search for the dead body of Mirza Ḥasan and some other leading persons but they could not be traced in the tumult. Khudādād Khān the son of Muḥammad Murād Khān who was wounded and had lost his horse could not be found for three or four days.

[P. 430] The Imperial army remained surrounded and suffered losses for three days, but inspite of the pressure of the Marhatas they tried to repel their attacks. However, the *Sardārs* were reduced to such straits, that they decided to seek protection in the fortress of Danderi in the territory of Qāsim Khān, the *Fawjdār* of the place. The Marhata army was encircling the Imperial forces all the time. For three days even the smell of food stuffs could not reach the Muslim army, but on that day provisions and fodder for some selected persons, reached the camp from inside the fort. The routes of the army were nearly cut off. However, under these conditions, during the next three or four days, the Imperial forces did their best, to repel the assaults of the enemy, remaining under the protection of the walls of the fort where they had thrown their intrenchments (کٹھی). Many bullocks, camels and horses were captured by the Marhatas. Owing to the intensity of the fight the gates of the fort were kept closed. The merchants and the people in the fort brought provisions from over the walls and sold it at the rate of one or two rupees per seer to anyone who could purchase it. On the fourth or fifth day the news of the approach of Himmat Khān the son of Khān-i-Jehān Bahādur, famous for his valour, who had received an order from the Emperor to help the Imperial forces and to uproot the enemy, spread in his camp. Santa leaving half his army under his experienced commanders to keep engaged the besieged Imperial forces, proceeded to meet Himmat Khān and stop him from joining the Imperial army. When through his couriers he came to know that Ram Rajāh had advanced with another Marhata army to meet Himmat Khan, he returned to his

former position, having satisfied himself about the state of affairs and leaving quick-footed spies there.

In the meantime the position of the Imperial commander having become tight [P. 431] Qāsim Khān, Rūḥ Allāh Khān, and Ṣaf Shikan Khān who were encamping close to one another, held secret consultations to enter the fort. Without informing Muḥammad Murād Khān and other fellow *Sardārs* whose intrenchments were at a distance, they started sending their stores which had escaped the plunder of the enemy, giving out that they were removing their superfluous baggage to make themselves light for battle.

In the early part of the night, on the pretext of taking a round, Qāsim Khān came out of the camp. As for several reasons it was inexpedient to enter the fort حصار through the main gate where there was a large crowd of the people and the *Sardārs*, he reached the top of the wall, climbing with the help of a rope after making great efforts. Later Rūḥ Allāh Khān and Ṣaf Shikan Khān struggled hard and entered the fortress through the gate in a crowd of soldiers. Subsequenty Muḥammad Murād Khān and his other companions, after receiving information about this, managed to reach the place with great difficulty. Ṣaf Shikan Khān turned to Muḥammad Murād Khān and said: "How have we reached this place like brave men!" Sulṭān Ḥusayn the son of Muḥammad Murād Khān's sister, who in the time of 'Ālamgir (*Khuld Makān*) had received the title of Ṭāli' Yār Khān, lost his temper and said: "Shame on this brave entry of yours for which you are taking so much pride!" Most of his companions, however, opened their tongues to taunt him. In short, they remained besieged within the four walls (of the fortress) for one month. Their condition deteriorated every day, and they were reduced to such a state, that they began to slaughter the animals meant for riding and carrying baggage, which themselves were on the verge of death, and ate their flesh. From the provisions stored in the godowns and the wells inside the fortress, which he had managed to procure after great efforts, Qāsim Khān gave to the leading *Sardārs* and their men [P. 432] one half of a quarter seer

(نیم پاو اثار) of *juwār*, millet mixed with wheat and gram according to the list which had been prepared. The mixed grain was boiled and taken, and this was their only ration. Other persons (who did not receive these rations) were reduced to the verge of death. In order to save themselves from death by starvation, many people dropped themselves down from the walls and sought protection with the army of the enemy. Many artisans and menials (بوراج) carried gold and silver coins tied round their waists. When they fell into the hands of the people of Santa, their belts were taken off and their money was seized. The merchants of the enemy camp used to bring fruits and sweets to the foot of the walls of the fort and sold them at prices of their choice. The besieged dropped money fastened in pieces of cloth and pulled up the purchased articles and thus managed to live. Ultimately the provisions in the fortress were exhausted. The insanitary condition, causing stink and scarcity of water and grain reached a stage when the life of the people became miserable. Under these circumstances, Qāsim K͟hān, according to one version poisoned himself or (according to another) died because he could not get opium, to which he was addicted.

Rūḥ Allāh K͟hān and other officers were compelled to make overtures of peace, on the condition of the safety of life against the payment of lakhs of Rupees as ransom ; the *Sardārs* were to be allowed to go with their horses and clothes on their body. When the *Dīwān* of Rūḥ Allāh K͟hān with some other *Sardārs* and one of the Deccani nobles attached to the Imperial army went to Santa to settle the terms of the release of the nobles and to fix the amount of the ransom money, he said : "Besides the elephants, horses, cash and property, I will not accept less than a lakh of huns equivalent to three lakhs and fifty thousand rupees." The faithless Deccani noble replying in a low voice, said : "What have you said? Be more exacting. [P. 433] I fix this amount as the ransom of Rūḥ Allāh K͟hān only." At last the sum of seven lakhs of rupees was settled as the ransom for all the officers. It was agreed that every *Sardār* was to give in writing that he was willing to pay the

ransom for the safety of his life and was to leave one of his relations or trustworthy and important servant with Santa as a hostage till the payment was made.

The men of Santa sat down at the gate of the fortress. They allowed the *Sardārs* to pass out with one horse and the equipment on the body. Others were allowed to go with whatever they had on their bodies. They seized all the remaining elephants, horses, equipment and all the cash and jewels. Santa could not realize even half the amount of ransom settled because most of the hostages finding an opportunity fled away and as will shortly be described he also met his doom. In this catastrophe, the government money with the Imperial army and the cash of the nobles and their jewels that were plundered and fell into the hands of the accursed infidels exceeded fifty to sixty lakhs of Rupees. When the report of the defeat was presented to the Emperor, although the misfourtune which had befallen the Amīrs and the *Sardārs* was destined by Fate and was beyond their control, the Emperor's heart was covered with the dust of gloom and he did not allow them for some days to attend the Court. He appointed them to distant posts and sent them to different provinces.

Freed from the affair of the defeated Imperial army, Santa advanced towards, Himmat Khān's forces, as he had already heard that they were coming by forced marches on knowing that the nobles of the Mughuls had been surrounded. He divided his army in two parts and hurried towards [P. 434] Himmat Khān to attack him from two sides. The army under Santa at a distance of sixteen *kruhs* from the other division, came into clash with Himmat Khān and severe battle ensued. Himmat Khān showed remarkable courage and effort in the action, many a Marhata was send to hell and many of the followers of Himmat Khān obtained martyrdom. The army of Santa took to flight, and the Imperial army turned towards the other division of the Marhata forces. Himmat Khān, the lion of the battle, started pursuit of the defeated army. Santa had posted musketeers, who were good marksmen, at different places in the jungles under the groves of

trees on the route of Himmat Khān. Some of the *Kāliyah* musketeers, who were known for their marksmanship, had tied themselves in the trees and were sitting on them. When Himmat Khān came near the groves of the trees, he was hit by a fatal bullet on his forehead and had not even the time of taking another breath ; he gained martyrdom. The entire baggage, equipment and stores, as well as the elephants that were with Himmat Khān fell into the hands of Santa in tact.

Regnal Year 39

Corresponding to 1106 H./1694-95 A.C.

Illness and recovery of Prince A'ẓam

Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, who had been sent to Kharpa, to punish the enemy in that area, fell ill due to the unsuitablity of climate, and developed dropsy. When this was reported to the Emperor, he was ordered to return to the Court. He came and stayed inside the *Gulālbār* and experienced physicians of the Court were entrusted with his treatment. As the Prince did not abstain from taking what was prohibited by the physicians, they made a complaint to the Emperor. The illness became so serious that the physicians became despaired of his recovery. [P. 435] The Emperor ordered the bed of the Prince to be brought near his own bedroom. He himself began to administer medicine and to look after his diet. Indeed he showed his filial solicitude by partaking food with the Prince, and observed great strictness in the matter of his treatment. God Almighty restored the Prince to perfect health.

Prince Kām Bakhsh punished for unruly conduct

Khwājah Yāqūt, known as Maḥram Khān, was notorious for his strictness and was far away from the path of forbearance. He held the post of the tutor of Prince Kām Bakhsh. The Prince,

due to recklessness of youth paid no heed to the directions of his tutor. The attendents of the Prince, particularly his foster brother and other close associates were unhappy with the surly nature and bad temper of Maḥram Khān. Unpleasant words often passed between the two parties. In the middle of Jumāda I of this year, when the Prince was returning from the *Darbār* followed by Maḥram Khān, all of a sudden a double pronged arrow from an unknown direction, struck the belly of Maḥram Khān. As his hand was on his belly it did not prove fatal. The arrow after wounding the hand slightly reached his belly but could not pierce the inner lining of the belly and did not tear the stomach. Maḥram Khān, with blood dripping from his hand, and with a sad heart and body went to the presence of the Emperor. Strongly suspecting the attendants of the Prince, he showed the arrow in the same condition to the Emperor. The Kotwal of the Court was ordered to investigate the affair and to produce the person who had shot the arrow. After careful investigation five attendants of the Prince, vagabonds by appearance, were ear-marked as the possible culprits. Four of them were *Jamā'ahdārs* and the fifth was Hiddu the foster brother of the Prince. They were the suspects and so they were reported, as such, to the Emperor. He ordered all the five persons to be arrested [P. 436] and kept in custody for further investigation. The four *Jamā'ahdārs* who were the attendents of the Prince and commanded his trust and were in reality innocent surrendered themselves to the Kotwal. Hiddu, according to the proverb : A culprit always sees danger in every thing, (الخائن خائف): showed disobedience, and the Prince became his intercessor and protector, trying to prove his innocence. When a report was made, the Emperor ordered Khwājah Muḥammad, the Bakhshi of the Prince, to produce Hiddu before him ; alternatively he was to help the Kotwal immediately, in the investigation about the archer who was culprit. In the beginning, Khwājah Muḥammad using very placatory words without showing any harshness succeeded in persuading Hiddu to come with him upto the gate of the palace,

but from that place, owing to fear of his guilt he avoided Khwājah Muḥammad, and mixed himself into the crowd of men following the Prince who became his protector. When this was reported (to the Emperor), orders were issused to Prince Kām Bakhsh to detach him from his attendants, dismiss him from the army and hand him over to the men of the Kotwal and confiscate his house. The Prince secretly gave him two hundred gold coins, a small tent and other equipment and sent him to one of the *maḥāls* of his own *jāgīr*. At the time of his departure, the Prince embraced him with tears flowing from his eyes. This was also reported by Maḥram Khān. It was ordered that he should not be allowed to go out and the Prince should bring him personally and beg pardon for him. The Prince called Hiddu back from his journey and brought him to the gate of the palace. An order was given that Hiddu should remain outside the gate and the Prince, as usual, [P. 437] should come to offer his respects. The Prince said : "I will not separate him from myself." He took off his belt and bound one of his hands with his body and waited for orders. When this unbecoming behaviour of the Prince was reported to the Emperor, he ordered that both of them should be sent and seated in the Court. Mukhliṣ Khān, the Bakhshi, was ordered to advise the Prince and make him give up his impertinent intention. This too proved of no avail ; it further added to the excitement of the Prince's rash temper. Later Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān Bahādur was ordered to separate Hiddu from the Prince, by force, and to hand him over to the men of the Kotwal. When Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān reached there and was about to carry out the orders of the Emperor, the Prince drew his dagger from his belt and hurled it at him, but the latter caught it in his hand which was wounded. On this a crowd of men surrounded the Prince from all sides and separated Hiddu from him after beating him with sticks, legs and fists, and threw him into prison. Orders were given that the Prince also was to be kept under surveillance in a small tent pitched near the *Jawāharkhānah*. He was deposed from his *manṣab* and all his *jāgīrs* and stores were

confiscated and he fell under the wrath (of the Emperor). It was the result of bad society that the Prince was reduced to such a disgraceful position.[1]

صحبت سفله چو انگشت نماید نقصان
گرم سوزد بدن و سرد کند جامه سیاه

[Society of the mean brings forth harm like a burning charcoal,
It burns the body while it is hot and blackens the clothes while it is cold.]

Prince Mu'azzam released and reinstated

At this time the star of the fortune of Prince Bahādur Shāh alias Shāh 'Ālam emerged from the abyss of decline and after an imprisonment of seven years, he was released and restored to [P. 438] his position. He was ordered to select his own mutaṣaddis. All his stores which had been confiscated were to be given to him immediately and whatever else was required by him, these were to be handed to his *mutaṣaddis*. As is customary with the physicians that they relax restrictions (on food etc) during the period of convalescence, the Emperor wisely increased his favours by degrees on the Prince. This state of affairs caused great worry to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh and his associates.

Death and character of the Qāḍi al-Quḍāt

Qāḍi Shaykh al-Islām, after his return from the Holy place had taken the permission of the Emperor to retire to his native city of Ahmadabad and had settled there. After repeated orders summoning him to the Court, he left Ahmadabad. While on the way after the five daily prayers he used to pray to God that he should not be entangled in the affairs and service of the State. During the course of his journey he died a natural death. When his death was reported to the Emperor, he expressed great sorrow and said : "Indeed, he was fortunate, that after his return from the Holy place he was not involved in the affairs of this world and died." In reality, throughout the history of the Mughul Empire no other

1 This incident is a clear proof of 'Ālamgir's impartial justice.

Qāḍi was a greater lover of truth and more pious and honest. His father Qāḍi 'Abd al-Wahhāb, had left lakhs of gold and silver coins, jewels, and landed property in legacy. The Qāḍi left the whole of it with his brothers and other heirs and gave a part of his own share to the destitutes in the name of God and did not keep even a penny with himself (دامِ درم). Later, when the post of the Qāḍi with all its responsibilities was conferred on him, he accepted it with great hesitation and after settling certain conditions with the Emperor. Till the time of his death he always had an idea in his mind of resigning from his post, [P. 439] but the Emperor did not relieve him. When the campaign of Bijapur and Hayderabad was about to be undertaken he wanted him to give *fatwā* on its lawfulness. For this reason the Qāḍi, considering the permission for a pilgrimage to the House of God to be a means of salvation from the sins of this world and enquiries (باز پرس) in the next, left for the Sacred place, as has already been narrated. Having distributed a large amount of money among the pious, the poor and other deserving persons, and leaving two or three institutions of perpertual charity he had come back in all honour. After this, God Almighty saved him from the responsibilities of state service till his death. During the period when he held the office of the Qāḍi al-Quḍāt he never accepted any present or gift even from a person who could get no advantage from him. It is needless to say anything about his accepting a bribe or doing any injustice, which is the usual practice of the cruel hearted persons of the day. He knew that at the time of filing suits the interested parties and Shara'i Wakīls very often produced false witnesses, and keeping in view the fact that the real proof of the claim was known to God only, he seldom gave order for the framing the case on the basis of the statements and evidence of the witnesses, but tried to bring about a compromise between the plaintiffs and the defendants. He had many other good qualities too.

نیکوان رفتند و سنتها بماند　　ظالمان رفتند و لعنتها بماند

[The benevolent have passed away and virtues have remained;
The tyrants passed away but the vices remained.]

Muṣṭafa Khān Kāshi's Dismissal

Muṣṭafa Khān Kāshi was considered to be one of the great warriors and an accomplished officer among the Afghāns. He had earned a wide reputation for his courage, hospitality, statesmanship and sound opinion in addition to his personal bravery. He was counted among those who were patronised by Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam and was his confidant, courtier and a close associate. Earlier owing to mismanagement in the establishment of the Prince [**P. 440**] the income and the expenditure were never balanced. The troops always clamoured for their pay which remained in arrears for seven or eight months. After his appointment, Muṣṭafa Khān very honestly administered the affairs. He decided that the Prince should not maintain more than six thousand horsemen. Beyond this number there were others who were kept because of the recommendations of great men or for new expeditions. They were kept on the waiting list and were not paid any thing till there was a vacancy in the six thousand troops owing to death or desertion. In this way the complaints of the troops and personal servants, about the late payment, disappeared and there was always a force of ten or twelve thousand horsemen ready at hand. In course of time the same system was introduced in the establishments of all the princes except that of Shāh 'Ālam. Thus service under the Prince became secure like that of the Emperor.

In short Muṣṭafa Khān due to his good fortune and ability, gained so much favour and confidence of the Prince that the entire administration of his establishment was entrusted to him, and the Prince did not do anything without consulting him. If the Prince did any thing causing the displeasure of the Emperor, it was imputed to Muṣṭafa Khān, the experienced Afghān. This was much against the wishes of the Emperor, who keeping in view the behaviour of the Afghāns in the past, did not want that

they should gain so much authority and control in the affairs of the Imperial household. The Emperor repeatedly advised the Prince not to give him so much authority; but with no result. About this time some other action (اداےخارج) of Muṣṭafa Khān greatly displeased the Emperor. He came under the Imperial wrath and was deprived of his *manṣab*. Some strict mace-bearers were appointed to remove him from the army of the Prince and take him to the port of Surat. [P. 441] The Mutaṣaddi of the port was ordered to make him embark a ship and proceed to the House of God.

The writer of these pages has heard on several occasions from Muṣṭafa Khān that his father in spite of his difficulties and poverty always tried to give him the best education, and that when he died he was only fourteen years of age and the family did not have money to meet the burial expenses. After performing the *fātiḥah* of the third day, Muṣṭafa Khān decided to accompany a caravan of the Afghāns, going to the capital, in search of some employment. He went to take leave from his mother who after shedding tears refused to allow him and said: "Where are you going at this tender age and with no resources. How can I bear your separation?" He said to her, "O, my kind mother! The love of God Almighty for his slaves is seventy times more than the love of a mother for her sons. Entrust me to the same God and permit me to go." On hearing this his mother, with tears flowing from her eyes, said: "You may go. I entrust you to God Whose qualities you have described." Thus, he continued: "Many thanks to God are due on me every moment for raising me to such a position that the Emperor himself, with all his power in Hindustan, has taken away his confidence from me and is sending me to the House of God. On reaching Ḥijāz I performed the pilgrimage and visited the two Ḥarams." He wanted to stay there for sometime. Though he had spent much on the presents to the Sharīf of Makkah and he had shown consideration to him yet at the time of the return of the Indian caravan, he (Sharīf) according to his practice [P. 442] laid

down hard terms and demanded more from him. Muṣṭafa K͟hān unable to bear it prepared for his return journey. With a party of fellow-travellers ready to leave, he went to say good bye to the S͟harīf and after saying a few suitable words he rose. The attendants of the S͟harīf wanted to check him but he stopped them and courteously allowed him to leave after offering an apology.

After his return to Surat, the Emperor, despite the intercession of the Prince, refused to forgive him (Muṣṭafā K͟hān) although he usually forgave the undesirable persons on their coming back from the pilgrimage of Makkah. On his return to Surat, he was ordered to appear at the Court, yet as there was no sign of forgiveness in the orders, Muṣṭafa K͟hān proceeded to K͟hajastah Bunyad (Awrangabad). However, keeping in view the wishes of the Emperor, he put on the clothes of a beggar and left for the Court. When he was called to audience, he presented gifts to the Emperor from the Holy Places and took permission to live in retirement. He settled in Awrangabad and passed the rest of his life there.

Muṣṭafa K͟hān had compiled a small treatise in the form of an index through which the verses of *al-Qur'ān* along with *Sūrahs* and *Rukū's* could be easily traced. The Prince one day presented the treatise to the Emperor and said that it was written (تصنیف) by Muṣṭafa K͟hān. After its perusal, the Emperor said that it was a compilation and not an original work. The Prince said that no other person till then, had produced such a book and hence it could be called an original work. The Emperor was somewhat displeased and ordered his librarian that he should take out a book written on the subject from the library and hand it over to the Prince. As Muṣṭafa K͟hān was destined to have a good end [P. 443] he did not suffer more, although in the society of the kings every one has to face the consequences of his deeds.

During the period when Prince S͟hāh 'Ālam was kept in confinement, the Emperor had shown favours to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam who had, therefore, begun to consider himself as the heir-apparent. When the eldest Prince gained his

freedom, the Emperor began to show greater favours to him than in the past. This added daily to the anxiety (ملال خاطر) of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam.

Prince Mu'aẓẓam sent to Kabul.

For the occasion of the 'Īd Prayers the Emporer had already instructed the eldest Prince to take his seat on his right. When the Emperor reached near his prayer carpet to offer 'Īd prayers, he unfastened his sword-belt and handed it over to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam and as he was taking it, the Emperor caught the hand of Prince Shāh 'Ālam and seated him on his right, Muḥammad A'ẓam fastened the sword belt on his waist and remained standing, for a while behind the Emperor, who caught his hand and asked him to sit on his left. Prince A'ẓam, that day, was greatly perturbed and was about to create trouble. The awe and the prestige of the Emperor were, however, too great for his decisions being questioned by any of the Princes. Subsequently the Emperor conferred the title of Bahādur Shāh on Prince Mu'aẓẓam who already had the title of Shāh 'Ālam and sent him as a permanent appointee to Akbarabād to settle its affairs and subdue the trouble creators (مفسدان) in that area. After the arrival of Bahādur Shāh at Akbarabād his sons, Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn and Muḥammad 'Azīm were also sent there. Prince Shāh 'Ālam had remained engaged [P. 444] in the administration of Akbarabād, for some time when he received information about the trouble of the Baluchis in Multan and the revolt of the sect of Balpi (بلپی), with three dotted (پ) in that Province. Following the example of Hindu Sadhus the Balpis wear the clothes of *faqīrs*, and rob and murder the people. The Emperor sent the heir-apparent with his sons for the administration of the Province of Kabul, appointing Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn to the Province of Multan.

'Ālamgīr uses a copper tank (حوض) for ablutions.

The Emperor had a square tank (حوض) of copper made for him. Following the opinion (روایت) of Imām Muḥammad that if the

hands and feet of the persons, who intend to offer prayers, are clean, two or three of them can perform ablutions in that water irrespective of the volume. The Emperor used to perform ablutions with its water. One day one of the learned divines of the Court who was close to the Emperor mentioned to it but he got no reply. After some days the same divine at the instance of and concurrence with Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the Mufti of the Court, asked the same question. The Emperor was annoyed and said; "I am not so ignorant of the religious law (مسئله) as to risk the validity of my prayers."

Later, Mufti Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān got permission to visit the Holy Places. After performing the pilgrimage he came back and disembarked at the port of Surat. At that time Amānat Khān Khwāfī, the son of late Amānat Khān, was the Mutaṣaddi of the Port of Surat. He invited 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān to dinner (ضیافت). The writer of this narrative was also present there. Amānat Khān asked Ḥāji 'Abd al-Raḥmān about the question of ablutions of the Emperor in the copper tank. Ḥāji 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied that it was not proper adding that he had repeatedly requested him (not to do it), but [P. 445] he had not accepted it and that he could do nothing because he was the Emperor. In the gathering there happened to be present a pupil belonging to the family of Khwājah Dīwānah who was one of the leading and prominent persons in Turan. The family had settled in the Port of Surat since two or three generations. He read an extract from the verdict of Imām Muḥammad about ablutions in a tank from an authentic collection of the *fatāwa*. Ḥāji 'Abd al-Raḥmān lost his temper and said: "There are two objections to acting upon and giving a *fatwa* on the basis of this statement. Firstly the outward cleanlines of the hands and feet of the person who is to offer prayers is absolutely necessary and among the common people a precaution in this respect is too well known i.e., it is non-existent. Secondly, from this practice of the Emperor the Shī'ahs will draw another argument in their favour.[1]" Never-

1 The reference is to *Quallatayn* or a small tank of water in the Shī'ah mosques.

theless the Emperpor for a long time continued the use of the copper tank for his ablutions.

Santa's Death

During this year through Divine grace and good fortune of the Emperor occurred the destruction and the going to hell of the wicked Santa.

Several different versions have been heard of the story of the death of that dirty dog, however, I will give here the version which I have heard from reliable persons who were in the army. When reports were received that the acqusitions, ravages and destructions of Santa, the accursed, had passed beyond limits, Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jang was sent thither. He reached within four or five marches of Bijapur to punish him and other cruel people, and there he encamped. About the same time Qilīch Khān, the eldest son of Fīroz Jang had marched out to punish the enemy in the vicinity of the Imperial army. Owing to some disagreement with his father, that had occurred during those days, he reached the camp of the Emperor with his army, and did not want to return to the camp of his father.

[P. 446] From among the leading commanders sent on this expedition no important officer remained with Firoz Jang except? Ḥāmid Khān the brother of Diler Khān, known as 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Bijapuri, and Luṭf Allāh Khān; their kinsmen also had left with Qilīch Khān. In the meantime it was reported that Santa Ghorpura, with an army of twenty five thousand had reached within a distance of eight or nine *Kruhs*. The fore-sighted commander, Fīroz Jang keeping in view the reputation of Santa that even the bravest of warriors lost their nerves on hearing his name and their faces became pale, and considering the small number of his troops and unsuitability of time thought it wise to announce his intentions of meeting Santa. He ordered his Mīr Manzil to clear the route and make it ready for the army, and despatch the advanced guard. He himself then rode and marched to wards Bijapur on the pretext of inspection. When he reached within eight or nine *Kruhs* of Bijapur, his spies informed him that there

was a serious dis-agreement between the cruel Santa, and Dhanna Jadaw.

Both styled themselves as *senapati*, the term used for *sipāh salar* in the Deccani Language. Dhanna Jadaw belonged to an old noble family of the Marhatas and had maintained with the Mughul Amīrs better relation than the unworthy Santa and other Marhata chiefs. Santa always tried to gain ascendency over Dhanna, which was the cause of ill-will between them. Santa was very cruel in punishing people and used to get a man trampled under the feet of the elephant for even a trifling offence. Many a Marhata chief had borne hatred with him and was in secret communication with Dhanna Jadaw, conspiring with him to overthrow Santa,

[P.447] At the instigation of Dhanna Jadaw who had conspired with the officers of Santa ; Hanuvant Rai, a well known *Sardār*, attacked his forces, with the help of Dhanna's troops and plundered his equipment. A number of important *ravats* deserted Santa and joined Hanuvant Rai. Many men of his army were killed and wounded. Deprived of his reasources Santa took the route to his asylum in the hills. There were great jubilations in the camp of Fīroz Jang when his men heard the news. Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān consulted his officers about the pursuit of the enemy. At the same time a *farmān* under the Emperor's signature, was received by him: "Owing to a disagreement among the despised *Sardārs*, it appears that the doom of Santa is close at hand. That Sipāh Sālār (Ghāzi al-Dīn Khān) should pursue the enemy without delay. He should make an attempt in such a way that his good name might be preserved for uprooting that evil natured enemy in time to come. He should give the devil no time to recuperate." On receiving these orders, Fīroz Jang, with the forces he had under his command, started in pursuit of the accursed Santa. Thus from one side the Imperial forces and from the other the troop of Dhanna Jadaw pursued the prey that had already been caught in the trap of death. The army of Santa

had almost completely deserted him and dispersed. Naguna Mia,[1] a Mahrata Sardār, who had served for some time in the Imperial army but had returned to his people and now lived in this part of the country, was a bitter enemy of Santa because he had thrown his brother under the feet of an elephant. [P.448] At this time under the guidance of his wife he led a party in pursuit of Santa and reached a place where Santa, tired and bereft of all his resources, was bathing in a rivulet. He (Nagu) took him unawares, and killed him. He cut off his head, put it in a bag, and fastened it behind his saddle. He wanted to take it to his wife or to Dhanna Jadaw. On the way the bag fell down from the saddle. The *harkārahs* and horsemen of Fīroz Jang's army had dispersed themselves in that region in the pursuit of Santa. It fell into the hands of the *harkārahs* who recognised his face. They brought it to Luṭf Allāh Khān who was in the Advance Guard. He took it to Fīroz Jang and congratulated him on his good fortune; trumpets of victory were blown. After displaying it in the camp he sent it to the enemy-killing Emperor, in the custody of Khwājah Bāba Tūrāni. When the Emperor saw the severed head of the infidel, he offered, thanks-giving prayers to God for the gift (عطیه) and ordered the beating of drums. Khwājah Bāba was given the title of Khush Khabar Khān. Orders were given that the head should be displayed in the army and in some towns of the Deccan. I have heard another version also of this event. Only God knoweth the truth.

Death of Khān Jahān Bahādur

During those days the news of the death of Khān Jahān Bahādur reached the Emperor. In the last days of his life he had fallen under the displeasure of the Emperor and owing to unemployment he passed his days in great poverty, although he was one of the respectable victorious and wise *Amīrs*. He had taken part in twenty two battles, received severe wounds, met his end with a fair name.

1 Nagun, Nago Mamina, appear in different manuscripts. Grant Duff calls him Nagoji Manai.

[Nakuya and Nokuma Mina in other manuscripts—Ed.]

Lārī goes to Makkah

'Abd al-Razzāq Khān Lāri, was trying to find an excuse to go back to his native land from the very beginning of his service. [P. 449] He was very strict with his news writers. At this time, on the complaint of a news writer, he was transferred from the *fawjdāri* of Rāhīrī and was summoned to the Court. He did not come to the Court and while still on the way he resigned his manṣab and requested for permission to go to Ka'bah. When it was reported, outwardly, the permission was given. However, as the Emperor was greatly impressed with his bravery and loyalty to Abu al-Ḥasan and always tried to encourage and conciliate him and invited his followers and conferred favours on him whenever he attended the Court, he secretly directed Mukhliṣ Khān, the Bakhshi to win him over and persuade him on his own behalf, not to carry out his plan. 'Abd al-Razzāq did not agree. The Emperor kindly gave him the permit (دستک) to proceed on his journey with his money and family. The three sons of 'Abd al-Razzāq, Muḥammad Ma'ṣum etc ; did not agree to accompany their (father and stayed behind at the Court. No servant of Abu al-Ḥasan enjoyed so much respect in the service of the Emperor as 'Abd al-Razzāq did (on account of his loyalty to his previous master), and none ended his life more honourably.

Regnal Year 40

(*Corresponding to 1107 H./1695-96 A.C.*)

Prince Muḥammed A'ẓam was sent to punish the hated enemy and to settle the affairs of Bargāon.[1]

At this time information reached the Emperor that Ram Raja, the brother of Sambha, the accursed (جهنمی) having left the forts [P. 450] in the district of Rajgarh, had sought protection in strong places in the direction of the fort of Chnchi[2] (چنجی). And had

1 Birgaon in another manescripts. Ed.

2. Elliot's translation of this passage is not correct.

remained unheard of for a long time. However, he had now returned to the *Ta'alluqah* of Sitara and lived there for seven months. When he came to know of the murder of Santa[1] he sent for Dhanna Jadaw for consultation and was thinking of mobilising an army with evil intentions.

Prince Muḥammad Akbar is allowed to leave for Garm Sīr.

In the meantime it was learnt from the reports of news-writers of Multan that Prince Muḥammed Akbar who had fled to the territories of Sulaymān, the Shāh of Persia, had repeatedly requested him for help with an army. Now he had repeated his request to Shāh Ḥusayn who had ascended the throne. Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn like the deceased Shāh Sulayman apologised saying: "As long as your father is occupying the throne, it is unfair to expect any help for an Indian expedition. When it comes to your brothers, I will not hesitate in giving you whatever help I can." After some time the Prince communicated to him (Sulṭān Ḥusayn) the incorrect news of the incident (of the death of his father) alleging that he had received it through some Indian merchants and repeated his request and sought the permission of the Shāh to depart. The latter replied: "I will not accept the authenticty of this report until I receive information from my own merchants in India." After two or three months the Prince feeling ashamed at the news having been proved to be false, said to the Shāh that he wanted to pass his days at Garm Sir,[3] in the province of Khurāsān as the climate of Iṣfahān did not suit him. He wanted that orders should be issued to the officers of the place to give him military help if necessity arose and that it would be considered as great obligation. The Shāh, according to the request of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, made arrangements for his journey; his expenses were to be borne

1 In the text there is سنبها which is an obvious misprint for سنتا

2 Shāh Sulaymān died in 1694.

3 The Muslim geographers divided the region of Fārs (Persia) into two parts calling them as Hot Lands (گرم سیر) and Cold Lands (سرد سیر). Les Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 249.

[P. 451] by the authorities of that place. An order was given that the Prince should be escorted by ten thousand Qizilbāshes for service if need arose. The Prince started in that direction.

Flood in the River Bhanrah.

In the month of Muḥarram in this year, owing to the excessive blessing of God (i.e. rains) and flood in the river Bhanrah, a strange calamity befell the Imperial troops. The Imperial forces were cantoned on its bank and the Amīrs had raised a number of structures. The water had begun to rise in the second *pahr* (پهر) of the night when the people were sleeping soundly and by the break of the day nearly half of the camp was in its grip. Owing to the darkness of the night, the rise of the river level, excessive rain and mud it became difficult for the people to save their lives, property and families from that unexpected catastrophe. The flood carried away about ten to twelve thousand troops along with the stores of the Emperor, the Princes and the Amīrs, besides countless horses, bullocks and camels and tents and baggage beyond all estimates. Many structures fell down and some of them entirely disappeared in water. The level of the water rose at every moment causing great tumult and confusion in the camp. All the followers of the Princes and the nobles dispersed in different directions. Every body, holding the hands of his children and wife, tried to escape to raised plots of grounds or climb the high trees leaving his belongings behind. Though the Imperial tent was pitched on a high level it was also surrounded on all the sides by water ; orders were issued, and the Imperial and other elephants were brought to carry the ladies of the palace, jewels, and other stores. The Emperor (خلد مکان) wrote prayers in his own hand [P.452] to be dropped in the water so that the flood might subside.

During this confusion a *chhappar*[1] appeared with a beautiful woman, in ornaments, jewels and valuable dress sitting on it,

1 Thatched roof.

floating on the water. She wailed and cried for rescue and offered every thing which she had as a reward. When she was taken out with great difficulty, it was found that she was the wife of a Hindu banker and had floated down from Bahādur Garh reaching Islām Puri in 18 hours.

I have heard from a reliable authority that the attendants of Mukhliṣ Khān, the Bakhshi, had secretly, hidden underground cash and ornaments worth a lakh of rupees at a place beyond the expected reach of water. When the place came under the flood they had no time to take the articles out. They were quite sure and satisfied that it was safe to keep those things under ground. At the moment they thought it was better to save their lives and those of their families. Due to their continuous vigilance it remained inaccessible to any stranger. When the flood subsided they surrounded the place with screens (*qanāts*). However, they dug at two or three places, but did not find any thing there.

Mosque in Bidar Fort struck by lightning.

Another strange incident of this year was an accident at Bidar, which was reported through despatches from Ẓafarabād. Inside the fort of Bidar, Khwājah Jahān had built a mosque. One night when the people were offering *Tarāwiḥ*[1] prayers, they were struck by lightning, all of them except three or four were burnt to death. It is related on sound authority that the Imām[2] of that mosque was passing his days in seclusion and had abandoned all the luxuries of life[3]. He took a bath, changed his clothes on that day, [P. 453) and bade farewell to all his associates. He said that he was noticing symptoms of death. Although there was no mark of burning on his body or clothes, he surrendered his life to God (جان بحق تسليم نمود)

1 تراويح : in the early part of the night superorgatory prayers offered in the month of Ramaḍān.

2 امام : One who leads the congregation in prayers.

3 خانقاه اختيار نموده

Regnal Yaer 41

(*Corresponding to 1108 H./1696-97 A.C.*)

Yāqūt Khān appointed commandant of Rāhīrī

Sīdi Khayriyat Khān commandant of Bari and the fort of Rāhīrī, died in the 39th year of the reign of the Emperor. It was reported by 'Abd al-Razzāq, Fawjdār of that district, that the property of Khayryiat Khān had been transferred to Yāqūt Khān and that he would be responsible for the payment of salaries of his troops. On the authority of this document, Sīdi Yāqūt Khān took possession of all the property left by Sīdi Khayriyat Khān, including kind and cash, amounting to a large sum of money. He took his wife and young sons to the Island fortress which was in his Fawjdāri and kept them under custody, giving them a daily allowance as is given to the prisoners.

In this year an incident from Rajpuri, belonging to Sīdi Yāqūt Khān, was reported to the Emperor. On the first night of the month of Ramaḍān a number of women went inside the palace of Yāqūt Khān to greet him on the appearance of the new moon. At the instance of the wife of Khayriyat Khān, a beardless (امرد) youth dressed like the Hindu and Muslim Kokani women, with a small dagger and a wooden mace hidden under the folds of his petticoat and *Sāri* had entered the palace in the crowd of women. He had hidden himself in the latrine used exclusively by Yāqūt Khān. It was the practice of [P. 454] Yāqūt Khān that he sat armed in the outer part of the palace, throughout the day till one *pahr* of the night conducting his business, and then going inside his palace remained in the same condition till two *pahrs* of the night were passed. In the third *pahr* he unarmed himself, went to the latrine and then after that he performed ablutions before retiring to bed. That night too, as usual, he went to the latrine with a slave-girl carrying a torch (مشعل) and ewer before him. The moment the slave-girl put her foot inside the latrine she saw that youth with a dagger in his hand, she at once cried aloud and the torch fell down from her hand. The youth got his chance and struck

the wooden mace at the Abyssinian's head; then he wanted to hurl his dagger at him. Although Yāqūt Khān had unfastened his trousers band (ازاربند) and blood was gushing out from his forehead, yet he caught the hand of the assailant along with the dagger and took him under his arm, not allowing him to move. Then he threw him down on the ground and sat over his chest, but he had not sufficient strength to snatch the dagger from his hand. There arose a tumult in the palace and many Abyssinian slave-girls rushed with sticks and torches to him. They siezed his dagger. Other servants also came in from outside and wanted to beat and kill him. Yāqūt Khān, however, recognized him by his name and face and knew that he had no enmity with him to attack him in that way and was, therefore, doing it as an agent of some other party. Yāqūt Khān tried to pacify him, strictly prohibited his servants from beating him. He had his hands and face washed and with great courage on solemn oath promised to spare his life. Thus he succeeded in getting a confession from him and came to know the whole truth. The names [P. 455] of his own confidants who were in league with the wife of Khayriyat Khān were also revealed by him. He kept the unfortunate person for a long time in confinement and in accordance with his oath he did not put him to death, but others who had conspired with him got their due punishment in course of time. He did not punish the wife of Khayriyat Khān either; on the other hand after some time he increased her daily allowance.

A Makkan Scholar appointed Imām.

Two years earlier, the Emperor had invited a scholar of Makkah known as Āfandi, who was famous for the sweetness of his voice, correct recitation of the *Qur'ān* and other qualities. A large sum of money was sent to him for his travel expenses and *madad kharch*. On his arrival he was appointed Imām and Khaṭīb and received besides other favours, two handsome maid servants with embroidered dresses, from the palace. In this year after leading the 'Īd al-Aḍḥa prayers, he was guilty of

a serious omission when delivering the *Khuṭbah*. After reciting the *ḥamd* (praise of God), and *na't* (praise of the Prophet) he mentioned the names of the first two pious caliphs only and then he concluded the *Khuṭbah*. Some of the scholars closely associated with the Emperor wanted to surround and insult the Khaṭib. Later, however, when the Emperor asked him about the omission, the Imām apologized and said that when delivering the Khuṭbah his heart was full of grief because he was deprived of the good fortune of going round the House of God and performing pilgrimage, and that he did not know what he was uttering and what had happened. The forgiving and merciful Emperor accepted his excuse, saved him from insult and favoured him. Nevertheless from that day he lost his respect in the eyes of the Emperor and his associates, and after some time he requested for permission to go back to his native land. He was honourably allowed to go.

Rūḥ Allāh Khān appointed Bakhshi

[P. 456] Mukhliṣ Khān, who was adorned with the garb of piety, and possessed outward and internal accomplishments, went from this transitory world to the eternal one. Rūḥ Allāh Khān was appointed Bakhshi in his place.

Regnal year 42

(*Corresponding to 1109 H./1697-98 A.C.*)

Siege of Burhanpur by the Marhata repulsed.

Through the report from Burhanpur, information reached the Emperor that Niba Sindhia, Dhanna and other chieftains of the ignoble enemy, had approached Burhanpur with a large army and besieged it. Najābat Khān the Imperial ṣūbahdār came out of the city with his troops and tried to avert the enemy's threat. He did not come down from the back of the elephant for three days and nights and showed remarkable corurage. The enemy raised the siege, moved towards the sarkār of Bijagarh with a view to cross

the river at the ford of Akbarpur, and ultimately his forces dispersed in the direction of Malwa to plunder it. Fīroz Jang started in pursuit, and gave them a sound thrashing. Many of the enemy soldiers became the fodder of the swords, and the targets of the arrows and spears of the brave warriors. A *farmān* under Imperial signature was issued appreciating his services.

The reports from the port of Sūrat revealed that Mīr 'Ali Naqi, one of the grand sons of Khalīfah Sulṭān, who was closely related to the Shāh of Persia had reached that port. He had come with the intention of seeking service with the Emperor. Orders were issued fixing his salary at two thousand rupees from the income of the port of Surat, and that he was to be treated as State guest.

Ḥusayn 'Ali Khān's defeat

Sayyid Ḥusayn 'Ai Khān, the son of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān of Bārihah, was transferred from the *fawjdāri* of Sulṭānpūr, Nadarbār etc to the *fawjdāri* of Seoni-Hoshangabad. He reached there and took charge of his new office after one year. [P. 457] He was again retransferred to the *Fawjdāri* of Nadarbar and the *parganah* of Thalīz. In *Sarkār* Asī after reaching Thaliz, and making necessary arrangements there he wanted to go to Nadarbar. In the meantime Niba Sindhia and unworthy *Sardārs* (سردار) of Ram Raja entered the Parganah of Nadarbar with eight thousand troops and plundered and burnt a number of villages. When they heard the news of Ḥusayn 'Ali Khān's march from Thaliz, they stopped the plundering of Nadarbar and prepared themselves for his opposition. Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān not caring about the large number of enemy troops, rushed to meet them with seven or eight hundred horsemen, about two or three thousand musketeers and archers who were in his pay and the levies raised by the Zamīndārs of his own territory. Their forces met each other at a distance of two *kruhs* from the town of Thalīz. The Sayyids of Bārihah fought like mad men in the severe battle which ensued. Ḥūsayn 'Alī Khān made valiant attacks and repeatedly pushed back the forces of the

Through the efforts of skilled workers, it was built within fifteen or twenty days, although in ordinary times it would have taken six or seven months to prepare it. Nawwāb Qudsiyah Zīnat al-Nisa Begum, the real sister of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, the mother of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh, and other ladies of the palace were to remain there in the charge of Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān. The Emperor ordered it to be proclaimed that all the Amīrs, *manṣabdārs*, and other people should leave their families along with superfluous goods in the enclosure. All the camp followers of the Imperial establishments were to be left at that camp. Strict orders were given that no person should take his family with him. In this connection severe injunctions were issued, but as in expeditions and journeys in Hindustan (North India) such orders, though given under threat of punishment, usually not inflicted by the Mughul Emperors, due to their merciful treatment of the people, were not carried out, here too they were not obeyed.

On the 5th of Jumāda I of this year, the Emperor marched in the direction of Basant Garh[1] and other forts and halting and marching on the route for twenty days he encamped at Murtaḍa Ābād, known as Miraj. Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, who was summoned from Birgaon[2] to the royal presence, reached the Court at this stage.

During these very days it was reported by the spies that Ram Raja, the brother of the assassinated hell-dog, Sambha, had abandoned his forts, [P. 461] under the pressure of Imperial forces; after the latter's capture; he had fled away and was passing his days in well protected hills and inaccessible places having in his mind evil intentions. At this time on hearing about the Emperor's march with a large army for the conquest of the forts, he proceeded towards Berar and ravaged the towns and other inhabited places of that area.

1 About thirty miles south of Satarah.

2 Bidgaon, Birgaon. Pirgaon in other manuscripts (Editor).

It was also reported that the wicked zamīndār of Deogarh, who owing to quarrels in his native place and the success of his rivals had sought protection at the Court, and accepted Islām. He was given the title of Buland Ba<u>kh</u>t, and was being treated with honour. However as has been said,

Verse :

عاقبت گرگ زاده گرگ شود
گرچه با آدمی بزرگ شود

[Ultimately the cub of a wolf grows into a wolf.

Though it might have been brought up in the company of men.]

Accordingly, on hearing the news of the death of the rival claimant to his inheritance without taking the permission of the Emperor, he fled to Deogarh. He maltreated the collectors of *Pe<u>sh</u>ka<u>sh</u>* (tribute) and joined hands with Ram Raja in plundering the country. The Emperor ordered that he was to be called Nigūn Ba<u>kh</u>t (the unfortunate).

Prince Bedār Ba<u>kh</u>t sent in pursuit of Ram Raja.

Prince Bedār Ba<u>kh</u>t, with a well equipped army was ordered to proceed to punish Ram Raja and Nigūn Ba<u>kh</u>t. The Prince was directed that leaving his equippage at Murtaḍa Ābād, he should advance by forced marches in pursuit of the enemy in such a way that no smouldering cinder should be left underneath the ashes, which might grow into a flame again. Rūḥ Allāh <u>Kh</u>ān Ba<u>khsh</u>ī and Ḥamīd al-Dīn receeived more favours from the Emperor and were sent to ravage the country surrounding the forts of Parnalah and Satarah.

Capture of the fort of Basant Garh.

After marching from Murtaḍa Ābād, the Emperor saw a mosque. From the ruins round it, it appeared that owing to [P. 462] the ravages of the enemy, nothing of the town was left except it. The Emperor had his tent pitched near it and entering

it offered his prayers. He ordered it to be rebuilt and a *Thānah* to be established there. After marching from that place, the Emperor encamped near the *Thānah* of Masuri, three *kruhs* from Basant Garh. Tarbiyat Khān, who had been appointed Mīr Ātish, was now directed to lay siege to it and make arrangement for building entrenchments. The besieged also started firing with guns and other fire arms, from the top of the hill. After having pitched his tent at two or three places, the Emperor ordered it to be finally pitched on the banks of the river Krishna at a distance of one *kruh* from the fort, although the place was within the range of gun-fire. On the following morning he ordered that the army should make preparations for an assault. Witnessing the preparations and firm intention of the Emperor, the besieged lost heart and started negotiations in all humility promising to surrender the fort in return for the guarantee of their lives. It was ordered that their arms should be taken and they should be allowed to leave in safety. In the night, before any body could get any information, the besieged holding the hands of their wives and children, disappeared in a way that no trace of them was left behind. On receipt of this news, jubilations were held in the camp on the conquest of the fort. The leading Amīrs congratulated him (the Emperor) on his success in capturing the fort; arms, ammunitions, and food-grains and other stores were seized by the Imperial army. The fort was given the name of "Kalīd-e-Fatḥ" (the key of victory).

Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn suppresses Baluchis in Lower Sind.

From the reports of the despatch-writers of Multan, news reached the Court, that Prince Mu'izz al-Dīn, Nāẓim of Multan, assisted by Ḥafīẓ Allāh Khān, younger son of the deceased Jumdat al- Mulk, [P. 463] Nāẓim of the ṣūbah of Thattah, who had complete control over that region, was engaged in suppressing the trouble created by the Baluchis, who had gathered a force of ten or twelve thousand horsemen, and men of mischief and the tribe of Lati.[1] The

1 Labi or Labḥi in other MSS. Editor. No doubt the reference is to Balpi.

boldness of the two unfortunate tribes had exceeded the limits. Severe action were fought repeatedly. In the beginning the army of the Prince was hard pressed owing to the successes of the mischief mongers. However, great efforts were made by the Prince. Luṭf Ali Khan, Raja Suraj Mal and Pahar Khān[1] along with a number of Imperial officers and the servants of the Prince were killed ; on the side of the enemy, the Lati Chief and about a thousand horsemen and soldiers lost their lives. In the end the Prince gained victory.

Conquest of the fort of Satarah.

The Emperor, now turned his attention towards the conquest of the fort of Satarah. To those who know how to conquer forts, it was evident that the fort of Satarah had all the characteristics denoted by its name (اسم با مسمی). Very few forts, high and strong like it, have been seen under the blue sky. A poet has said in its praise :

بالائے سرش ز ارجمندی
تا بنده ستاره بلندی

[Over its head because of excellence,
Shone the star of sublimity.][2]

Towards the end of Jumāda II, the Imperial tent, high as the sky was pitched at a distance of one and a half *kruh* from the fort. On the other side of the fort was the circle of the camp forces (دائرہ) of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam's army with a dignity as high as sky. (P. 464] On the suggestion of Tarbiyat Khān leading Amirs pitched their camps at different places encircling the fort every one of whom vied with each other in the digging of entrenchments and tunnels and collecting material for an assault in a few days and with very little effort the dragon like guns fierce like sea monsters, whose sounds made thunder lose courage and melted the bile of Mercury, were advanced to the foot of the hill and

1 Pahar Khān in some manuscripts appears as Naba Khān and Pahar Khān.
9 It is a slightly changed form of a couplet of Shaykh Sa'di.

posted on the ramparts. Heavy fire, which shoot the mountains (کوہ ربا) was exchanged between the top and the foot of the fort. In the day as well as in the night, the besieged rained balls, bullets, rockets and sheets of fire from the top of the hill and rolled down every moment thousands of intoxicated pieces of (سنگ ھائے ستوالہ) stones which like drunkard struck the backs and heads of the besiegers and their animals and killed many of them without distinction. Owing to non arrival of supplies which could not reach the camp on account of excessive rains, obstruction caused by the daring raids of the enemy on the Imperial convoys and his having burnt the places upto a distance of twenty *kruhs* on all sides of the fort, the scarcity of provisions and fodder reached a stage which it is better not to describe. At last a redoubt, twenty four yards high, was erected opposite the fort. On the side of the Prince also the entrenchments were advanced up to the foot of the hill. One lakh and six thousand rupees were spent on securing the services of troops and the '*Mawālis*' of that district who were expert in the work of siege operations and they were made to exert their efforts. Thousands of sky-high ladders, and leather coats were secured and countless fruit trees were cut down to prepare camel-litters, stockades and other material for siege. It went so hard with the besieged that they were not able to fire guns and muskets. They could, however, throw down [P. 465] stones from above the walls killing those who happened to be at the foot of the fort, giving no respite to those who happened to be there, (پائے کار). The incessant showering of stones did not allow them to assault the fort. Fatḥ Allāh Khān a veteran warrior and an experienced general from Tūrān, having no equal in courage and bravery, was ordered to advance another entrenchment in company with Rūḥ Allāh Khān, opposite to the gate of the fort. In the course of a month they reached the hillock[1] but nothing substantial was done. Tarbiyat Khān did not like that any one else should earn the honour of making an effort (to assault the fortress). Under expert advice, the stone cutters

1 ریوہ A hillock ریونی — Elevated ground or fortification raised near the gate of a fort in order to protect it from unexpected assault.

cut open two vaults four yards long and ten yards broad on a side of the rock ; in them soldiers were posted experienced in hill fighting as sentinels to show their courage at the time of assault. As the plans which he had in his mind did not materialise so he thought of another stratagem. He filled the two vaults with gun powder, which were deadly (جان ستان) like the eyebrows of the beloved. When his efforts were reported to the Emperor, he ordered that the life sacrificing troops under the command of Mukhliṣ Khān Bakhshi and Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān Bahādur, comprising of several thousand Ghāzi[1], and Karnataki foot soldiers were to reach the foot of the hill and wait for the blowing of the mine and show their spirit of sacrifice and bravery. On the morning of 5th Dhu al-Qa'dah when four months had passed since the commencement of the siege, they set fire to the larger vault. The rampart along with the wall over it blew up and fell inside the fort. Many of the besieged [P. 466] were blown off and burnt. The Imperial troops were encouraged by this sight of bravery and advanced fearlessly. At this stage they set fire to the second vault. The rocks of the hill over it, which they had expected, would fall on the other side of the fort, fell like a mountain of calamity on the ill fated Imperial troops themselves resulting in a shocking and unexpected trembling of the hills and the wilderness.[2] Several thousand people who were posted in the caves and on the structures waiting for an assault any moment, were buried under the rocks without being washed and proper funeral shrouds like a group of martyrs. From the manṣabdārs and artillery men, who, could be counted upto two thousand, were killed. Besides them other people like foot soldiers, workmen and *Mawālis* nearly twice in number were buried under the stones and earth. About one hundred men, had escaped death, who by a strange chance seeing the loss of life at the foot of the hill, struggled and succeeded in climbing up the walls of the fort. They did not find any one alive at the top of the

1 عنبری in another manuscript—Ed.

2 زلزله هوش ربائے غریب دراں دامن کوه و دشت پر و حشت پیچید -

fort, (از قلعه) only dead bodies could be seen lying there. With expressions of joy they called their fellow soldiers saying: "The field of effort is vacant, and brave warriors should reach the place soon." As every body left at the foot of the hill was wounded and had lost heart, none had strength enough to climb up the hill. They could not receive any help, and some men of the garrison, hearing their cries, rushed to the spot and slew all of them. Besides this nothing came out of their efforts. The besieged on seeing that the assaillants of the fort were killed, and the place was without any valiant warrior, began to repair the breached wall and started [P. 467] bombardment and the throwing of rockets and deadly stones.

'Ālamgīr leads the assault.

When the world-conquering Emperor was informed of this, and when he came to know that the fort capturing warriors had lost heart, g raciously mounted his fast running horse, and followed by personal attendants, he advanced to the scene of action as if in search of martyrdom. He ordered that the dead bodies should be piled up in a heap to serve as a shield against the arrows of calamity; and climbing the ladder of resolution and scaling the ropes of boldness, the men should rush to make an assault. When he found that there were no signs of obedience to his orders on the troops, he himself, accompanied by Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, decided to lead them. The pillars of the State (nobles) most earnestly and respectfully tried to stop him from this daring step. He then tried to encourage his troops and addressed them: "Why do you allow fear and despair to enter your hearts. The wicked enemy has not as yet even attacked you. Those, who were destined to die, have gained martyrdom which is the highest reward for the believers in this world and in the next world. You should prepare yourself for a holy war (جهاد) and should fight till you are alive." He ordered that Sarfarāz Khān Deccani should rush to the place of action with his followers, who were expert in capturing

forts, and the troops of Bahrahmand Khān Bakhshi, taking the help of Tarbiyat Khān and build ramparts there.

A group of people who had lost heart, rubbed their hands in helplessness and said that so many of the experienced and brave warriors had lost their lives and were lying buried under stones and rubble and lakhs of rupees and efforts of five months had produced nothing. They still could not see the end of the campaign; they did not know that.

[P. 468] *Verse*:

گل راچه مجال است که گوید به کلال
کز بهر چه سازی و چرا می شکنی

[The earth had no business to ask the potter why he prepared the pots and why he broke them].

Some times He takes out the brains of the Men of the Elephant[1] with the pebbles thrown down upon them by Swallows carrying them in their beaks; and sometimes He gives joy to the infidels through martyrdom of the Muslims in the battle of Uḥud[2]. The relations and heirs of those who had lost their lives in the caves and whose bodies could be discovered, engaged themselves in washing and giving them a proper burial.

Another strange event also occurred. A large number of Hindu foot soldiers had been killed in the explosion. Their relations could not discover and take out their dead bodies, because the explosion had entirely disfigured them and it was not possible to distinguish between a Hindu and a Muslim or a friend and a stranger. The flames of animosity had been enkindled in the hearts of all the men of the artillery against the Mīr Ātish. In the night, to make the fire reach the dead bodies of the Hindus, they secretly set fire to the battery (*Marḥalah*) which had been built with great labour and at a great expense with the object of protecting the people from the bombardment of the besieged.

1 Reference to the *Quranic Sūrah* No. 105 الم تر کیف

2 The Battle of Uḥud was fought in 3 H.

A large encircling conflagration followed which for a week, served as a bright lamp both for the besiegers and the besieged. Many Muslims and Hindus posted at the battery could not get time to come out, and the living were burnt along with the dead bodies.

این مرحله گرچه دل نشین است
هشدار که پاداش آتشین است

[Although this battery is attractive,
Be careful because its kiln is fiery].

Tāra Bā'i succeeds Ram Raja.

About this time came the report of the news-writers that the accursed Rana, namely Ram Raja [P. 469] after meeting with some reverses in his raid upon Berar was returning to the hills in his own territory. On his way he died a natural death and hurried towards his eternal abode, leaving behind three young sons and two widows. Soon after it was reported that his eldest son, who was only five years of age, had also died of small-pox. The unworthy chiefs who were with him, nominated Tāra Bā'i, his elder wife and mother of one of his sons, as his successor. She had gained a reputation for intelligence and cleverness and for proficiency in civil and military affairs during her husband's life time. The said Rani proceeded towards the hills, difficult of approach.

On the receipt of the news, the Emperor ordered the beating of the drums of rejoicing and offered thanks to God for the removal of the danger of that infidel for the people of the world. As the happy news spread in the army the faithful servants of the Emperor and the shallow minded people, ignorant of the ways of God offered congratulations to the Emperor and to one another. Just as on hearing the news of the arrest and execution of Sambha, they had predicted that the troubles in the Deccan were over, now, too, all of them were jubillant and said: "The Marhata danger is uprooted. Two infant boys are left with a helpless woman and their destruction is a question of time." They were ignorant of the Hemistich :

دشمن نتوان حقیر و بیچاره شمرد

[The enemy should never be considered weak and helpless].

Soon proof of the leadership of Tāra Bā'i wife of Ram Raja and her efforts in continuing the storm of rebellion became evident. These daily added to the troubles (of the Mughuls) and (improved) the affairs of the Marhatas. These will be narrated in their proper place.

Surrender of the forts of Satarah and Parli.

In this year Paras Ram, who had been appointed by Ram Raja to settle the revenue affairs of the district, around Parli, seven *kruhs* from Satarah, lost heart on hearing of his death. He came out of the fort without consulting the commandant (قلعه دار) and offered his allegiance to the Emperor. In the meantime the commandant of the fort of Parli also having lost courage opened negotiations for the surrender of the fort on conditions of safety for his life and property. The commandant of the fort of Satarah Sobhān who had an enmity with the commandant of the part of the fort of Parli saw that the wall of the fort had been blown up and caused the death of a number of his troops by fire. Besides this, the news of Ram Raja's death had also spread. Becoming anxious as to the consequences, he, with the approval of Prince Muḥammed A'ẓam Shāh, made a request that he should be allowed to surrender the keys of the fort on a guarantee for the safety of his life and property and a refusal (by Emperor) to grant forgiveness to the commandant of the fort of Parli. He also made a promise that in no time he would secure the surrender of the fort of Parli without any condition about the granting of safety to the commandant of that fort. His request was granted. On the 13th of Dhu al-Qa'dah of the above year the keys of the fort of Satarah were surrendered. More than three thousand men and women were granted safety and they evacuated the fort. The celebration of victory and congratulations were held in different ways. Sobhān was brought to the

foot of the throne with hands and neck bound with ropes. The Emperor, out of grace, forgave his crimes and ordered his hands to be unfastened. He was given a *manṣab* of five thousand with two thousand horse, a horse, an elephant, a jewelled dagger, a standard and a drum (نقاره) and twenty thousand rupees in cash were conferred on him.

After the surrender of Satarah, the Emperor diverted his attention to the siege. When the Brahmans, [P. 471] who had come from Parli, returned without obtaining a guarantee for the safety of life, the commandant of the fort, which boasted of a height more than that of Satarah, prepared for war and started the repair of its turrets and battlements. If Satarah boasted that the glory of the heavens was due to it, Parli vied in boast that the fame of glory of the heavens lay in rivalry with it. If Satarah boasted that the constellations of the heavens borrowed their glory from it, Parli, was proud because it thought that they were bright because they were under its shadow.

If the details of the assaults and efforts made by the brave warriors, particularly the leader of the valiant fighters, Fatḥ Allāh Khān, are described this narration will become lengthy. The gist of the story is that on the tenth of Dhu al-Ḥijjah, many of the brave warriors were killed in an attempted assault. Although through the efforts of Fatḥ Allāh Khān and Tarbiyat Khān and other faithful officers, the garrison was pressed very hard, yet owing to the incessant rains which fall in this region day and night and do not give respite even for a moment during five months, and owing to the shortage of supplies, due to the convoys having been cut off by the enemy who swarmed round the camp like ants and locusts and on account of the floods in the rivulets, the Imperial troops also had to face serious difficulties. The provisions and fodder became so scarce that the soldiers and the animals became too weak to move. Owing to a rise in prices and scarcity of money nobody purchased anything other than eatables. If the elixir[1] of life was available for a small copper

1 آب حیات

coin[1] (جیتل) [P. 472] no one would purchase it even for a grain of barley. If all the drops of rain were changed into bright pearls, none, because of the want of small coins and utter destitution, would cast an eye on them. To be brief, the brightness in the market of famine daily became greater. Due to starvation the flesh on the bodies of men like that on those of the animals was reduced so much that it existed only in name. The men of the garrison, now and then came down from the hill and took the people unawares. At last owing to the valiant attacks of brave Fatḥ Allāh Khān, the besieged lost courage and begged for safety. In the beginning of Muḥarram, the fort, after a siege of one month and a half surrendered, and the men of the garrison having been granted safety vacated it with their families and old clothes on their bodies. The Amirs offered congratulations to the Emperor. Both the forts had famous mosques which had been constructed by the kings of Bijapur, and which the infidels had tried to destroy, were now ordered by the Emperor to be rebuilt. The names of Satarah and Parli were respectively changed to A'ẓam Tāra and Nawras Tāra.

Emperor crosses the Krishna.

After appointing the commandants of the forts and settling other affairs in the territory, the Emperor decided to depart from there, but the beasts of burden to carry the equipages of the Emperor and the Amirs were not available. Owing to incessant rains and the inclemency of the climate, which does not suit the camels, there was not a single camel left in the camp. On account of passes in the mountains, which were difficult to cross, the carriages (ارابه) could not be used; moreover the bullocks of the carriages had been reduced to mere skin and bones owing to excessive showering of rains for five months. The mountain-like elephants had also faced the same trouble. However, the baggage of the Emperor and the Amirs was somehow or other loaded on the weak elephants, having only skin and bones and half dead

1 A small copper coin equal to 1/4 of a pice.

(نیم جان) bullocks, the labourers and beggars of the free kitchen (فقیران بلغور خانه).[1] They carried whatever baggage they could [P. 473] leaving the rest with the commandant of the fort while a part of it was destroyed by fire to make travelling light. The unfortunate poor men, whose luggage was light enough to be carried by a cock put it on their shoulders and started with the camp followers. Moreover a number of elephants and bullocks whose lives were a burden on them died in the passes on account of heavy loads which they could not carry, and thus the routes were blocked. At last after covering five *kruhs* in three stages, they reached the bank of the Krishna. For crossing the river there was nothing except seven damaged boats. The Emperor, therefore, issued orders for a halt. What shall I say of the intensity of flood in the Krishna? Whoever cast a glance over the life crushing waves of that terrible river, almost lost his life, when he thought of large number of the troops and inadequacy of the means of crossing.

Verses :

چه دریا سایهٔ قهر الهی   ازو در رعشه‌ازمه تابه‌ماهی

[What a horrible river it was! It was a shadow of God's scourge,
Every thing from the moon to the Fish[2] below the earth was trembling due to fear].

Later when they started crossing the river, although mace-bearers were posted so that the strong might not oppress the weak, and it was ordered that every day one of the princes and an important Amir should cross the river, yet there was so much trouble and sword clashing at the ferry that no day passed when two or three persons were not killed or drowned. Turk Tāz Khān and some other Tūrāni Mughuls, seized two boats, by force of sword and without orders from the Emperor. They crossed the river and then they made the boats a beggar's bowl and considered them to be a lawful source of income. They prevented others from using them and joining the sailors in their oppressive methods, charged

1 بلغور lit. bruised barley or wheat.

2 Refers to the legendary fish on which the earth was believed to be resting.

a gold coin in place of a silver one, and collected a large amount of money. Thus the helpless ones who had neither force nor money remained on the bank, drowned in the river of anxiety, and were anchoring under the tree of "what shall we do?" [P. 474] They did not know what to do and many of them who had lost all their belongings had become fed up with their lives and threw themselves into the river in the hope of crossing it by swimming or through Divine help. Only one out of ten reached the bank of salvation and many of them were drowned in the river of annihilation. Many of the destitutes, who were left behind, entered the forest of death and no trace of them could be found. After crossing the river in this way, in the middle of the month of Ṣafar of the same year, they reached the foot of an unknown fort where they could pass a few days. The Emperor ordered a halt for one month. The rains which had accompanied them upto this place ceased and the army could take rest for some time.

Verse :

گرهمه خضر است پے گم کردهٔ کار خود است
گرهمه عیسیٰ است در فکر خر و بار خود است

[Even if Khiḍr were there, he would lose the way in his own business,

And even if Christ were there he would be absorbed in the care of his donkey and its loads].

About this time Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, had displeased the Emperor, by some of his actions, and, it was reported that, according to the statement of the Prince the soldiers were in a state of dissatisfaction. The Emperor sent the Prince to the Ṣūbehdāri of Ujjayn to give rest to the army, although he had a firm determination to make preparations for the conquest of Parnālah and other sky-high forts. In the same way many officers who had become destitutes were sent to their Jāgīrs, which were at a distance of ten or twelve days' journey, others to Bijapur and other places nearby. Prince

Bedār Bakht who had been ordered to come to the Court after the pursuit of Ram Raja; but who had not reached it as yet, was directed to proceed as advanced guard to capture Parnalah. [P. 475] Dhu al-Fiqār Khān and Tarbiyat Khān, along with the artillery, were also sent thither behind the Prince.

Imperial camp at Khawāṣ Purah overtaken by flood.

As many of the soldiers and numberless horses had perished at the foot of the conquered forts, strict orders were issued by the Emperor, whose *farmāns* were obeyed by the whole world, to the Ṣūbehdārs of Awrangabad, Bijapur, Hyderabad, Ahmadabad and others, far and near, that each of them should send to the Imperial camp one thousand horsemen with good horses which had been properly looked after, giving them six months salary in advance from the government treasury. In order to give rest to the army, the Emperor, now marched towards Khawāṣ Purah which is a place having abundant greenery, grass and fruit trees and a plentiful supply of water. He reached the place in the end of Rabi' I and encamped there. The men of army enjoyed complete rest for a few days owing to the cheapness of grain and of other eatables; everyone of them spoke with the tongue of his condition, (زبان حال) saying:

Verse;

باز آمد رنگ ما به روے
باز آمد آب ما در جوے

[Once again came to our faces their original colour
Once again water has come to our canals].

As the treacherous Time cannot bear to see bloom on the face of the rose, a fresh and unexpected calamity from the blue befell the Emperor and his troops. I will narrate it very briefly. The army had encamped by the side of a nullah which had very little water and which had sandy and dry ground near it. The rainy season being over, nobody expected untimely and excessive rains. However, at the end of

Rabi' II incessant rains fell out of season, on the hills and over extensive plains. When a part of the night had passed, a heavy flood surrounded the army and they were overtaken by certain death. A number of people, who were intoxicated with the wine of pleasure and were in the grip of sleep of carelessness, came to know of it too late.[1] [P. 476] The flood water took into its grip the tents and carpets. Everyone became panicky and when he tried to think of the means of escape he could see, in the darkness of the night, nothing but a vast expanse of water. The tents appeared like bubbles on the surface of water. A large number of people, like those rising on the day of resurrection, having nothing on their heads and feet, showing repentence, and each crying for himself (نفسی نفسی گویان), ran in all directions in the hope of saving their lives. Many of them surrendered their lives to the wind of death. As the flood came, there arose a terror-striking uproar in the camp and a great confusion was created in the darkness of the night. The Emperor who was in the latrine, thought that the enemy had made a surprise attack on the army. As he suddenly rose in perplexity, his foot slipped and he received an injury which could not be cured for the rest of his life, causing lameness ; thus the defect of the Ṣāḥib Qirān[2] re-appeared (in his body).

At day break when the flood water receded many a leading noble having lost all their belongings, was seen running about in different directions bare headed and bare footed. The financial loss and sufferings of the people were beyond description.

Now, I will narrate in a few words the plans of the conquest of the fort of Parnalah, which was the chief cause of this unfortunate

1 آب از سر گزشت (lit.) water had passed over their heads.

2 A person, who is born at the time of the conjunction of Jupiter and Venus, is considered to possess a good fortune. Among the Mughul Emperors the birth of Tīmūr and Shāh Jahān had taken place at the time of the conjunction. They are accordingly known as Ṣāḥib Qirān Awwal and Ṣāḥib Qirān Thāni respectively. Here the reference is to Tīmūr, who was lame.

and dangerous march. The fort had been conquered before, through the efforts of Prince [P. 477] Muḥammed A'ẓam. It had remained for a time in the possession of the Emperor, but in the thirty fifth year of the reign, the accursed enemy had seized and re-occupied it. In the middle of the month of Rajab of this year (1110 H.) the army of the world conquering Emperor moved in that direction. The Emperor reached Murtaḍa Ābād at the beginning of Sha'bān and graced the place by encamping there. Mukhliṣ Khān who had fallen ill on the way, proceeded from this transitory world to the eternal one. At this stage the troops of the enemy came in large numbers and surrounded the Imperial army and showed great daring. Bahrahmand Khān and other Amīrs attacked the enemy, punished him and put him to flight. As the Emperor had summoned fresh forces with necessary equipment from different Ṣūbahs, far and near to be escorted by the mace-bearers, he stayed in that district till the end of the sacred month of Ramaḍān.

Siege of Parnalah.

After 'Īd al-Fiṭr, the Emperor marched and reached the fort of Poun Garh adjacent to the fort of Parnalah on the 10th of Shawwāl and encamped there by the side of the river in front of it.

During his expeditions in the Deccan, as far as possible, the Emperor offered the prayers on Fridays and two 'Īds at a populated place, which was big enough to be considered as a city (Miṣr). Now that he was personally engaged in the conqnest of the forts and also because he had received injury in his foot and was facing other difficulties in travelling, he ordered the performance of *qaṣr*[1] until the end of the campaigns postponing the offering of Friday and 'Īd prayers till his return to his capital.

1 قصر lit. reduction. The Muslims are permitted by law to reduce the obligatory prayers to the half in the course of a journey.

Khān Fīruz Jung was sent to punish, kill and imprison the wretched enemy in the neighbourhood.

[P. 478] Regnal Year 44

Corresponding to 1111 H. (1699-1700)

Prince Bedār Bakht and other important Amīrs were so posted as to encircle both the fortresses.[1] The enclosure as measured with the *jarīb* and reported to the Emperor was about seven *kruhs*.

As has already been narrated, orders had been issued to most of the Ṣūbehdārs to look after and supply one thousand horsemen each. Shujā'at Khān, who had served in Ahmadabad along with other honest persons, had been given the title of Kār Ṭalab Khān for his efforts, bravery and honesty, although he had not come to the Court. The Emperor had continuously increased his favours on him and had raised his rank on account of his talents, so that he had ultimately received the *manṣab* of five thousand and five thousand horse and the title of Shujā'at Khān along with the Ṣūbehdāri of Ahmadabad and Jodhpur. He had also been ordered to send one thousand horsemen under the command of his adopted son Naẓar 'Ali Khān, who was reputed to be the son of a cultivator (مزارع). In view of the fact that the people of Ahmadabad would not agree to go on a distant expedition, Shujā'at Khān, proud of his past efforts and services rendered by him, failed to perform the assigned duty, unlike other *Ṣūbehdārs* who had more or less carried out the Imperial orders. He sent only a sum of Rupees two lakhs as compensation, offering an excuse that the men of his province were not willing to go far from their homes.

1 Parnalah and Poun Garh.

2 One who performs his duties. according to orders, dexterously.

It was by chance, that on the day, the Emperor received the letter of Shujā'at Khān, a petition reached him which was sent by Muḥammad Murād Khān [P. 479] a junior officer among the slaves of the household, who had been brought up under the care of the Emperor and knew his temperament. He was *Fawjdār* of the district of Godra, within the jurisdiction of Ahmadabad, but was not on good terms with Shujā'at Khān. He had said in his petition :

"In these days when the enemy-punishing Emperor of Islām has girded his loins for *jihād* (holy war) and the capture of the forts in the territories of the infidels, it has become difficult for this slave to sit in the shade (comfortably) and drink cold water. I cannot, however, come to the Court without orders. If you will order me, I shall leave one of the household slave as *nā'ib* in charge of the *Fawjdāri* and will come to the Court with as many men as I can collect. In this way I will have the good fortune and honour of serving you and will get an opportunity of participating in the *jihād*."

When the Emperor read the contents of the two petitions the fire of Imperial wrath inflamed against Shujā'at Khān. It was ordered that a statement of the *manṣabs* of his adopted son, and all the *fawjdārs* along with those of other leading nobles be submitted. They were all punished and their *Manṣabs* were reduced. Under orders a letter of censure was sent to Shujā'at Khān. More or less it contained these words :

Alas ! alas ! a hundred times on the common sense of that aged man devoid of all wisdom; who has received endless favours conferred on him by us even without his appearing at the Court. We have raised him from an ordinary position to a dignified status and he has always stayed in his Ṣūbah living in comfort. Now that we have girded our loins for *jihād* and extermination of the infidels and it has become obligatory on every Muslim having a grain of faith to help the Emperor of Islām in his *jihād*, and orders have been issued for the

supply of one thousand horsemen at the expense [P. 480] of the government, his non-compliance of our orders on lame excuses, and not sending the son of a cultivator who is also his adopted son, and not fearing the Imperial displeasure; can be attributed to nothing but to his misfortune. The trifling amount which he has sent by way of *peshkash* appears to be no more than placing a particle of dust against the sun and throwing a drop into the ocean. The God given Empire of Hindustan is without limits. From (treasury) Karors (of Rupees) are spent every month and every year on rewards and other expenditure. Those who have been trained and brought up in our household and are acquainted with our temperament and those who have rubbed the foreheads of obedience on our threshold and those who consider the desire of entering this Court[1] as part of their service to God, make request to come to it of their own accord. He should give up his absurd ideas and send immediately a suitable contingent under his adopted son."

The Emperor issued orders that a strict mace-bearer should proceed to Ahmadabad and bring the adopted son of Shujā'at Khān along with other officers to the Court. A *farmān* was also sent through another mace-bearer to Muḥammad Murād Khān, despite the presence of the *Ṣubehdār*, expressing kindness and patronage, saying : "Your petition with a request for coming to the Court was presented before us. We have appreciated it. You should bring a contingent of one thousand men with good horses holding out to them hopes of suitable *manṣabs* and grant of *Jāgīr* in that province, and giving them in advance six months' salary at the rate of Rupees sixty".

When this *farmān* was received by Muḥammad Murād Khān, he against the wishes of Shujā'at Khān, started collecting the troops. On receiving this information he strictly warned the *Jamā'ahdārs* [P. 481] who wanted to work under Murād Khān, not

1 احرام literally putting on unstitched sacred garment before entering the Ka'bah.

to join his service. Muḥammad Murād Khān, therefore, could enlist only five hundred horsemen, and these too with great difficulty. Among them was one named Hidāyat Allāh who was formerly Bakhshi of Shujā'at Khān's retinue (شاگرد پیشه). He was given a promise that on arrival at the Court his name would be at the top of the list and would be given priority over others in the matter of appointment. At last Muḥammad Murād Khān and Naẓar 'Ali Khān, the adopted son of Shujā'at Khān, escorted by mace-bearers, reached the Court at the beginning of the siege of Parnalah. It was reported that both had reached the post (چوکی). Muḥammad Murād Khān, was ordered to immediately present himself in audience even without changing his dress. When presented before the Emperor he received favours and promotions along with his staff and his kinsmen (متعینه و برادری). The mace-bearer who had escorted Muḥammad Murād Khān was also given promotion. Subsequently when Naẓar 'Ali Khān was presented, the head mace-bearer (داروغهٔ گرز برداران) recommended for the promotion for the mace-bearer who had escorted Naẓar 'Ali Khān The Emperor said that it was not the mace-bearer but the rivalry of Muḥammad Murād Khān, which had brought Naẓar 'Ali Khān. About those whom Muḥammād Murād Khān had brought with him, orders were given that he should submit a list for inspection, showing their appointment on different positions. He should then attest them and submitted it again, without any intervention of the Bakhshis. Hidāyet Allāh whose name was at the head of the list was given a *manṣab* of three hundred with one hundred and fifty horse. In this connection, at the request of Ruḥ Allāh Khān Bakhshi, the reductions made in the *manṣabs* of Naẓar 'Ali Khān and other officers of the Ṣūbah of Ahmadabad, who had reached the Court, were ordered to be restored. It was ordered [P. 482] that the troops of Muḥammad Murād Khān should be paid from the confiscated *jāgīrs* and those which remained were to be restored to the original owners. The deficit was to be made up from other places.

After a few days when this news had spread, a petition from Shujā'at Khān was submitted. It said :

"Those whom Muḥammad Murād Khān has taken to the Court and who have received favours are from among the vagabonds and men on the streets of Ahmadabad, and others are the servants of old and hereditary slaves of the Emperor who had reached the Court and have been honoured with the forgiveness of their faults and the restoration of their *manṣabs*. Orders have been issued that the *jāgīrs* of these persons (followers of Shujā'at Khān) would be restored after payments were made from them (جاگیر) to the men of Muḥammad Murād Khān, and the deficit is to be made from other places. This would mean a great insult to the old and faithful servants of the Emperor."

At the instance of Shujā'at Khān, all the agents of the *fawjdārs* and other officers posted in Ahmadabad sent petitions to the same effect by way of complaints against Muḥammed Murād Khān. This changed the good services of Muḥammed Murād Khān into Imperial disfavour. As at the time of presenting the list, Muḥammad Murād Khān had placed the name of Hidāyat Allāh at the top and had introduced him as the Bakhshi of the house-hold servants of Shujā'at Khān, after the perusal of the petition of Shujā'āt Khān the Emperor addressed him (Muḥammed Murād Khān) with great displeasure and said:

"Shujā'at Khān has stated the truth. His statement is proved confirmed by the fact that at the time of submission of the list you placed at its top the name of the Bakhshi of one who is scoundrel of scoundrels (پاجی پاجیان) and you introduced him as such. Was there no one available in Ahmadabad from among our officers, and sons of our nobles who wanted our service?".

In anger he ordered that the *manṣabs* of the men of Muḥammad Murād Khān which ranged between [P. 482] one hundred and five hundred were to be reduced to "*Sih-Bistis*"—three score.

Afterwards Muḥammad Murād Khān submitted that due to the counter-propaganda (اغوا) of Shujā'at Khān, no Jamā'ahdār was ready to help him ; so he had promised Hidāyat Allāh

to put him at the top of the list. He also stated the true facts about the sons of Amirs whom he had brought with him. He came out of the ban of Imperial displeasure and the *manṣabs* of his men were restored as recommended by him.

Now I give an account of the siege of Parnalah. Tarbiyat K͟hān and other fort-conquering veterans pitched their high tents at different places. They made their entrenchments and ran and posted their heavy guns against the turrets and fortifications of the fort. They began to raise earth-works equal to the height of the walls of the fort. Some parts of the fort were demolished with shocking blow of cannon balls. Under the superivision of Tarbiyat K͟hān, expert mountain diggers (کوہ کن) and stone cutters while running the mines put in wonderful performance. They hollowed several *jarībs* of ground and made a vault through which three armed soldiers could comfortably proceed chatting together (گپ‌زنان). At intervals of a few steps they prepared covered squares where twenty to thirty persons could sit. They seated in all these places, veteran soldiers safe against the shock of firing from above the mountain, while they, on their part could fire from the holes, which they had made, at the people appearing on the turrets and fortifications, whenever they got an opportunity. These efforts however, apparently produced no results in the process of capturing the fort and disheartening the besieged [P. 484] till the coming of the rainy season. Excessive rains and mountain sweepng floods on all sides, created great confusion in the efforts of the besiegers. About this time, Fatḥ Allāh K͟hān Bahādur, who had left for his *Jāgīr* returned and made remarkable efforts along with Mun'im K͟hān in assaulting through the covered passage which had reached the foot of the fort. Their efforts were applauded equally by friends and strangers. But Tarbiyat K͟hān and his well wishers did not like that the efforts of Fatḥ Allāh K͟hān in face of those of the Mir Ātis͟h, should be applauded. In the same way Muḥammad Murād K͟hān made great efforts and showed remarkable bravery but owing to the jealousy and disunity among the nobles of the Court, they too produced no results.

Khān-e-Jahān's arrival at the Court.

Khān-e-Jahān, son of Ḥāji Muḥammad Anwar came to the Court from his native place. He had the privilege of presenting himself before the Emperor, who, out of patronage, and kindness said :—

"We wanted to confer favours on Ḥāji Muḥammad Anwar but unfortunately he died ; now these will be bestowed on you." He was given the title of Khān-e-Jahān, was granted a suitable *manṣab* and was appointed *peshkār* to Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān Bahādur. In addition to this he was assigned the duties of a despatch writer (وقائع نگار), and was appointed Amin of the Seven Chawkis of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh. Under orders, he went to the advance lines to find out the condition of the efforts of the brave and valiant fighters of the army. At that time, heavy fire of gun-bullets and showers of rockets and stones from above the forts were falling on the lines. The life-sacrificing slaves of the household and faithful and brave soldiers were making great efforts in advancing the lines, and an unusual clash of arms and fighting was taking place. A large number [P. 485] of the wretched infidels had been sent to hell and made captive. From among the brave warriors of Islām also a small number had received martyrdom and some of them acquired fame by being wounded. In this struggle Khān Jahān Bahādur made remarkably brave efforts and showed Rustam-like courage, sending a large number of the accursed infidels to hell. When (his exploits were) reported to the Emperor, he was honoured with the conferment of further favours. As Khān-e-Jahān was one of the favoured ones and had received training under the Emperor himself and signs of greatness and bravery were manifest from his face, the Emperor gave him distinction over others by showing new favours every day. *In shā Allāh*, further account of his promotions will be given by the praiseworthy (ستوده بیان) pen at its proper place.

I, now write a brief account of Muḥammad Murād Khān's activities. The forts of Parnalah and Poungarh were close to each other and connected with a hillock (تپچه) between them.

It appeared that there was habitation over it, but in spite of repeated efforts the real position of the hill top could not be known. Owing to the showering of incessant bullets and stones from both sides of it, the scouts dared not climb over it. Muḥammad Murād Khān and Khwājah Muḥammad, Bakhshi of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh, who were brave veterans and had recently been promoted in *manṣabs* and received *jāgīrs*, were ordered to establish a *thānah* (out-post) between the two forts at the foot of the same hillock with the help of their followers and the men of the prince's army. They were ordered not to allow the enemy to come down the hill and show audacity (شوخی نمایند) against the Imperial troops. Thus some days passed. One day, just before sunrise, a party of the enemy came down from the fort unawares, and reaching one flank of the Imperial troops wanted to seize the cattle [P. 486] grazing nearby; and take them to the top of the hill. Muḥammad Jawwād, son of Murād Khān and Sulṭān Ḥasan and Sulṭān Ḥusayn, his sister's sons, came to know of this. Immediately they rose in the condition they were sitting and taking swords and shields in their hands, they pursued them accompanied by a party of their followers. The accursed fellows dared not offer resistance, and took to flight leaving the cattle there. The Imperial troops were pursuing the enemy close on his heels. When Muḥammad Murād Khān came to know of it he rushed to the help of his son and his sister's sons. There was incessant firing of balls, and bullets and the rolling of stones from above the forts, but Muḥammad Murād Khān, followed by a party of expert in mountain warfare continued pursuing them. Muḥammed Muqīm Khān, Khān-e-Sāmān of Murād Khān, and one of the eunuchs and two or three other persons were wounded by bullets and stones. The eunuch with four other persons received martyrdom. Nevertheless the party reached the top of the hillock after Rustam like efforts and planted their standards there. The troops took protection in a cleft of the hill and busied themselves in establishing their entrenchments. When the soldiers of the Imperial army saw the standard of Muḥammad Murād Khān there arose such a noise

of 'Bravo', 'Bravo' that it reached the ears of the Emperor himself who was in his *tasbiḥ khānah* (prayer-room). He inquired about the cause of the noise. In the meantime the eunuchs in attendance happened to see the standards at the top of the hill.

Mutual rivalry of the Imperial officers.

Most of the leading nobles (سرکردگان) in attendance bore ill will against Tarbiyat Khān, on whose advice this expedition was undertaken but who had not achieved any thing. They spontaneously, started abusing the Mīr-e-Ātish, and expressing their loyalty to the Emperor they began to reproach [P. 487] him and praising Muḥammad Murād Khān. They offered congratulations on standards being planted there which was a sign of the capture of the fort. The Emperor ordered the removal of the screen (قنات) and saw for himself the standards which were a sign of victory. At that very moment a request from Muḥammad Murād Khān was received by the Emperor about re-inforcements and supply of material for establishing the entrenchment. Instantly the Emperor wrote in his own hand a note (خط) to Rūḥ Allāh Khān and Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān ordering them to proceed to the help of Muḥammad Murād Khān and take with them planks of wood and other material for establishing entrenchments. Another note (خط) was addressed to Muḥammad Murād Khān in which his efforts were praised. Rūḥ Allāh Khān and Ḥamīd al-Dīn reached the foot of the hillock and sent a message to Murād Khān saying that he had rashly advanced in haste and then requested their presence in the form of inforcements, but they would not be able to help him as he expected, if he and his men could manage to establish the entrenchment, he deserved to be congratulated, otherwise he should come down and write to the Emperor about his inability to do that. The exchange of messages, on this issue continued till the close of the day. Mnḥammad Murād Khān felt ashamed on the idea of coming down without accomplishing his objective, particularly because he was receiving messages from the besieged requesting for safety of life on certain conditions. In the meantime Tarbiyat Khān was sending continuous messages

to Rūḥ Allāh Khān about asking Murād Khān to come down from the top of the hill. Rūḥ Allāh Khān and Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān sent a special and trustworthy messenger to Murād Khān asking him if he wanted that they should be posted with him and thus allow the efforts of Tarbiyat Khān and other leading nobles be wasted. At last it was agreed upon that Rūḥ Allāh Khān should write to the Emperor that [P. 488] although Muḥammad Murād Khān had shown bravery and displayed a spirit of sacrifice in performing his duties as the slave of the Emperor yet the site occupied by him was not suitable for establishing the entrenchment and during the night there was a danger of attack by the enemy, and also that Muḥammad Murād Khān was not willing to come down without the Imperial orders.

On receiving this report, the Emperor wrote in anger a (خط) addressed to Muḥammad Murād, in his own hand :

"What is the advantage in showing reckless bravery which was likely to result in a bad name? You should come down immediately." In this way some of the nobles most of whom were in favour of Rūḥ Allāh Khān, the chief Bakhshi, and the Mīr-e-Ātish, were able to change the praise for the reckless effort of Muḥammad Murād Khān into a censure. In fact the main reasons of the prolongation of the Deccan Campaign were the disunity and differences among the nobles. However, in the night the Emperor from another source, came to know of the real facts. On the following day when Muḥammad Murād Khān came to offer respects to the Emperor he stood alone and was not accompanied by his followers as usual. The Emperor kindly inquired from him the reason for not presenting his followers. Muḥammad Murād Khān replied that they had not slept in the night on account of their reckless efforts and so they could not attend the Court. The Emperor, out of grace and favour on his slaves, consoled him saying :—

"We have come to know that there was no fault in the manifestation of bravery by you. But some of our nobles and officers did not want that your efforts should succeed."

At that very time the Emperor called Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān and told him in privacy:

"Just as in the case of Khān-e-Zamān, [P. 489] known as Shaykh Niẓām, who had made great efforts and captured the accursed Sambha along with the members of his family, our courtiers had not allowed us to show due appreciation and reward his performance, although such a service from one of our officers, means that he and his descendants have put all the progeny of Ṭīmur under an obligation, similarly in the case of Muḥammad Murād Khān, with a view to please Tarbiyat Khān, they did not want that his attempts should meet with success. We had great trust in your honesty but you have played the part of a silly and blind follower[1] of Tarbiyat Khān."

The Emperor then sent strict orders to Tarbiyat Khān to launch an assault. He replied that necessary equipment for the assault was ready, and Muḥammad Murād Khān, who had made remarkable efforts, should be ordered to co-operate with him. The object of Tarbiyat Khān was that it should be known to the Emperor that the performance of Murād Khān on that day was only accidental. Some other nobles bore rivalry and jealousy against Fatḥ Allāh Khān also, who was noted for bravery. The Emperor wrote to him (Tarbiyat Khān): Fatḥ Allāh Khān and Muḥammad Murād Khān will not spare any efforts in doing their best but you also should not earn the ignominy of prolonging the siege."

Regnal year 45.

Corresponding to 1112 H. (1700—1701)

Capture of Parnalah and Khelna.

The siege dragged on for another two months. The brave warriors, however, with the help of rope-ladders as high as the sky, and longer than the length of hope, showed remarkable

1 بز اخفش : The expression signifies a person who plays a second fiddle to another.

courage, and many people perished and received martyrdom but with no results. On the day of the assault the standards of Muḥammad [P. 490] Murād Khān were again planted on the same hill top. Fatḥ Allāh Khān, who fought like a lion, also made brave efforts. Rumours were spreading and it had become a common talk that the besieged had opened negotiations, with Muḥammad Murād Khān regarding the surrender of the fort because they were hard pressed. As a result of negotiations with the veterans of the army, the brave men of the commandants of the fort of Parnalah, through Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and Tarbiyat Khān secretly accepted a sum of money and after securing a guarantee for the safety of their lives, surrendered the keys of both the forts and evacuated it at the end of the month of Dhu al-Ḥijjah of 45th Regnal year. Thus the high forts came in the possession of the Imperial servants. The Emperor changed the name of the fort of Parnalah to Nabi Shāh Durg[1].

The Emperor was thinking of departing from there when clouds and symptoms of untimely rains appeared on the sky. Violent storm of wind which could be called scourge of God began to blow, making large and small tents as well as sheds fly in the air like paper kites. The rich and the poor had to sit under the sun. On that day there was no tent, whose ropes did not break and cloth which was not carried away by the wind to the sky and did not fall on the ground, in torn pieces. The people prayed to God for safety against the storm. The curtains which kept the ladies under the veil of chastity were torn exposing them to public view. The shameless vagabonds and dissolutes enjoyed the sight of the unveiled ladies and were beside themselves on account of joy.

Capture of Paras Gadh and Chandan Mandan.

In short at the beginning of the month of Muḥarram (1113 H.) the Emperor marched towards Kahāwan[2], where for the comfort of troops, there was plenty of grain which was very cheap

1 Bami Shāh Durk in the text. See *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālāmgīri*, (Eng. Tr. p. 264).

2 Khatāv (*Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīri*).

and extensive grazing grounds for the animals. It was the intention of the Emperor to capture the fort of Chandan-Mandan,[1] situated near it.

[**P. 491**] Fatḥ Allāh Kh̲ān's *manṣab* was raised by five hundred *Dh̲āt* and one hundred horse. He was also given the title of the 'Bahādur'. He was ordered to march in that direction to punish and destroy the accurrsed fellows in the area surrounding the forts and to crush those wretched people. That experienced and brave man, and a lion of war marched in that direction and made most of the infidels the fodder of his sword. He attacked the bases (کمرگاه) of the four forts situated in that vicinity and showed marvels of bravery, killing a large number of the men of the enemy by swords, arrows and spears. He made many of them prisoners and captured a large number of animals. The standard of his fame for bravery had risen so high and the infidels were so much over-awed that on hearing the noise of the approach of the Imperial troops, they evacuated the fort of Paras Garh even before it was besieged and fled away. At the end of Muḥarram (1113 H.) the Emperor reached within two *kruhs* of the fort of Panja-Gaon where he intended to encamp. He renamed Paras Garh as Ṣādiq-Garh, Bahrah Mand Kh̲ān, in company of Fatḥ Allāh Kh̲ān, with a well equipped army was sent to conquer the forts of Chandan-Mandan. Bahrah Mand Kh̲ān hurriedly marched in that direction and showed greater bravery and fighting skill than Fatḥ Allāh Kh̲ān, which I need not describe in detail. The forts came into the possession of the Imperial servants and by the middle of Jumāda I, all the four forts were conquered.

An account of the arduous journey for the Conquest of the fort of Khaylna.

On the 16th of Jumāda II, in the forty fifth year of the reign, the Emperor raised the victorious standard

1 Chandan and Mandan were twin forts, north of Satarah. Chandan wandan in *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgirī*.

and marched from Panja-Gaon for the conquest of the fort of Khaylna. If I were to describe in detail all the miseries and hardships suffered by the victorious army from the beginning to the end of the journey, [P. 492] particularly in crossing the routes passing through poisonous trees and jungles of thorny bushes, and due to bad climate. the narrative would prove irksome to the delicate tempered readers. Briefly it may be narrated that after covering the journey of two days in twelve days they reached Amba Ghat, situated near a plateau known for its well protected position. The Emperor ordered that the army should cross (the river) at the Ghats. Prince Bedār Bakht, who had been sent towards Kūkāk to punish the turbulant people came back, and joined the camp here after ravaging their territory and burning their houses. During these few days unexpected rains had fallen and owing to mud, it was very difficult to go from one tent to another not to say of a regular march of troops. Fatḥ Allāh Khān was ordered to repair the route over the plateau (کتل). In the middle of the month of Rajab, the Emperor reached and encamped at the foot of the hill of Khaylna, a delightful spot having flower and fruit trees, from where the fort was at a distance of three and a half *kruhs*. He ordered that under the supervision of Fatḥ Allāh Khān the sappers and mountain-removing stone-cutters should fill up the pits and clefts with healthy trees cut and thrown in them upto a place within gun-shot distance from the fort. That brave and capable officer repulsed the attacks of the wretched enemy, who under cover of the dense trees used to attack the Mughul troops (unawares) from all sides and corners of the hill and at the same time performed the duty entrusted to him. He completed the work of one month in one week levelling the ground in a way that one hundred horse men could march abreast.

Conferring the title of Amīr al-Umara on Jumdat al-Mulk Asad Khān and giving him four thousand gold Ashrafis and a dagger inlaid with jewels, and bestowing Imperial favours on Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān Bahādur, Mun'im Khān,

Fatḥ Allāh Khān Bahādur, Raja [P. 493] Jay Singh and other experienced war veterans, he sent them to besiege the fort.

Fatḥ Allāh Khān and Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān entered the pass as *qarāwals* (advance guard) and selected a suitable site for constructing batteries from where guns could be taken up. Having established a thānah there with great efforts Fatḥ Allāh Khān returned to the camp. The wretched infidels, however, attacked the post and occupied it. They raised a wall and established their own entrenchments there. About four to five thousand Marhatas advanced to the entrance of the pass and tried to obstruct the passage of the Imperial forces. They took cover behind high trees, and started throwing huge and elephant terrifying pieces of stones and showering bullets from their guns. Fatḥ Allāh Khān and other brave and fiery soldiers made great efforts to repulse the enemy. They bravely advanced forward and by the strokes of their swords threw down and sent to hell many of them. Some men of the Imperial army were also killed. The enemy, at last, was so hard pressed that he took to flight, while some of his men threw themselves from the precipices and went to hell. A large number of them were captured, and thrown from the hills with heavy pieces of stones round their necks. Throughout the day the swords of the brave warriors did not stop, even for a moment from shedding blood. Fatḥ Allāh Khān also showed great bravery and made great efforts on that day.

Verse :

بروز و غا آن یل زور مند به چک‌چاک شمشیرو خم کمند

ز دشمن بسے کشت و آوردبند خدا دادش این دست و نام بلند

[On the day of battle, that brave warrior with the help of sharp sword and the folds of scaling ladder, killed and imprisoned many a man of the enemy.

It was God who had given him this strength and high reputation.]

When this great victory was reported to the Emperor he granted a promotion of two hundred horse in the *manṣab* of

Fatḥ Allāh Khān and awarded him a standard and a jewelled dagger. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān was given a scimitar and Mun'im Khān, [P. 494] whose horse was killed in the action, received a horse with gold trappings. On the request of Fatḥ Allāh Khān, all the officers of his party (برادری) were granted suitable promotions in their *manṣabs*.

Fatḥ Allāh Khān's efforts during the siege

In the month of Sha'bān, through the efforts of the fort conquering veterans, entrenchments were established at different places on all sides of the fort. They busied themselves in constructing the covered paths and strengthening the batteries in the stony soil. The narrative will become lengthy if I were to describe in detail the efforts of Fatḥ Allāh Khān in running the mines and killing the infidels, during the course of the siege. I will, however, narrate them briefly.

He performed many great deeds under the covered paths, which he had constructed with the help and dexterity of the stone-cutters resembling Farhād. He built many beautiful enclaves and nice loopholes that supplied air and light and matted screens were hung as for vines in which ropes were fastened to suspend the hands and heads of the enemy cut and brought by his men after being stuffed with hay so as to appear like the bunches of grapes. The fear of his name filled their hearts, so that they dared not attack his entrenchment. They used to jump in their sleep repeating Fatḥ Allāh Khān in a night-mare. The Emperor riding a horse came and saw the achievement of Fatḥ Allāh Khān in the form of covered path and he greatly appreciated it. He decided that his camp which was at a distance of three and half *kruhs* from the fort should be shifted and his tent be pitched within half a *kruh* of it.

In their march of three *kruhs* the people met with greater hardships and calamities than were experienced by Rustam[1] during seven stages of his adventures on the way to Mazandran as is mentioned in the story. After the first of Ramaḍān

1 The reference is to the legendary story of Rustam's perilous adventures at seven places between Iran and Mazandran, which had become proverbial.

when the march was started, [P. 495] thousands of quadrupeds and men fell down from the top of the hills in the caves below, crushing one another and perishing after breaking their hands and feet. Many of them succumbed to the charge of the Marhatas who had attacked the camp from different sides and carried away their heads and clothes taken from their bodies. However, ultimately they reached within half a kruh of the fort in a period of ten days. Of the many people and stores left behind with the rear guard some managed to reach with difficulties after more than half were perished. A large number of old and new tents and other superfluous material, which could not be carried due to unavailability of transport and the attacks of the enemy were put on fire and were thrown half burnt, into the pits so that they became unserviceable for the enemy. In short the people suffered loss of life and property which they suffered and bore insults which they bore. At last they managed to escape from these dangers but only to expose themselves to the calamity of being hit by the gunfire and mountain-breaking bullets from over the fort. Prince Bedār Ba<u>kh</u>t was ordered to go back to Nabi <u>Sh</u>āh Druk to punish the infidels on the way leading to it. In reality he was sent to support the newly appointed Imperial commandant of the fort, who was being harassed by the infidels. He was further ordered to stay there and thus not allow the accursed fellows from that side to go to the help of the besieged in the fort of Khaylna. In the same way, Muḥammad Amīn <u>Kh</u>ān, who had been raised to the post of Ṣadre-Ṣudūr, was ordered to proceed down the Amba Ghat with the Mu<u>gh</u>ul army and stop provisions reaching the besieged from that side. He was also to guide the *Banjārahs* (grain-merchants) carrying supplies of provisions for the Imperial army. He was expected to make best of his efforts.

On reaching the *Ghat* Muḥammad Amīn <u>Kh</u>ān [P. 496] spared no pains in devastating and burning the villages of the infidels, and in killing and capturing them, and seizing the cattle of those misguided people, leaving no trace of life and existence of the wretched Marhatas in that area. Tarbiyat <u>Kh</u>ān also having

been assigned the same duty in company with Muḥammad Amin Khān performed meritorious service in killing infidels.

Fatḥ Allāh Khān's exploits.

Now I will give a brief account of the efforts of the brave Fatḥ Allāh Khān Bahādur. Ultimately he constructed the covered path upto the caves at the foot of the hill which was very high and whose ends were not visible. It appeared inconceivable to take it further from here. The inexperienced novices and jealous rivals laughed at these efforts of that brave and heroic fighter. From above the fort incessant firing continued. Fatḥ Allāh Khān, however, collected a large quantity of material and a number of experts, spending gold in place of *cowries*, and throughout the day and the night he personally supervised the work of artisans and joined them, in fact, plying the mattock, the shovel and the saw. Even if Farhād[1] the mountain-digger had seen him, he would have praised and admired him. At last he carried the tunnel (نقب) upto the gate of the fort. In these efforts, however, countless men lost their lives. They raised an earth work by heaping together the saddles of the camels, innumerable basketfuls of earth, rubbish human skulls and feet of the quadrupeds, and thus raised a mound in front of the fort which was as high as a hill and which struck terror in the hearts of the besieged. I have heard the following version from reliable narrators that one day the brave officer was busy along with his labourers in carrying up the camel-saddles and other material for raising the mound when suddenly [P. 497] a huge piece of stone nearly weighing 100 maunds, or in other words, a huge rock rolled down and fell on wooden platform on which they had collected the camel-saddles and other material for the mound. It reduced the platform into pieces which were scattered in every direction. Fatḥ Allāh Khān was holding a camel-saddle in his hand and was helping the labourers, when one of these pieces struck his head, and another his ankle. He fell down, with

1 A legendary Persian Lover, who had dug a canal in the hill at the behest of his sweet heart Princess Shīrīn.

the camel-saddle in his hand, in a pit whose bottom could not be seen. A great hue and cries were raised in that post and throughout the camp. Many, losing hope of his safety, informed the Emperor of this accident. As Fatḥ Allāh K͟han had still some days of his life left, under the command of the Real Protector, his camel-saddle was caught in the thick branches of an old tree. The brave warrior who had not taken his hands off the camel-saddle, and had held it firmly, hung on that tree. People went to his help and saved him from that unforeseen calamity. His head, back and other parts of the body had received severe injuries from stones and other shocks and so he remained unconscious for a long time. When he regained his consciousness they started the treatment of his wounds. The *Momiyayi*[1] which was reserved for the personal use of the Emperor was given to him. He remained confined to bed for one month. The Irani and the Turani nobles laughed at him out of jealousy. When he recovered he presented himself before the Emperor to offer his obeisance, he gave him an ornamented tiara and expressed appreciation of his efforts saying : "You have maintained the honour of Turan."

They say that in his behaviour he was rigid not only towards the nobles but even in the presence of the Emperor, and sometimes used harsh and unpleasant words. The result was that inspite of his bravery and meritorious efforts, [P. 498] and the kindness of the Emperor, he, out of far-sighedness, hesitated before giving him promotions.

It is related that one day the Emperor, due to something done by him against his wishes, through a eunach he sent him a message of warning containing censure and advice. As he was more than eighty years old and was nearly of the same age as the Emperor, he told the eunuch to convey this message to him :

"A man even with a perfect judgment (کامل العقل) loses some of his reasoning power and his five senses are affected at the age of eighty to ninety years. (As to myself), I am a soldier who has seen a hundred battles, but I am devoid of sense since my birth."

1 مومیائی a substance with remarkable healing qualities.

However, when the eunuch and other persons told him about the impropriety of his words and warned him of a possible censure, he made a suitable apology to the Emperor.

One night a large number of the accursed enemy forces attacked the entrenchments and the posts of Fatḥ Allāh Khān from two or three sides, and showed great audacity. Some of the Mughuls and men on the staff of the *Kārkhānah* (stores) were killed and wounded. The moment Fatḥ Allāh Khān attacked the wretched infidels like a roaring lion and killed some of them with his own sword, they took to flight. From that day 2000 foot soldiers sent by Sīdi Yāqūt Khān, who had arrived fully equipped with necessary material for siege, were attached to the command of Fatḥ Allāh Khān.

Prince Bedār Bakht was called to the Court from Nabi Shāh Druk.

The efforts made by Muḥammad Amīn Khān in killing a large number of infidels and supplying the provisions for the army, were reported to the Emperor. He was granted a promotion of two hundred horse and was awarded the title of *Bahādur*, and a *Dhūp* sword, a horse and an elephant along with a *farmān* containing the appreciation of the Emperor. Most of his followers, [P. 499] also received promotions, according to their ranks. They were called to the Court along with the reinforcing troops.

Regnal Year 46.

(*Corresponding to 1113 H./1701—2*)

The conquest of the fort of Khaylna and the difficulties of the route which took place during the year.

Fatḥ Allāh Khān Bahādur had shown marvels of bravery in advancing his trenches and demolishing the battlemens and turrets, and had not taken rest even for a moment. But, owing to his arrogance (زیادہ سری), other nobles and hardworking nobles did not want that the credit of the capture of the fort should go to Fatḥ Allāh Khān. I am not giving the details of his efforts

and attacks but the result was that the credit of capturing the fort did not go to him.

In the beginning of the month of Dhu al-Ḥijjah in the forty sixth year of the reign, Raja Jay Singh, who had not reached the age of puberty, with the help of the troops of the Prince, launched an attack on the position of the enemy. Inspite of continuous firing, rolling of sotnes, and shower of bullets from the fort which killed many a Rajput and troops of the Prince the Raja made repeated attacks and occupied the advanced posts of the fort. The nobles close to the Emperor congratulated the Emperor on the besieged losing their heart which was a prelude to its fall. The Raja, who was a *manṣabdār* of fifteen hundred, was given a promotion of five hundred, five hundred horse. The Prince was awarded a jewelled tiara (سرپیچ).

'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān son of Islām Khān who after securing permission had gone to the House of Allāh, came back after performing the pilgrimage and was presented to the Emperor. He was appointed third Bakhshi.

Asad Allāh Khān son of Mīr Sayf Allāh Khān, had been deprived of his *manṣab* on a complaint. A daily allowance was fixed for him and he was sent on pilgrimage to the House of Allāh. He also returned after performing the pilgrimage and was given a *manṣab* of five hundred and was assigned the duty of negotiating [P. 500] with Paras Ram, the commandant of the fort, who was making unreasonable demands in connection with the surrender of the fort. As he performed the duty of an intermediary with success, he was given the title and *manṣab* of his father and was appointed Mir-e-Baḥr Kul, and thus his lost prestige was restored.

The Prince was ordered to carry the guns named *Karak Bijli* and *Sher Dahān* and other light and heavy pieces of artillery, and whatever he could, inside the outer works of the fort (ریونی) and should try to demolish the wall of the fort. Fatḥ Allāh Khān made great effort and as if wanted to have wings and to throw himself inside the fort. Every one of the nobles was anxious that the

key of conquest should be procured through his particular efforts. They were ready to bear all the expenses which were to be incurred in the conquest, and started negotiations in that regard. Inspite of no help from the Fate and heavy and incessant rains, Fatḥ Allāh Khān had tried his best to carry the tunnels to the very gate of the fort and to clear the intervening ground. In these efforts, he had spent a large amount of money, but they proved useless. Owing to the capture of the outworks, Paras Ram the commandant of the fort, had lost his courage. He sent glib-tongued Brahmans and through Prince Bedār Bakht, begged forgiveness of his crimes and made certain requests, but they were rejected because they were impossible. Rūḥ Allāh Khān Bakhshi and Faḍā'il Khān Buyūtāt, were made intermediaries. They repeatedly went inside the fort but without any results. The Prince did not agree to his excessive demands. At last, according to a popular rumour, the Prince and other important nobles secretly, advanced an amount of money to the commander of the garrison and it was agreed that he along with his wife and children should come out and surrender himself. After a siege of six months and some days on 19th [P. 501] Muḥarram the commandant, himself, came out, took the flags of the Prince and Rūḥ Allāh Khān and hoisted them on the fort with the beating of the drums. At his request it was agreed that no man of the Imperial troops was to enter the fort along with the flags. He solicited safety for a night and disgracefully left the fort in darkness, along with his family and whatever he could carry. Although a large number of the men of the enemy were left in the fort, the merciful Emperor issued a strict order that no one was to be molested. All of them came out of the fort and departed for their native wilderness. Drums of victory were beaten. Of the chronograms by different poets, presented before the Emperor, he approved 'Fatḥ Shud Qil'ai Khelna'[1]. The Emperor

1 The chronogram yields

+ 30=ل + 100=ق + 4=د + 300=ش + 8=ح + 400=ت + 80=ف
1=ا + 50=ن + 30=ل + 10=ی + 5=ه + 20=ک + 5=ه + 70=ع
1113 =

was reading the Qur'ān and was at the verse "*Alḥamdu Li Allāh-al-ladhī sakhkhara*[1] *lana* when the news of the hoisting of the flag was brought to him. Accordingly he named the fort as 'Sakhkharalana'. On their way to the fort, the Imperial forces had passed through bushes of cactus and other thorny trees, and passes full of poisonous snakes and that no one had been able to save his clothes from being torn.

However, as Ḥāfiẓ says;

Hemistitch:

عیب مے جمله بگفتی هنرش نیز بگو

["You have mentioned all the evils of wine, now repeat some of its good qualities too."]

On the sides and surroundings of that hill, there were tracts full of flowers. So far as the eye could see there were beds of high class *Gul mehndi, hazārah* and *'Abbāsi* in different shades. There were different kinds of fruit trees including mangoes, betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, which were to be found in plenty. Cardamoms, coffee, dracunculus and sandal-wood of every colour are found in such abundance in the jungle, that [P. 502] if the load carriers, were available, the tired soldiers of the army would have collected heaps of them. What can I say of the height and strength of the turrets and the battlements of the fort.

Verse:

حصارے که مثلش ندیداست کس همین حصن سخر لناهستو بس

[A fort, the like of which no one has seen,
Is the fort, of Sakhkhara-lana, and no other.]

However, the interior of the fort was ugly and so also its buildings.

Verse:

وزبرون چون گور کافر پر خلل وز درون قهر خدائے عز و جل

[At the outside cracked like the grave of an infidel,
And inside like the scourge of the Exalted God.]

1 *Al-Qurān, Sūrah,* 43 : 14. The verse reads thus سبحان الذی سخرلنا

Awards and Promotions

Prince Bedār Bakht was awarded a *lakh* of Rupees and was allowed to go to Rā'i Bāgh in order to canton there and give rest to his troops. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān was given a promotion of two hundred horse, and Fatḥ Allāh Khān, who was expecting promotions and favour for his efforts was given a jewelled sword. He was pleased when the epithet *'Ālamgīri* was added to his title. Rūḥ Allāh Khān was given a promotion of five hundred horse added to his two thousand. Mun'im Khān who held the *manṣab* of nine hundred, and two hundred horse was promoted to the ranks of one thousand three hundred horse.

As owing to bad luck, Fatḥ Allāh Khān's efforts had not produced substantial results, he was posted at Kabul at his own request. Mun'im Khān was appointed the Dīwān of Lahore. As Mun'im Khān had great faith (عقیدت خاص) in Shāh 'Ālam, he entrusted to him the administration of his *Jāgīrs* in the Punjab and the neighbouring territories and appointed him his permanent Mutasaddi. The meritorious services rendered by him to the prince will be described at their proper place.

The quick witted and wise men should know that the Emperor, a man of gentle and forbearing nature always remained well informed. [P. 503] He knew it for certain that most of the distant fortresses held by leading and influential Amīrs were secured by them on the payment of money after sieges in which they had made great efforts and reduced the besieged to great strait. The *harkārahs* (running footmen) used to inform the Emperor about the exact amount paid. In most cases the Emperor paid the same amount without any reduction, to the officer responsible for the conquest of that fort by way of reward.

March to Bīr Gaon.

Owing to heavy rains, falling day and night, and elephant carrying floods in the rivulets and hill passes, the Emperor did not want to move from that place until the end of the rainy season. However, on account of uneasiness of some of the Amirs, who were disgusted with the encampment because of

their love of comfort, and rise in the price of food stuffs, unsuitability of the climate and the complaints of the inexperienced people, at the close of the month of Muḥarram the Emperor decided to march in the direction of Bīr Gaon. We will give only a brief account of what the men of the army suffered due to rains which, as the people who have visited the region know, do not stop for a moment in five months, and the floods in the rivers, nullahs, mountain passes, and mud and water which came upto the thighs and breasts of men and horses. These calamities will remain on the tongues of the people of the Deccan for generations. An idea can be formed from the fact that a distance of three *kruhs* was covered in ten days with difficulty and after serious losses in men and money, and because of the danger every body wanted to remain behind others; particularly when they had to cross the pass, [P. 504] consequently there was much confusion. On the return journey, however, every body tried to go fast and ahead of the others to be freed from the dangers of that place. There was not a single beast of burden available, and the baggage of most of the people—young and old, rich and the poor,—owing to the dangers of the journey, which could certainly be compared to hell, was lost and everyone had become homeless.[1] With the great difficulty,[2] they could travel only quarter of a *kruh*. In the night they stretched themselves on a slab of stone, if available, otherwise they passed it in mud and water and had to face the same difficulties again in the course of their journey on the following day. The only difference between the nobles, respectable persons and vagrants and men of street was that the aristocrat had a stick in his hand with his luggage on the head or shoulder of a labourer and proceeded on uttering symbolic abuses. Those who were shallow minded uttered vulgar, obscene and blasphemous words and continued the journey. At last they reached the side of a nullah which, due to floods, could be crossed even on an elephant with difficulty,

1 بر خروس سوار شد lit. was riding a cock. It means here that the people had to leave the baggage behind because of unavailability of beast of burden.

2 افتان و خیزان lit. falling down and rising up.

not to speak of any other means of transport. As for carrying across the store of the Emperor and the Amīrs no means of transport other than elephants and labourers were available. On reaching the nullah the Emperor ordered that some elephants from the Imperial stable and some belonging to the Amīrs should be utilised for taking the luggage and the families of the troops across. Owing to strict orders of the Emperor the women and dependants (قبائل) of the men were fewer than in other journeys. Nevertheless several thousand women in *burqahs* wearing valuable ornaments who had travelled before on camels, horses and bullocks, due to the destruction of their beasts of burden, were now moving in thigh deep mud and water. They begged the elephant drivers in great humility, to transport them across the nullah, and offered to pay [P. 505] gold sovereigns and even their ornaments instead of rupees. There being a great rush for the elephants, those who were destined to die could not mount them, and fell down and were drowned in the ocean of annihilation. There was a great confusion and turmoil (حشرونشر) on the side of the nullah. There was no trace of eatables, and the people could eat nothing but grief for those of their dependants, who were unable to cross the nullah.

The Jumdat al-Mulk Amīr al-Umara was able to cross the nullah with a small tent, with great difficulty, but in spite of his efforts could not find a dry spot to pitch it. They were forced to pitch راوتی (the small tent) on muddy ground with the pegs which could not be strongly fixed. As it rained heavily during the night the *rāwti* twice fell on the head of the Jumdat al-Mulk. The porters (فراشان) had to remain standing holding fast the ropes of the tent in their hands throughout the night. It was not possible to cook or eat any thing. No food, cooked or uncooked, was available, it was in this way that the night was passed. The condition of other people can only be guessed on this basis. For the porters it was impossible even to move most of the Imperial stores, which had fallen and remained for some days in mud and water, and not to speak of their being taken across the nullah.

Orders were given that Ḥayāt Khān who had been appointed commander of the fort of Sakhkharalana and given permission to leave, was to carry those stores along with him.

It was rather strange that it became necessary to cross two times the men-devouring nullah which carried away the elephants and had opened its jaws to swallow a human being as well as an animal and was never satisfied with it, with the result that a large number of people drowned. Matters reached such a stage that the elephant drivers did not even mention a rupee and charged only gold *Ashrafīs* as their wages for taking men across the nullah. Every one who could cross the nullah by the force of his arms or by swimming or paying *Ashrafīs* to the elephant drivers thought, that [P. 506] it was a new life given to him by God. Those who had elephants were able to cross (the nullah) with the members of their families and their baggage. A number of noted persons remained on the side of the nullah, not to mention the common people. Many a destitute brought to the notice of the men of wealth their state of poverty, by reciting the verse:

تا چند ز مفلسی خود ناله کنیم
زین ناله توان گذشت اگر پل باشد

["How long shall we lament on our poverty,
We can cross this nullah if there be a bridge over it.]

The men of wealth and generosity, however, became blind and deaf to their request, and considered the safety of their own lives and property to be a blessing. The experienced and the wise people know, that the poor creatures can do nothing when instead of shower of blessings, God's anger brings floods in the rivers and His scourge takes the form of wind-storm, to punish the sinners for their evil deeds.

It is evident that if the consequences of the evil deeds of the people, who remain constantly intoxicated by drinking the wine of sinfulness and pride and drowned in the ocean of wrong doing had not dragged the rulers and the beggar by their skirts to that place, where every one suffered different punishments and was caught

in the troubles that resulted in the loss of his good name and property, and if some had not escaped alive from the whirlpool of these calamities, there would have been no other way of reforming the contemptable who are ignorant of the retribution of evil.

In short after some days corn became scarce and was available with great difficulty at the rate of one seer a rupee for the rich only. In addition to this, what shall I write about the severity of the cold wind, and mud and water which were to be seen every where above and below. It was good that the trappings and the clothes of the dead horses and men could be burnt in various ways to allay the severity of the cold; [P. 507] these came to the rescue of strong bodied (سخت جان) persons who had escaped destruction. By the sides of the nullah and at every step there lay the swollen corpses of men and animals in such a large number that stink and bad smell made a hell of the lives of the survivors.

Verse :

بس گرسنه خفت کس نه دانست که کیست
بس جان به لب آمد که بروکس نه گریست

[Many people slept hungry and no body knew who they were,
Many were on the verge of death and none wept over them.]

In short in a period of twenty four days the Jamshid like Emperor was able to drag out his army and stores with great difficulty out of the mud and water which were like a river of blood and puss. After crossing the nullah they could not find even enough space to pitch more than one tent which served both as a prayer room and court chamber. For nearly three months and a half the sun had hid himself behind the curtain of clouds and so had the moon covered her face with them and their appearance had become extremely rare. The abundance of the blessings of God had changed themselves into His scourge and wrath. The people

considered the idea of seeing even the reflection of the sun to be impossible. After the lapse of a period, however, the Emperor of East (the sun) showed his face from behind the curtain of the fourth firmament to the people who were anxious to see him. They raised such a noise in their rejoicings that the Emperor 'Ālamgīr came out of his tent to inquire about its cause. Covering a distance of fourteen *kruhs* from the foot of the fort of Sakh-kharalana in one month and seventeen days, they ultimately reached near the fort of Nabi Shāh Druk on 12th Rabī' al-Awwal where they pitched the tents. Although the covering sheet (لحاف) daily removed itself from the face of the world roaming Emperor (the sun) the munificient (دریا دل) clouds did not stop showering drops of water; however the work of sale and purchase due to the greed and needs of the people became brisk, and the coldness of dead hearts was changed into joys of life. [P. 508] A large number of people who were left behind came limping in a wretched condition having no clothes or flesh on their bodies and no blood in their veins, after avoiding the dangerous animals and hostile people. They had managed to travel for four or five days, and ultimately joined the camp. On reaching Birgaon the Emperor encamped there for one month and eight days to give rest to the army.

When the army began its march from there, the people learnt about a flood in the river and plentiful mud on the banks of the Krishna which was at a distance of nine *kruhs*. The soldiers who had been crossing the jungles and constantly marching, lost courage on hearing these bile-melting tidings and *congratulated* each other on the coming death! They covered these nine *kruhs* In sixteen stages and halts, in such a state that thousands of horses and beasts of burden procured by them with cheap or dear prices were bogged in marshy land and quagmire, and their owners had to give up all hopes of recovering them. When the river bank was at a distance of one *kruh* numberless people fell down in the pits, which were like natural graves, and thus were saved from the hardships of the march and could rest till

the day of resurrection. About thirty to forty weak and thin elephants which had reached the place also sank into mud like donkeys and could not get out of it. On that day whoever was able to take himself to a place of safety considered himself fortunate. Those who had retained their courage and strength, encouraged the disappointed people by reciting the following verse :—

گرچه منزل بس خطرناک است و مقصد ناپدید
هیچ راهے نیست کورا نیست پایان غم مخور

[Although the goal is very dangerous and the purpose is not in sight;

Do not be disheartened because every road has its end.]

They reached near the river, whose waves, it appeared were a river of blood. [P. 509] The passage of the ford was very uneven and there were many ups and downs in it. Only a few boats were available and they were so old and broken that it appeared, that they had been built from the planks of Noah's ark. What shall I write of the calamity which befell the army and the people who had suffered hardship twice, or the quarrelling sailors (about wages), the excesses of the scoundrels and the oppressions of the hard-hearted tyrants in the attempt of every one to precede the other in crossing the river. Every boat was like a coffin carrying one hundred dead bodies. The people suffered great troubles. Many of them, tired of their lives, tried to cross the river in the night and in consonance with the noise of the boistrous waves they recited the following couplet.

شب تاریک و بیم موج و گردابے چنیں حائل
کجا دانند حال ما سبکساران ساحلها

[Darkness in the night, fear of the waves and a horrible whirlpool !

How can the people living in safety on the seashore know our conditions ?]

In this state of confusion they crossed the river in the course of eighteen days. Who has the heart and mind to be able to count those who perished in efforts to swim or due to the capcising of the boats and the excesses of the scoundrels?

Capture of the Fort of Kundana.

However, after great difficulties they reached Bahādur Gadh where the Emperor encamped for one month and a few days to give rest to the army and wait for the abatement of the rains and every body started re-equipping himself anew. They had hardly recovered half their strength when orders were given for the capture of the fort of Kundana. In the end of the month of Rajab the flags were raised at Bahadur Gadh for a march in the direction of Kundana. The broken hearts of the people constantly travelling through dangerous routes were greatly struck by those orders. On the 13th of the month of Sha'bān they reached the foot [P. 510] of the fort of Kundana. Tarbiyat Khān along with other experienced veterans, busied himself in advancing the lines, running the mines and constructing high redoubts. The infidels from above were making deadly sorties like an unexpected calamity. Every day large numbers of men were either killed or received martyrdom and the brave warriors made great efforts.

Regnal Year 47.

(*Corresponding to 1114 H. 1702-03 A. C.*)

In which the Fort of Kundana was Captured.

In short, after a period of three months and a half and during which efforts were made, many people were killed, the chief courtiers and officers got tired (of the siege). They purchased the fort by paying a sum of money to the commandant of the fort.

On being captured the fort was named Bakhshindah Bakhsh. After the conquest of this fort, the Emperor passed the rainy season in a march to Poona and encamped in the vicinity of the city in order to give rest to his army. Poona was one of those places which were said to have been founded by Seva the Hell-dog, and it was in the palace of this city that Amir al-Umara Shā'istah Khān, as I have already narrated, had received a wound in a night attack. As Prince Muḥammad Muḥi al-Millat, eldest son of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh born of Rāni Manohar Puri, who had died before reaching the age of ten years and travelled towards the heavens had been buried, in that place near the light emitting tomb (مزار فائض الانوار) of Shaykh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the Emperor changed its name to Muḥi Ābād.

During this year, in spite of excessive rains, in season and out of season, the *Kharīf* crops suffered [P. 511] due to plentitude of water. Wheat and other *Rabī'* crops also suffered heavily owing to intense falling of dew which in Hindi is called *kuhra* or *dhuwār* (fog).

For several days (due to dense fog) nothing was visible on the sky or on the earth. The wheat became red, and in two or three provinces of the Deccan, only one in place of ten maunds could be harvested. Large quantities of harvested crops had become rotten and were destroyed due to excessive rains. The expectations of the army for cheapness of grain and pleasure of complete rest, were changed into despair caused by dearness and poverty.

In the middle of Rajab, the Emperor marched with the object of capturing Rajgarh and some other forts. Rajgarh was a very strong fort and was the first seat and refuge of that infidel, the hell-dog (Shivaji) who was the root cause of all trouble in the region. This conquest of this small hilly tract was the main cause of the Emperor's arrival after an arduous journey, and the sufferings of the people, although he had a few other places in his mind when he had raised the standard for marching. At a distance of four *kruhs* from Poona there was a high mountain

and there was no trace of any track to cross it. Only the Marhatahs and other mountaineers of that district could cross it on foot after coming down from their horses. Camels and bullocks with loads could not cross it, not to speak of the waggons. Many people who were tired of constantly travelling and had been away from their wives and children for a long time, had sent for them from far and near, because they expected rest for a few days. Some of them had married there and did not expect the troubles of a march over the mountains. They now reached the foot of the mountain about which it is said :—

Verse :

آں نہ کوہے بود کورا بر زمین باشد نشان
آسمانے بود گویا بر فراز آسمان

[It was not a hill which had its trace on Earth,
It was another sky on the expanse of a sky.]

[P. 512] A month before this, thousands of stone-cutters and sappers, had been sent under the directions of senior and experienced officers; they were busy in building a road for the passage of gun carriages and other equipment, but they failed to prepare even as narraw a path as the bridge across the hell. When the troops reached the skirts of the hill, the officers of the army left their baggage here and there. The *purdah nashin* ladies who were travelling in chariots and bullock-carts, or riding on camels and oxen, alighted from them and began to walk on foot covering their heads and faces in *burqa's*. The bullocks were taken away from chariots and carts and waggons were tied with ropes and dragged across the passages made by the cutting of trees, but they moved very slowly (بِتّه بان) from morning till evening. The baggage was removed from the camels and waggons, and was put on the heads of the men to be taken up-hill. In under-going these hardships and difficulties, a number of men along with their loads, fell down in the huge *khads* where they were devouvered by the beasts. Traversing one and a half *kruh*

of the way, which was measured by a *jarīb*, in two weeks, they crossed the mountain. At last in the beginning of *Sha'bān* the Emperor reached the fort and encamped there. What shall I write about the height and the grandeour of the fort? The belly of the spacious sky was torn open by the sword of the fort. The cow, on which the earth rest, was tired because of its load. People had to suffer great hardship on account of the large number of poisonous snakes and different kinds of man-hunting wild beasts that infested the valleys of that mountain. Owing to the circumference of the fort which, at the foot of the hill, was calculated at twelve jarībic kos; it was difficult to besiege it thorougly and to stop supplies to the besieged. However, Tarbiyat Khān, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān, senior Bakhshis and other fort conquering veterans, were assigned the task of advancing the lines and preparing the covered path. [P. 513] The experienced warriors, in a very short time, mounted guns on the heights of that lofty mountain and advanced their lines upto the very foot of the besieged fort. There were two other hills adjacent to the fort of Rajgarh. Shiva, the hell-dog, had constructed high buildings on them and had stored in them war material. He had also tried to strengthen their battlements and turrets. The besieged on all the three hills did not slacken the firing of balls and bullets, and rolling down huge pieces of stones and were ever on the look out to carry the provisions, stealthily, in the fort. I will not bother my pen to give detailed account of all the days of siege. I will describe it briefly. After a siege of two months and some days, through the efforts of rock-cutting veterans and the severe blows of mountain breaking guns, on the 15th of Shawwāl a party of brave warriors carried and planted the Imperial standards on the first gate of the fort. A party of the damned fellows (enemy troops) while escaping from the fort, were caught in the clutches of death and became the fodder of the swords of the brave fighters, but a large number of the besieged fled away in all directions and sought safety wherever, they could. Hāmāji, along with two other mischief mongers (سرمایہ فساد) remained in

the fort, offering fruitless resistance for another twelve days. At last they begged safety of life and made Rūḥ Allāh Khān their intercessor and offered to surrender on the condition that the commandant of the fort would come to the gate of the fort and carry the Imperial standards inside it, and that it would be vacated on the following day.

When the standards were taken inside the fort, and the darkness of the night became an obstacle in the path of the sight, the besieged taking advantage of this screen, came out of the fort with their families and as much cash as they could carry. In the morning, when the great sun took out his head out of the window of the orient, the Emperor was informed of the flight of the commandant of the fort. The drums of victory were beaten. The Imperial officers [P. 514] entered the fort and the remnant of the infidels were expelled, bare-headed and bare-footed.

Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān was honoured by the bestowal of a *naqqārah* which was his long standing desire. Tarbiyat Khān received a promotion of five hundred and two hundred horse. Thus he became a *manṣabdār* of three thousand five hundred and one thousand and nine hundred horse. Rūḥ Allāh Khān was made happy by the award of ornamented and valuable *Sarpech* (tiara). The name of the fort was changed into Bani Shāh Garh. Due to scarcity of grain its price had risen so high that wheat and gram were procured at the rates of two seers for a rupee and sometimes even at higher rates. Orders were sent to Sīdī Yāqūt Khān, the commandant of Danda Rajpuri, the administrator of the whole of Konkon belonging to Niẓām al-Mulk, who was at a distance of thirty five *kruhs* from there that he should supply provisions to the army to his best capacity and present himself at the Court with equipment necessary for a siege. Sīdī Yāqūt, as has been repeatedly mentioned, never disobeyed the Imperial orders. In suppressing the Marhatas and administering the territory in his jurisdiction as well as in keeping open the sea route to the House of Allāh (Ḥijāz) and keeping fit the ships and boats of big and small size, on which three lakhs of rupees were spent and

provided by the State treasury, he had put in such efforts, as any body who has visited that troubled region, would realise, no other officer of the government had equalled him in loyalty achieved so much success as he had done in subducing the Marhata enemies on land and sea. But, Sidi Khayryat Khān, who was his companion, had, after the fall of Rahiri, despite his (Yāqūt) claim, presented him at the Court on being summoned. [P. 515] Here he became a victim to inferiority complex when he saw the grandeour of the Court, and felt ashamed at his inability to maintain the living standards of the nobles of the Court. He feigned illness and through the efforts and plans of Sidi Yāqūt, he had come out of the Imperial army and retired to his native land in the mountains. Now, when sidi Yāqūt was called to the Court, he did not find himself worthy of having the honour to attend the Court, as out of shyness he could not be able to face the courtiers. He made arrangement of provision for the Imperial army at a great expense through his wakīl and sent several lakhs of rupees as a Pesh Kash. He also supplied two or three thousand infantry with necessary equipments for siege. He submitted that, in case of his absence from his territory, it would become difficult to supply the provisions for the army and the administration of the district would be disrupted. His excuse was accepted.

Sīdi Yāqūt's Death.

About the same time the news of his death was received at the Court. It is said that Sīdi Yāqūt had no son and had adopted Sīdi 'Ambar as his successor. Before his death he advised the latter that he should pay the tribute as well as the expenses of the Imperial Court even if he were to mortgage his person and clothes, but he should never take his hands off his country and leave it and not allow its administration to go into the hands of others. At first there was some suggestion at the Court to hand over the administration of that state to one of the attending nobles. The chief nobles, however, submitted that only the Abyssinians and particularly those trained by Sidi Yāqūt, could administer those

mountainous regions, command the fort of Rahiri and keep the sea passage to the House of Allāh open. The Emperor, after deep consideration, as a matter of policy, confirmed Sidi 'Ambar in that post. Sidi 'Ambar who previously held [P. 516] a junior *manṣab*, was given a suitable promotion and the title of Yāqūt Khān.

Shujā'at Khān's Death

Shujā'at Khān, the Ṣūbehdār of Ahmedabad, since the time, he had come under the displeasure, remained very sad and ill because he keenly felt the disgrace despite the restoration of the *manṣabs* of his men. At this time the news of his death was received at the Court. His only issue was a daughter. A large portion of his property was left as legacy to his daughter and the rest was attached by the State.

Tārā Bā'i succeeds Rām Rājah

Rām Rājah, had died leaving two widows and two infant sons. People thought that widows and the two suckling sons would not be able to do any thing and the high-handedness of the Marhatas will greatly diminish and the destruction of the Marhatas at the hands of the victorious and enemy killing Imperial troops will not be difficult. But, as has been said :

Hemistich

دشمن نه توان حقیر و بیچاره شمرد

'The enemy should not be considered weak ond insignificant'

So long as the will of God is not there that the people must suffer for the sins they have committed and the enemy cannot be destroyed by the efforts of the people.

Tārā Bā'i, the wife of Rām Rājah, declared her three year old son, as his successor, seized power including the changing and transferring of the Marhata officers, the rehabilitation of her own country and started an endeavour to ravage Imperial territories. She engaged herself in arranging and posting her forces in the six

Subahs of the Deccan upto the frontiers of Sironj and Mandsawr and the province of Malwa, with the object of ravaging the territories and in winning the loyalty of her officers in a way that all the efforts and the conquests of the forts by 'Ālamgīr failed to keep them in proper check; until the end of her regime the rebellions of Marhatas continued to gain strength every day. [P. 517] In spite of the fact that the Emperor spent a large portion of the treasure left by Shāh Jahān (Sāḥib Qirān Thāni) and sacrificed the life of many people in capturing the lofty force and expelling the Marhatas from their homes, they showed greater daring and began ravaging the territories of the Imperial government. As the Emperor was engaged with all available forces in besieging the distant fortresses in the hilly region, the Marhatas stopped with their families and equipment and elephants etc. for months and years wherever they managed to reach and administered the area by appointing Ṣūbehdārs, Kamāyishdārs and Rāhdārs like the Imperial government.

The Marhata Ṣūbehdār, on hearing about a big caravan, attacked and plundered it with his seven or eight thousand horsemen. He also appointed Kamāyishdārs at all places to collect *chawth*. Wherever they failed to collect it owing to the opposition of the zamīndar and Fawjdār, the Ṣūbehdār himself, rushed to their help and surrounded and plundered the place. The profession of the Rāhdārs of those misguided people was that, whenever a merchant wanted to secure safety from the Marhatas, they charged a fixed amount per waggon or per bullock as Rāhdāri which was three or four times, the rāhdāri tax collected by the tyrannical *rāhdārs* and Fawjdārs of the government. Thus they became major shareholders in the collections of the Jāgīrdārs and the Fawjdārs. They built one or two small fortresses (گڈھی) in every province and made it their refuge and place of retreat, from where they conducted raids in all directions. [P. 518] The leading Muqaddams in some villages had constructed *gadhis* with the help and advice of the Ṣūbehdārs of the infidels and with their support and protection resisted the

Imperial officers when they came to collect the revenue. They had reduced to dust the countryside upto the frontiers of Ahmedabad and parganahs in the province of Malwa.

Marhata Raid on Baba Piari.

It will be giving too much trouble to my pen if I were to describe in detail their evil deeds and the ruins caused by their raids in the provinces of the Deccan and Ujjayn and their attacks on big caravans within ten or twelve *kruhs* of Imperial camp, nay on the government treasury itself.

However, I will now describe their daring raid on the ferry of Baba Piari on the banks of the Narbada between the boundaries of the port of Surat and Ahmedabad. Just about the time when the Emperor was busy in capturing the forts, which, however, proved ineffective for the suppression of the Marhatas. After the death of Shujā'at Khān the Ṣūbehdāri of Aḥmedabad was entrusted to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam. Before the Prince could reach there or appoint his permanent Nā'ib (deputy); Khwājah 'Abdul Majīd, the Diwān of Ahmedabad was given charge of it.

In the meantime the forces of the wicked enemy numbering fifteen or sixteen thousand horsemen were aimlessly marching (آواره) in the area surrounding the port of Surat. After completely devastating some of the *parganahs* they started crossing the Narbada which flows between Ahmedabad and Surat. The Nā'ib of the Prince and the Fawjdārs of the province of Ahmedabad held consultations and sent a suitable force numbering thirteen or fourteen thousand horsemen and seven or eight thousand fighting *kawlis*,[1] who had assembled there under the command of Muḥammad Beg Khan, Naẓar Ali Khān, adopted son of Shujā'at Khān ; Iltifat Khān, Fawjdār of Thānesar and Godra, along with other well known ten or twelve Fawjdārs of Ahmedabad to meet the enemy. [P. 519] With a view to meet the Marhatas and

1 کولی living in the mountainous region.

uproot the trouble, they crossed the river Narbada and encamped on the other bank. On the following morning a Marhata force also arrived within seven or eight *kruhs* of their camp and pitched their tents. A contingent of two or three thousand cavalry with five horses and skilled in the profession of robbery appeared on one side of the camp. On learning of this the Ahmedabad army advanced to meet them. After an exchange of blows between the opposing forces, the infidels took to flight. The officers of the Emperor's forces chased the enemy for two or three *kruhs*, captured some mares, spears, umbrellas; and returned to the camp beating the drums of victory. The government troops were very happy and were satisfied that they had defeated the enemy. They ungirded their belts and took off the saddles from their horses. Some of them went to sleep while others became busy in preparing and eating their meals. In the meantime, seven or eight thousand of the enemy's selected troops who had concealed themselves in the pits on the bank of the river, ready to go into action on the information to be supplied to them by the spies, attacked the government troops unawares, and fell upon them like an unexpected calamity. The inexperienced Ahmedabad troop, who had never seen the fighting of the Deccanis,[1] lost courage, and could not get time even for saddling their horses and fastening on their belts. As there was no permanent commander with them, and the Deccanis had seized all the routes of their escape, there was a great confusion in the army. As there was on one side the river which had become uncrossable owing to the rising tide of the sea and on the other side there were terrible forces of the enemy, a number of people were killed and wounded while many others threw themselves into the river and were drowned in the sea of annihilation. Naẓar 'Ali Khān, Khwājah 'Abd al-Majid, with two or three important officers made [P. 520] vain efforts to resist; they were ultimately captured. Iltifāt Khān, who considered himself to be a great warrior, put

1 Deccanis lit. the people living in the Deccan. This term in generally used by Muslim historians for Marhata soldiers.

on the saddle-cloth on his horse and threw himself into the boisterous river in order to save his life.[1] The enemy had surrounded the government troops. Dhanna Jādaw started negotiations with Imperial officers and proposed that *farmāns* should be issued to console all the leading chiefs of the Rāni and inviting them to the Court. When they would reach near the Imperial camp, Raja Sahu escorted by Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh should meet them at a distance of four or five *kruhs*. The Marhata Sardārs would meet Raja Sahu first and then through him they would appear before Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh; and on his recommendation they should be presented before the Emperor. Orders were accordingly issued to prepare about seventy *farmāns* addressed to the Marhata Sardars Soon, however, the Emperor disapproved this scheme and agreement, as due to his fore-sight and the fraudulent nature of the enemy, he thought that the enemy would reach the Imperial camp with forty or fifty thousand troops and would treacherously carry Raja Sahu along with the Prince to their hills difficult to cross.

Hemistich :

چرا کارے کند عاقل که باز آید پشیمانی

[Why should a wise man do a thing which would later make him repent.]

Sultān Ḥusayn was summoned to the Court and a reply was sent to the *wakil* of the Rāni. When returning Sulṭān Ḥusayn found that his way had been blocked by the Marhatas who had come in great force. A severe action was fought. In spite of the numerical superiority of the enemy he met the danger successfully and fighting throughout the way safely reached the Court. As the army was under orders to march and lay siege to the fort of Torna, [P. 521] Sulṭān Ḥusayn was directed to reach the foot of the fort and to establish his own lines, without waiting for an audience with the Emperor.

1 It appears that some words are missing here because the sentence is incomplete. The subsequent sentence also begins abrupty.

Regnal Year 48.

Corresponding to 1115 H.

Capture of the fort of Torna

After the capture of the fort of Bani Shāh Garh, the Emperor stopped for some days to give rest to the victorious army. At the end of Shawwāl, he raised his victorious standard with the intention of conquering the fort of Torna which is at a distance of four *kruhs* from the fort of Rajgarh. During the two marches and two halts, the entire army carried their baggage on their shoulders owing to the inavailability of the beasts of burden. Most of the Amirs carried their baggage on the backs of the elephants or on the labourers and Faqirs of the Kitchen, till their destination. After marching for one or two *kruhs*, the Emperor reached the foot of the fort of Torna and ordered the fort to be besieged and throwing off the intrenches. As a request was again presented on behalf of Sulṭān Ḥusayn for an audience, the Emperor rejected it in words of kindness which are generally addressed to the household slaves (خانه زاد) and ordered that before presenting himself at the Court he should reach the foot of the fortress of Torna and establish his intrenchments and after making some good efforts, he should come for an audience.

Tarbiyat Khān along with other veterans having experience in mountain warfare and brave men who were expert in capturing the forts, engaged themselves in carrying out the assigned duties. Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur and Amān Allāh Khān, grandson of Alah Wardi Khān, particularly, made great efforts in the siege of this fort. When some days had passed to the siege, the *harkārahs* informed the Emperor that Sulṭān Ḥusayn, in spite of the small number of troops at his disposal and the incessant showering of balls and other fire works from the besieged, and incurring loss of some men, had advanced his line to a distance of twenty yards from his original position and had captured eighty men, [P. 522] who were carrying provisions for the besieged and who had come across his lines. The Emperor, as a favour, ordered that

provisions should be distributed among his troops. He was called to the royal presence to pay his respects and by way of promotion, *manṣab* of two hundred was added to his *manṣab* of three hundred. I will pull in the reins of my swift footed black tailed horse (کمیت) of my pen while giving the description of the days when the useful warriors and fort conquering veterans of the army of the Emperor made remarkable efforts for the capture of this high fort. I will give only a brief account of the victorious end of the siege.

This fort was captured unlike the other forts without any negotiations with the commandant of the fort, promises, warnings and exchange of conciliatory messages. The fort was occupied on the fifteenth of Dhu al-Qa'dah, the first of Farwardin, the day on which were started the celebration of the commencement of the eighty ninth year of the world conquering Emperor's life.

Amān Allāh Khān, who was taking a leading part in the siege, assisted by a body of Māwlis well known for their skill in siege operations, took courage and made an assault with the help of high escalades and rope-ladders, limitless like extent of hope. In the early part of the night, when the moon had not appeared, and owing to the smoke of guns that were being fired from both the sides and dust which was raised by the assaillants and defenders, and at a moment when nobody among the besiegers or the besieged could even think of making such an attempt, two brave warriors, experienced in hill fighting made repeated efforts, and leaving others behind, managed to climb over the hill by a passage and invited their fellow men through a previously arranged signal. About twenty five well-armed soldiers with a trumpeter, reached the top. Closely following that reckless group, [P. 523] Amān Allāh Khān, with 'Aṭā Allāh Khān his brother, with other brave associates, who followed the footsteps of both the valiant officers, advanced in the noise of the trumpets and made a surprise attack on the besieged, who were completely taken unawares and became helpless. This was a valiant attack.

Ḥamid al-Din Khān Bahādur, who was waiting for an opportunity also reached the spot with the help of ropes and escalades and joined the Māwlis. Most of the besieged, who had lost their senses (هوش باخته). and were making vain efforts to resist the assailants, were put to sword, while a number of them fled away crying *al-amān* (safety). Some of them hid themselves in the nooks and corners. The trumpets of victory were blowing on the top and drums were being beaten on the ground. Thus some of them fled away bare-headed and bare-footed, and some thought it expedient to surrender to save their lives and property, and were given protection. The fort was given the name of Futūḥ al-Ghayb. It is generally known to the great and the poor, and Musta'id Khān, who has written an account of the conqucsts, forts, has also said, that among the forts of this region, the Futūḥ al-Ghayb is the only one which had been captured by force of arms, and a brave assault without any negotiations or correspondence.

Amān Allāh Khān, who already held a *manṣab* of one thousand. five hundred horse, got a promotion of five hundred, two hundred horse. His brother 'Aṭa Allāh Khān and his other followers were also given promotions according to their positions. The other notable Ḥamid al-Din Khān Bahādur was awarded, a *Khil'at*, and a *Dushālah* from the Imperial wardrobe, with a *sarpech* and *Fatḥ pech* (tiara and turban).

As the rainy season had approached, [P. 524] the Emperor ordered to send his equipment in advance in the direction of the fort of Chuner, that was in the hands of the Imperial troops and was situated in a suburb of Gulshan Ābād; and a camp was set up.

In the end of the month of Dhu al-Qā'dah the Emperor arrived at the town of Khaner (Khed)[1] on the banks of the river.[2]

1 See Sarkar, *Ma'asir 'Alamgiri,* (English Translation). p. 290-91. Khed was renamed Mas'ūdabād.

2 Gang literally a river. Here probably it indicates the river Godawari

About this time, Rūḥ Allāh Khān II, who had a stone in bladder, went from the transitory to the eternal world.

Pem Nā'ik, who has been mentioned before, was a low caste zamīndār of the tribe of Be-dar which in Hindi means "fearless". Originally he was a Dhar, the most impure of the Deccani castes and the most turbulant of them. During the trouble in Hyderabad he had sent his forces to help Abu al-Ḥasan. The Emperor had consequently sent Khānzāda Khān, son of Rūḥ Allāh Khān to capture his fort of Sagar, and to occupy the other fortresses and places of retreat of that infidel. Due to the pressure of the attacks of the Imperial army he had submitted and come to wait on the Emperor, but soon after had returned to his *real home* (*i.e.*, he had died).

In the thirty second regnal year Rūḥ Allāh Khān (senior) had been sent to capture Raichur. When the Imperial camp, before the Bijapur campaign, was established at Ahmednagar, Parya Naik,[1] the nephew of Pem Naik, having seen the great power of the Emperor ; had come to the Court and had received a *manṣab*, which he thought was expedient for him at the time. Rūḥ Allāh Khān, senior, believing that Parya Naik might be useful in the expedition of Raichur, had taken him along with himself. On their arrival at Raichur, that deceitful infidel co-operated in the expedition and made efforts. After the conquest of Raichur, he sought permission to proceed to Wakinkera the ancestral home of that low born creature, so that he might arrange [P. 525] his affairs there. He promised to reach any place as directed with a well equipped army.

After receiving permission that low born infidel, went to Wakinkera, which was a village on the top of a hill and was a dependency of Sagar. There lived a number of Barq Andazes, musketeers, black faced footmen (کالی پیادہ ھائے سیاہ رو) on the top of the hills.

They are famous for their long range shooting and marksmanship. When Sagar was taken away from the possession of Pem

1 Pidia in *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, (Eng. translation) p. 292.

Na'ik, that filthy dog had by crafts and wile, made Wakinkera the abode and the place of refuge for his family and children. Having reached there, he (Parya Na'ik) stayed permanently and showed no signs of leaving the place. He set about strengthening the foundations of the fort, which he had built in addition to the already existing enclosure, and began to collect the stores of war material with the intention of rebelling. With the help of time which always support the mean persons and favours the ignoble he managed to collect fourteen or fifteen thousand foot soldiers who were famous for their bravery and marksmanship. He made his mountain stronghold safe like the wall of Alexander[1]. Within a short period he secured four or five thousand horse and started ravaging the inhabited places far and near, and to waylaying the caravans. Whenever an army was sent against him, he relied upon the forces which he had collected, the fortification of his stronghold, the influence of the money spent in bribery, for he had become aware of the ways and methods of the Imperial Court and had become audacious. By sending bags of Huns and jewels, he used to close the doors of negotiation, and used to mention himself among the tax payers (مالگذار) and loyal zamindārs. He spent every month and year in extending the fortifications and strengthening the towers and turrets. He continuously increased his army and collected heavy and light artillery, until the place came to be known as the fort of Wakinkera. [P. 526] He had become an ally of the wretched enemy of the Deccan.

Jagna,[2] son of Pem Naik, had gone to the Court, was honoured with a *manṣab*, and obtained a sanad for the zamīndāri of that territory as its rightful heir. He had attacked him [Parya

1 A legendary wall built by Alexander to protect his empire from the raids of Gog and Magog (ياجوج ماجوج).

2 (چکیا) Chakia in some manuscripts Jagian in *Ma'ā̱ṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī* (Eng. translation p. 292).

Naik] with an army but was unable to force his way, and was defeated in a battle.

Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam S̲h̲āh was detailed to threaten and punish the wretched fellow, and his troops devastated the country side surrounding his territory (تعلقه). However, availing of an opportunity, he waited upon the Prince and showing humility and expressing repentance he offered to pay a tribute of seven lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, and paid in cash two lakhs of rupees to the Prince besides conciliating his *mutaṣaddis*. Thus he managed to escape from the clutches of Imperial displeasure. The moment the Prince returned to the Court he resumed his previous activities and began to create greater disturbance. Afterwards, Fīroze Jung was appointed to uproot that plunderer and rebel. When G̲h̲āzi al-Dīn, Fīroze Jung, reached the place and pressed him hard, he used the same old tricks in exaggerated form. He sent deceptive and alluring messages, with a promise of obedience and payment of a tribute of nine lakh of rupees. In this way he saved his life and honour.

During the period of the advance of the Imperial army to capture the forts in the direction of Poona, and when the camp was established near Juner, where they stayed for seven months and a half and when two or three unimportant fortresses had fallen to the arms of [F. 527] the brave and mountain conquering warriors, every day the news of turbulance and insolance of that low born infidel reached the Court. The Emperor, with the intention of punishing that wretched fellow and fighting a *jihād* ordered the advanced equipment in the direction of Wakinkera.

Regnal Year 49.

Corresponding to 1116 A. H. (1704—1705 A. C.)

In the beginning of the forty ninth regnal year the Emperor unfurled his invincible flag to march in the direction of Wakinkera. Qilich K̲h̲ān, eldest son of Fīroze Jung, who was posted as the

Ṣubehdār of Bijapur, and was counted among experienced statesmen, was summoned to the Court. The *parganahs* around Wakinkera were included in his Jāgīr, but he could not control them owing to the trouble created by Parya Naik. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jung the Bakhshi of the Empire who was the custodian of Khajistah Bunnyād (Aurangabad) was ordered to reach Wakinkera. Similar orders were sent through mace-bearers to most of the leading fawjdārs who had contingents of troops.

At the end of the month of Shawwāl, the Emperor arrived and encamped in the vicnity of the fort of Wakinkera. Soon after this Qolīch Khān, as ordered by the Emperor, also reached the camp. jointly with Tarbiyat Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān and other brave officers, he arranged artillery and started advancing their intrenchments and collectlng necessary materials for the siege. 'Ālamgir Ghāzi had his tent pitched at a distance and ordered his brave warriors to start the operations of the siege and engaged themselves in slaying the infidels. That wretched fellow also began to strengthen the tower and the turrets and collect his dispersed troops. He sent letters and messages to Tara Bai and other Marhata chiefs requesting them for help. He was able to procure several thousand [P. 528] horsemen from all the communities including the Muslims, even some (Sayyids) who brought a stigma to the name of the Sādāt. With the audacity and daring of innumerable black faced infantrymen and fire showering artillery, he made himself ready to meet the victorious Imperial troops. Incessant firing continued day and night from small and big guns and several thousand rockets (بان) were showered on the besiegers, no respite being allowed to them. Severe clashes took place and many people on both the sides were killed and wounded.

One day, at sun rise, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Tarbiyat Khān, Chīn Qulīch Khān Bahādur, 'Azīz Khān Rohilla and Ikhlāṣ Khān Miyānah, who were reconnoitring as scouts on all the sides and were in search of an opportunity, reached a hillock (تپه) called Lal Tekri which had a commanding position for the fort. They

rushed towards it and killed with their swords and arrows, the body of musketeers who were guarding it. Having removed them, they tried to establish their intrenchment and made great efforts. In the meantime black hearted and misguided fellows in and outside the fort rushing forward from above and below came like a flood of calamity and crowded around the men of the Imperial army.

They showered balls and bullets from their guns and muskets and threw several thousand pieces of stones from their slings, and ultimately gained supremacy over the Imperial troops, giving them no chance to take a position. On receiving this news the Emperor sent Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and Amir al-Umara Asad Khān to reinforce the government forces. Every body with troops he could muster hastened to the spot. Chīn Qulich Khān and other brave nobles performed whatever brave deeds they could ; [P. 529] but with no result.

In short, deadly balls were showering from the fort and a large number of Imperial troops received martyrdom. The horse of Muḥammad Amīn lost both the legs, and one of the fore-legs of the horse of Chīn Qulich Khān was also blown off by bullets and rockets. Both these brave warriors became footmen thanked God that their lives were saved and no part of their body was disabled. Owing to the great confusion prevailing on account of the crowdings of elephants and horses and the falling down of a number of men no spare horses could be sent to those two nobles. Fighting for some time on foot they tried to keep themselves away from the deadly struggle, as far as possible. When the news reached the world conquering Emperor, he sent two spare horses from the Imperial stables for both the leading commanders.

Qulich Khān was suffering from palpitation of heart, and it is obvious that it becomes acute under such circumstances, the Emperor sent the pastiles of ambergris, forty tolas in weight to

Qulīch Khān as a mark of favour with messages of sympathy and encouragement. Two or three days after this, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān Bahādur made a charge with a body of brave fighters and occupied another hillock, facing a market place, called 'painth' in Hindi and a village inhabited by the Dhers who are the bravest of men and who belonged to the same caste as that ignoble fellow (Parya Nā'ik). Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān killed a large number of enemy troops and established his position there. A body of the mischief-mongers who were scattered round Lal Tekri, came forward to meet Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, like a hungry hawk looking after prey, rushed to the Lal Tekri and established his position there. In the meantime Sulṭān Ḥusayn, known as Mīr Malang reached the place with a body of Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh's, troops and joined them in their efforts [P. 530.] and took position. In the same way Bāqar Khān, son of Rūh Allah Khān occupied another hillock and guarded his post. Fire-balls, bullets and stones thrown by hand or by slings, were constantly falling upon all the brave warriors. The moment was not far when some result was to ensue and the efforts of the Imperial forces were about to bear fruits; in fact the people had begun to talk about the symptoms of victory.

Just at this time the news of the arrival of a strong Marhata army to help that wretched fellow, spread in the camp. Next day Dhanna Jadaw and Hindu Rao, with two or three other unworthy Sardars (ناسرداران) whose sons and families were in the fort of Wakinkera; appeared at a distance with eight to nine thousand horse and innumerable foot soldiers. Dhanna Jadaw, who for some time had not been engaged in ravaging the country side and meeting the Imperial forces; wanted to take out his property and family, that he had placed in Wakinkera considering it to be stronger than the forts which had been captured by the

1 پینٹھ a village fair, market place.

2 ملنگ lit. A man bare-footed and bare-headed, ecstasized with religious enthusiasm.

Emperor. At the same time he wanted to oblige that infidel by coming to his help. A strong force (of the Marhatas, put a great pressure on the Imperial army on one side. Besides, there was heavy showering of balls and bullets from the fort. Thus they drew the Imperial officers towards themselves and engaged them in fighting. (At the same time) from another side they sent two or three thousand brave horsemen. They mounted members of the Marahta families on fast running mares, and rescued them with the help of the foot soldiers who had come out of the fort. The unworthy *Sardārs* of the Rāni, sent a message to that wretched fellow advising him; that although they had joined him and were fighting the ocean like forces of the Emperor, it would be impossible to save their lives. [P. 531] Continuing it, they said that it would be advisable to submit to the Emperor and beg for the safety of life and his hereditary state. That proud and ignoble fellow, who was intoxicated with the wine of vanity, did not accept their advice. He sent money, provisions and drinks to them by way of entertainment, agreed allowance for the Marhata *Sardārs* till the termination of the siege and with great humility requested for their alliance and help. The unworthy Marhata *Sardārs* thought it was a bargain to get money without any obligation (زر مفت) and decided to stay on. They harassed the Imperial troops from all sides and every day people were killed and wounded. The Marhata army increased in number every day, and a number of the Imperial troops were killed and received martyrdom, causing a general panic in the army. At last that villain, out of treachery and crookedness thought of a new scheme and line of action.

There was a Kashmiri merchant named 'Abd al-Ghani, who by retail trade and purchase and sales had been able to collect some money. He had trade relations with all the people and therefore had association with them. He also used to go to the besieged, from the Imperial camp and come out of the fort without any difficulty. Parya Naik won the good will of 'Abd al-Ghani, and sent through him, a petition, begging for peace, and expressing his humility and repentence on his crimes. 'Abd al-

Ghani took the petition to Hidāyat Kesh the official news-writer to whom (papers of) all the political and financial cases of the whole of the Empire were submitted, and said to him ;—

"I had gone to the foot of the fort on a walk and to offer my prayers. The besieged surrounded me by surprise, arrested me and carried me inside the fort. That low born Be-dar (fearless) after inquiring from me about the Imperial army, gave me this piece of paper and asked me to take it to you who are well wisher of people [P. 532] as well as of the Emperor".

Hidāyat Kesh placed the petition of that wretched fellow before tne Emperor. After pondering over the case and keeping in view the pressure of the infidel forces, the Emperor ordered that Parya Naik should submit his request through Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and Hidāyat Kesh. The purport of the petition of the infidel was that his brother, Som Shankar, would come out of the fort and wait upon the Emperor. After being awarded *Khil'at*, horse, jewels and *manṣab*, he should be kept as a hostage in the Gulāl Bār. After that, according to the contents of the petition, Muḥtashim Khān, son of Shaykh Mir Khwāfi, who during those days was without a *manṣab* and lived in retirement and with whom the aforesaid Kashmiri had trade relations, should be summoned and appointed. The commandant of the fort. With a few followers, he would bring the Imperial standard inside the fort and take over the charge of its administration but the present commandant should be given a week's time to vacate it.

In short, Som Shankar, the brother of that low born fellow, as mentioned in his petition, came out of the fort and waited upon the Emperor with presents and offerings. He was awarded a *Khil'at*, a horse, jewels and *manṣab*. He offered his obeisance for the Imperial favour, begged forgiveness for the crimes of his brother with the greatest humility and requested for a respite of one week. In the meantime Muḥtashim Khān entered the fort and passed, in entertainments and the exchange of messages, the

night on the morning of which Parya Naik was to wait through him upon the Emperor. On Muhtashim Khān's entering the fort drums of victory were beaten and on the following day the leading nobles (ارکان دولت) of the state offered their congratulations to the Emperor. Hidāyat Kesh, [P. 533] was awarded with the title of Hādi Khān for his meritorious services. 'Abdul Ghani Kashmiri, for his services as an intermediary, got a *manṣab* of three hundred.

The people inside the fort, in order to satisfy the commandant of the fort (Muhtashim Khān), started sending out their worthless goods and evacuating old women whose existence and non-existence were alike. Till the afternoon, the rumour was actively spread that Parya Naik would wait upon the commandant of the fort. In the evening, they offered the pretext for postponing the interview, that Parya Naik was suffering from high fever; on the third day it was changed into delirium. On the following day, it was given out that he had gone mad and slipped away from the fort in the dead of night, and it was not certain whether he had dropped himself down the fort to commit suicide or due to insanity, he had gone to Marhata camp. The mother of that cunning fellow started bitterly crying and lamenting for him and pretended to be restless and distressed. She petitioned the Emperor that she would evacuate the fort after recovering from the effect of the disappearance of her son. She requested that her younger son Som Shankar should be recognised as zamīndār in place of his brother and should be sent to Muhtashim Khān. She added that Som Shankar knew where the treasure was buried and he would show the place to the commandant of the fort and after that she would evacuate the fort with the remnant of his money and children.

The Emperor not suspecting any fraud on the part of that crafty woman, sent Som Shankar back to his mother. After that, the dirty dog and the cunning fellow, had returned to the fort, the evacuation of the besieged was postponed from day to day to gain time. The Imperial servants were not allowed to come

out or enter the fort, and Muḥtashim Khān with some of his men was detained like a prisoner. At last the scheme and the faithlessness of that infidel became clear to the Emperor and his men. [P. 534] The august Emperor, however, out of forbearance and as a matter of policy and grace, did not betray any signs of perplexity on his face and continued to show favour to those people.

In the meantime the news had reached, that Dhu al-Fiqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jung, Dāwūd Khān and some other chiefs were coming to the camp; orders were issued to them that they should reach there as soon as possible. Although those accursed and misguided people were now showing greater audacity, the Emperor did not move his camp from the foot of the fort but waited for fresh re-inforcements. This was considered by the disheartened people to be an ignominy, hands were rubbed in the tents throughout the camp. They talked among themselves saying to each other by way of taunt : ' what an evil time ! the dirtiest of the people who are carrion-eaters, have succeeded in deceiving the Emperor who is a personification of wisdom and sagacity. The daring of the turbulent people and those surrounding the Imperial camp increased every day and the Emperor was almost reduced for a state of siege. At last reports began to spread that Dhu al-Fiqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jung, Dā'ūd Khān Panni the conqueror of the fort of Jinji, Jamshed Khān Bijapuri, Bahādur Khān the commander of that district, Yūsuf Khān the commander of the fort of Qamar Nagar, Kāmyāb Khān the commandant of the fort of Gulberga, Rao Dalpat Bundela and Ramsingh and a number of other Fawjdārs equipped with the material for siege, had arrived near the camp. The Emperor wrote a short letter (شقه) in his own hands to Nuṣrat Jung saying.

"O thou who art the helper of the weak come soon."

The bravest of the brave along with other brave officer waited on the Emperor on their horses, without observing the usual formalities of audience at the Court and without the awards of favours. As the other brave warriors were hard pressed [P. 535]

by the increasing audacity of the mischief-mongers, he (Nuṣrat Jang) made his first charge on the hillock where Muḥammad Amīn Khān and Sulṭān Ḥusayn had established their intrenchments, but had been surrounded and besieged and had suffered starvation for some days. Supported by other brave warriors, he attacked the wicked and misguided infidels from all sides.

In the meantime a *harkārah*, seeing a cloud of dust rising in the rear, informed him that a Marhata force was coming to help the besieged. Nuṣrat Jang thought it expedient to stop the attacks on the besieged and diverted his forces in the direction from which the cloud of dust was rising. It was discovered later that the cloud of dust was rising because of the movements of the advanced guard of the Imperial troops. During this interval, the infidels launched an attack with greater force, and a well contested battle was fought. On all the four sides the forces opposed each other like the waves of the sea, and every loyal officer showed marvels of bravery. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān, Qilich Khān Bahādur, Dāwūd Khān, Jamshed Khān and the valiant Rajputs and other brave warriors made commendable efforts. For four or five days fighting took place throughout the day. Jamshed Khān along with some Rajputs under Dalpat Rao and some faithful Khānzādahs were killed.

Orders were issued to Chin Qilich Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, and other brave officers that they should go round the fort as Scouts and that they should punish wherever they found any infidel coming to help the wretched besieged. They should not allow the Marhatas to reach them. In the meantime Dhu al-Fiqār Khān captured some wells and *bāolis*[1] that were the sources of water supply for the enemy and their animals. The scarcity of water with which Imperial army was suffering was now shifted to the enemy. Timber and wood trees secured from buildings were used for advancing intrenchments every day. Ultimately

1 *Bāoli* is a large well into which people descend to get water.

they reached the wall of the city. Other brave warriors, also made valiant efforts every day and advanced their intrenchments upto the fort. On the day which was fixed for the assault, the Emperor, with a desire to gain martyrdom, which he always had in mind when conquering the forts, rode on his horse and joined the conquerors of the fort in their efforts. He deliberately took position at a place which was within the range of gunfire and bullets and personally directed the operations. From one side Dhu al-Fiqār Khān Bahādur with newly arrived Amīrs and from the other side, Tarbiyat Khān, Ḥamid al-Dīn Khān, Yakka Tāz Khān and other brave warriors, co-operating and supporting one another, made several decisive assaults. The infidels also from above and from the sides increased their pressure. Many of the brave and valiant fighters making the breasts their shields and relying upon their trust in God, dismounted from their horses and attacked the enemies like flames of fire (شعله وار). There was a strange exchange of blows between the parties and a severe battle ensued. Many people were killed and wounded on both the sides.

Verse :

ز بس کشته افتاد در کوه و دشت
جهان گفت بس بس که از حد گزشت

[As so many dead bodies were lying along the mountain and jungle,

The world cried aloud : "enough enough the limits have been crossed."]

The infidels were overcome. In two or three early attacks a hillock was captured on which there was a market and from which more [P. 537] fire bullets were showered than from any other place. The wicked fools took to flight. The brave warriors pursued them on foot, for more than one *kruh*, many of the infidels were sent to hell or were wounded.

Near the gate, on the top of the hill, the flag of firmness a mark of victory, was planted and unfurled. The wretched

fellows who had lost heart, left two or three thousand musketeers at one of the gates and in the defences near it, on the passage of the Imperial troops with a view to gain time for their flight. Then taking their wives, children, their jewels and whatever they could carry, and setting fire to the temple and other buildings, they escaped in great haste through another gate and through some of the outlets which they had constructed for such an evantuality. They joined the forces of the Marhatas and fled away with them. From the rising of the flames inside the fort, and the stopping of the firing of bullets, it became clear that the enemy had fled ; a number of brave warriors including Dāwūd Khān and Manṣūr Khān with a party of quick moving persons entered the fort, but they found no trace of the enemy except those who had lost their hands and feet and could not escape. They found there the helpless Muḥtashim Khān, who would have perished in the flames of the enemy's wrath if the men of the Emperor had not rescued him on hearing his cries.

On the fourteenth of the month of Muḥarram the fort was occupied by the Imperial troops and the drums of victory were beaten. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān with other brave warriors waited upon the Emperor. He was praised by him, and was given a promotion of one thousand horse in his *manṣab* and awarded an ornamented sword, a horse with gold trappings and an elephant with silver trappings. Similarly Dāwūd Khān, Bahādur Khān, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān and other leading courtiers [P. 538] and devoted slaves, who had performed meritorious deeds in the campaign, were also awarded promotion, *khil'ats*, elephants, horses and jewels. Ḥāji Sayf Allāh Khān, Mīr-e-Tuzuk, whose hand was wounded by a bullet, received one hundred gold coins (اشرفی) as a reward. According to one source of information, Chin Qilīch Khān and Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who had made great efforts in the beginning were not present (at the spot) on the day of victory because they had been despatched to punish the enemy in the surroundings of the Imperial camp. They had also rendered good service in reconnoitring as scouts. When they waited

upon the Emperor, Chin Qilich Khān got a promotion of one thousand horse in his *ma ṣab* of four thousand, along with an ornamented sword. Muḥammad Amīn Khān got a promotion of five hundred horse with an enamelled sword. The fort of Wakinkhira was named Raḥmān Bakhsh and the foundations of a mosque were laid in it. After the conquest of the fort of Raḥmān Bakhsh and the conciliation of tributary zamindārs, the Emperor marched towards the town of Deo Gāon, which lies on the bank of the Kishna, at a distance of three or four jarībi *kruhs*. The Army was ordered to encamp there for rest and pass the rainy season. To settle the administrative and revenue affairs experienced officers were posted at different places. Dhu al-Fiqār Khān was assigned the task of punishing the recalcitrant and turbulant zamindārs of the region. A large amount was thus realised from the newly conquered territories and the *peshkash* (tributes) of zamindārs. About this time news was received that the fort of Bakhshindah Bakhsh, alias Kandana was seized by the Marhatas on account of the carelessness of the commandant and the strategy (حیله پردازی) of the enemy. That very day Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān Bahādur with Tarbiyat Khān was sent to besiege the fort and recapture it.

CHAPTER X

LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF 'ĀLAMGĪR.

The Emperor suffers from an attack of Rheumatism, (وجع المفاصل)

[P. 539] In these days the Emperor suffered from a disease of the body, a severe and strange type of rheumatic pain in all his limbs. This created a confusion (اختلال احوال عالم) in the affairs of the world. Composing himself he used to sit in the *Dīwān* every day giving consolation to the people, but his illness (انحراف مزاج) prolonged. Once or twice the omenous rumour (of his death) was spread by the mischief-mongers, when he became unconscious and lost senses (temporarily); the men of the Imperial army fell in a state of great confusion. However. by the grace of God, he recovered and began to occasionally attend the *Dīwān* and gave audience to the people. If the death of the Emperor had taken place in the *Dār al-Ḥarb* (lit. war territory), not a single soul would have escaped alive from that mountainous region infested with the hostile infidels.

On the advice of the physician Ṣādiq Khān, the Emperor started taking the *china root*[1]. He used the medicine for three or four weeks, and every day money was given in charity. After his recovery by the use of the good medicine, the physician was weighed in gold coins which were given to him in reward. He was also given the title of Ḥakīm al-Mulk.

The Emperor encamped at Bahadur Garh

In the middle of the month of Rajab, the Emperor marched from that place in the direction of Bahādur Garh known as Bir Gāon.

Chin Qilich Khān was allowed to go back to his Ṣūbah. I will not narrate the events which took place during the march

1 چوب چینی "Somilax China"

and the halts. After suffering great troubles, the Emperor reached Bahādur Garh. A halt of forty days was ordered in the end of Sha'bān with a view to giving rest to the army in the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

Regnal Year 50.

(Corresponding to 1117 H.—1705-1706 A. C.)

[P. 540] 'Ālamgīr passed the month of Ramaḍān, fasting and offering *Tarāwīḥ*[1] and obligatory and supererogatory prayers as was customary with him in previous years. After the month of fasting was over, he started holding two sessions of the Court (دیوان) every day and attending to the affairs of the State.

Dhu al-Fiqār Khān was sent to recapture the fort of Bakhshindah Bakhsh, while the Emperor, left for Ahmad Nagar.

Sāhu the son of Sambha and the grandson of Siva, the hell-dog, had been granted the *manṣab* of seven thousand two thousand horse, and had been awarded the title of the Rajah and a fertile jāgīr. He was allowed to have a separate Diwān, a manager (خانسامان) and Mutaṣaddis. He stayed within the precincts of Gulāl Bār under the personal supervision of the Emperor. The Mutaṣaddīs had been ordered to give him education and training (تربیت). From the commencement of his imprisonment to this day he was never kept at a distance from the Imperial stirrup. Even during the march he was always kept by the side of the Emperor. At this time Dhu al-Fiqār Khān, who had been assigned the duty of training that offspring of the serpent, unaware that the wise men have said: "It is not a wise act to kill the serpent and to rear within the sleeves its offspring", requested the Emperor and was allowed to keep Sahu along with himself, during this march, away from the Imperial company.

1 *Tarāwīḥ* extra prayers offered with the prayer of 'Isha in the month of Ramaḍān.

At Aḥmad Nagar

In the middle of the month of Shawwāl, the Emperor reached the vicinity of Ahmad Nagar. It was from this very place that he had started his march, twenty two years earlier, for the conquest of Bijapur. Now, he returned to the same place on the approach of his end. On the day of his arrival at this place the Emperor said "Ahmad Nagar is the end of our journey." [P. 541] In the month of Dhu al-Ḥijjah news came that through the efforts of Dhu al-Fiqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jung and other warriors, the fort of Bakhshindah Bakhsh had been recaptured. The Emperor was pleased to hear this.

Prince A'ẓam comes to see the Emperor.

Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, who was posted in the province of Aḥmadabad, on hearing of the illness of his father expressed his anxiety and requested for permission to present himself at the Court, on the excuse, that the climate of Ahmadabad did not suit him. The Emperor did not approve of it and sent the following *farmān* in reply :

"We also during the illness of His Majesty (*i.e.*, Shāh Jahān) had made a similar request. In reply we received a *farmān* saying: The climate of every place is suitable for a man except inordinate ambition (هوائے نفس اماره[1])."

Subsequently when Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, repeated his request, he was posted to the Ṣūbah of Malwa. The Prince did not go to Ujjayn and requested again for permission to be present at the Court. The Emperor, willingly or unwillingly gave the permission. Covering the long distance by travelling fast he reached the Court towards the end of the same month and had the privilege of being received in audience.

On the transfer of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, who was in Ṣūbah of Bengal was appointed the Ṣūbehdār of Aḥmadabad. In view of the

1 There is a pun on the word هوا meaning climate or ambition.

long journey from Bengal to Aḥmadabad, Prince Bedār Bakht, the worthy son of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, who was in Burhānpur, was ordered to go to Aḥmadabād and look after its affairs until the arrival of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān. The *farmān* of the ṣūbehdāri of Burhānpur was issued to Najābat Khān in addition to his command of the port of Malher and its Fawjdāri and the Sarkār of Buglana. Khān-e-'Ālam, son of Khān-e-Zamān of Hayderabad, was appointed Ṣūbehdār of Malwa.

The story of a Person who pretended as an al-Chemist.

[P. 542] During these days reports of strange incidents were received from news-writers of the capital. The writer of these pages heard their detailed report after some time from Mir 'Abd Allāh, who in those days was in the service of Muḥammad Yār Khān the commandant of the fort of Shāhjahān Abād (Delhi). As they are extraordinary, I am describing them in a few lines.

Mukarram Khān, the son of Shaykh Mir Khawāfi, had resigned his *manṣab* during those days and was leading a retired life. He was known for his hankering after alchemy. One day a person holding a stick in his hand came to him and took his seat posing as a Darwesh with a sheet of cloth on his shoulder and took his seat as an intellectual, showing indifference towards wealth. He did not utter a word until other people had left. When the gathering dispersed the owner of the house asked his name and conditions. The Darwesh replied :

"I am a believer in and follower of Ḥaḍrat Ghawth al-A'ẓam (may God consecrate his secret). He has taught me Alchemy in a dream. I have been ordered not to reveal its secrets to any body until I receive a hint or permission from him. During these days I have received permission that I should come to you and teach you this noble science". With a glib tongue and fraudulent talk narrating strange tales and at the same time pretending unselfishness and absence of personal interest

or gain, he persuaded Mukarram Khān to put to test his skill in this art. The flame of fire in Mukarram Khān's anxiety to test his skill began to enkindle more and more. He set apart a clean and secluded place for the Darwesh and decided to serve him in every way. That deceitful Darwesh completely abstained from taking meat, butter and delicious food. Several tests were made (by him) and every time some *ashrafis*[1] and uncoined gold were thrown into the furnace and showed to Mukarram Khān, as having become fraudulently double in quantity. Every day he enchanted him anew and flared the flames of his greed. His craftiness had reached such a state that the master of the house thought that the *Darwesh* was unselfish and perfect in the art (of alchemy). During these days whenever he was requested to accept some presents or to change his clothes, he in the garb of ungreediness, always showed his disinterestedness in all these things. To show his rectitude and proficiency he played a trick every second or third day. Thus the confidence of Mukarram Khān in him increased ten times. Whenever the question of teaching the art was raised, he promised that at the time of his departure, he would make several maunds of gold that would be a very good parting gift as well as a demonstration of art and then he would surrender to him its key and would himself go on tour to Baghdād. When the promised day came he ordered the largest cauldron possible to be brought. He filled the cauldron with copper coins along with other chemicals مصالح which were instantaneously supplied. He ordered gold and *ashrafis* to be brought equal in weight to copper metal and coins, which would fill the cauldron. Other articles needed for the occasion were also instantaneously brought. An equal amount of gold coins was also provided. When the cauldron was filled, the Darwesh, after the fashion of the cunning tricksters covered it

1 In the printed (Persian) text p. 543 has been printed instead of 544 and vice versa. The error begins from the last line of p. 542. Actually the last line of p. 542 should be placed before the second line of p. 545. In the translation we have corrected this printing error.

with a lid and cloth and pasted it with mud.[1] A pit was dug with a pick-axe. The cauldron was placed in it with a large quantity of charcoal around it. It was buried and set on fire at the time of sunset. Later, when one third of night had passed, a peculiar and dreadful sound arose from the cauldron and that deceitful trickster expressed his dismay and rubbed his hands. Mukarram Khān asked him the cause of his dismay. Explaining this he answered : "In carrying out this experiment some discrepency has occurred and its only remedy is the shedding of the blood of a young child of black complexion." On hearing this Mukarram Khān was drowned in the ocean of astonishment over this wild suggestion and said : "How can I give my consent to the shedding of the blood of an innocent child and from where can I get such a child?" The crafty fellow said: "I have an unclaimed infidel child in view, who can be had at a small amount." He insisted so much in this respect, that the owner of the house (Mukarram Khān), having been carried away by greed, agreed and gave some gold coins to that juggler. He did not take the *Ashrafis,* but took some gold and silver coins out of his pocket, showed them to Mukarram Khān and went away. After four or five *gharis* he brought a child of tender age and slaughtered him at the mouth of the cauldron. The moment the drops of blood fell on the fire, the sounds coming out of the cauldron subsided. He hid the slaughtered child quickly covering it with dried grass and refuse. After two or three hours (ساعت), while a *pahar* of the night still remained the men of the *Kotwāl* with trumpets and torches appeared at the door and started knocking it. They demanded the surrender of the Darwesh, who had fraudulently kidnapped the poor child, and said : "His father and mother had made a complaint; surrender the Darwesh to us". Mukarram Khān lost his senses on hearing the tumultuous noise. He tried to flatter and bribe the men of the *Kotwāl* and started negotiations offering one hundred and two hundred

1 گل حکمت a process by which mouth of any vessel is made air tight with cloth and clay.

rupees and raised them to one or two thousand rupees, as he wanted to save himself from disgrace. The Darwesh consoled the master of the house, protested against giving a single *dām* as bribe and said to him to surrender him. Mukarram Khān continued increasing his flattery to those vulgar fellows (پواج). That crafty juggler, not caring for Mukarram Khān's effort to stopping him, talked glibly and threw himself out of the door and said: "Here I am before you; where will you take me? I am ready to answer any question." It became necessary to take hold of that cheat and hand him over to the men of the *Kotwāl*. The footmen of the *Kotwāl* bound the hands of the Darwesh in the presence of the servants of Mukarram Khān and took him away. Early in the morning Mukarram Khān sent some of his men to find out what had passed on the Darwesh. The men went there but despite their inquiries about the fraudulent Darwesh, they found no trace of any thing that had taken place in the night i.e., the coming of the men of the *Kotwāl* and so there was no question of taking the Darwesh away. They made inquiry about the incidents of the preceding night from the men of the *Kotwāl* and from other sources, however, they found no trace of him nor any clue of his whereabouts. They asked the people of the Maḥallah who had adjacent doors and who lived next door about the sound of the trumpet and the tumult in the night. No one opened his tongue about the affair. They tried to find out the trace of the slaughtered child whose body had been covered with mud and rubbish but nothing was found. Every moment their astonishment increased. They extinguished the fire round the cauldron and tried to find out their capital (مایا) and the profit. Nothing could be seen but small pieces of stones and copper money in place of gold coins. The closed incident, in spite of the greatest precautions to keep it secret, became known to every body. When Muḥammad Yār Khān heard this news, he sent to Mukarram Khān his servent Mīr 'Abd Allāh, who is the source of information of the writer, to find out the real state of affairs. Mukarram Khān admitted that a crafty wanderer had visited him and showed

some of his tricks, and taken away the money destined for him, and that he had gifted it to him as a reward and wages of his show.

Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm called to the Court

[P. 546] Now I turn to the narration of the events at the Court and the journey of the Emperor to the next world. Muḥammad A'ẓam S͟hāh had reached the Court. He was proud of his own bravery and valour. He had collected a large army and had some wealth at Ahmadabad, and had an eye on the treasure and the army of the Emperor. He attached no importance to his elder brother and in every thing considered himself superior. to him. As to Prince Kām Bak͟hsh, he considered him, not to be existing. Keeping in view the critical condition of his father who was generally not in normal health, his first move was to displace Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm,[1] by summoning him, to the Court because he had been for a long time, a permanent Ṣūbehdār of Bihār and was stationed at 'Aẓīm Ābād, known as Patna, and had, as was generally known, collected a vast treasure. Many real and ficticious actions of the Prince, were reported to the Emperor and A'ẓam S͟hāh insisted that he should be called to the Court. He did not know that according to the Qur'ānic verse: "And the evil plot encloseth but the men who make it"[2] that the moving of Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm would become a serious danger for himself. The mace-bearers were sent with orders calling Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm to the Court. On receiving the orders Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, made preparations[3] for proceeding to wait upon his revered grandfather.

The news of the death of Prince Muḥammad Akbar in the territory of Garm Sir[4] in K͟hurāsān, had been current for a year. By way of precaution orders had been sent to the officers at

1 Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm al-S͟hān, the son of Prince Mu'aẓẓam.

2 *Al-Qur'ān*, Sūrah 35, verse 43.

3 احرام بستن : Lit. to wear unstiched garments for the performance of *Ḥajj* pilgrimage.

4 A place in K͟hurāsān.

Multan and to other officers of the frontier provinces, to ascertain the news. It was now confirmed through the statement of **Muḥammad A'ẓam S̲h̲āh.**

Regnal Year 51.

Corresponding to 1118 H./1706-1707 A. C.

Account of the death of the Emperor, (May his grave be fragrant).

[P. 547] Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam S̲h̲āh, who had reached the Court, was proud of his bravery and for having collected an army of experienced soldiers. He had won over to his side Jumdat al-Mulk Asad K̲h̲ān along with some other powerful Amīrs. He was seeking some pretext to start a quarrel with Prince Kām Bak̲h̲s̲h̲. For some time the Emperor who had slightly recovered sat daily and regularly in the Court and gave audience, but the symptoms of growing weakness and the journey to the next world had begun to appear in his condition. In these days Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam S̲h̲āh, whenever he got an opportunity, reported to the Emperor, the undesireable and immoderate acts of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bak̲h̲s̲h̲, who knew the *Qur'ān* by heart and who was well versed in traditional and rational sciences. As Kām Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ was his youngest son, and the parents have greater affection towards their youngest children, the Emperor had a deep concern for him. He had appointed Sulṭān Ḥasan, known as Mīr Malang, from whose face the symptoms of bravery and loyalty appeared, as Mīr Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī of Prince Kām Bak̲h̲s̲h̲. He had conferred on him the title of Ḥasan K̲h̲ān, and sent him to the Prince and had instructed him to be careful about his safety. Ḥasan K̲h̲ān, owing to his loyalty and experience, keeping in view the circumstances of the time, always kept a guard, in addition to his own men, consisting of reliable and selected persons fully armed and personally escorted the Prince whenever

he was called to the Court. For some time he, himself, fully armed, guarded the Prince with the greatest care day and night. [P. 548] On being informed of this, Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh made repeated complaints against it, but received no reply. At last he wrote a letter to Nawwāb Zib-al-Nisa[1] Begum, his real sister, complaining about the impudence of Ḥasan Khān, saying that he had gone beyond limits of his position. He also added that it was not a difficult task to punish Ḥasan Khān for his impudence, but his great regard for the Emperor, stopped him from doing anything. When the letter was presented before the Emperor, he wrote a reply on it in his own hand :--

"The appointment of Ḥasan Khān is evident because the Prince has great fears and doubts about him. However we are sending Prince Kām Bakhsh to another place."

Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh was greatly upset by this taunting reply. He had no choice but to remain patient and consider the separation of his younger brother (from the Emperor) to be a boon (غنیمت).

The foresighted Emperor knew that he was not recovering from illness, and he saw that mischief of the Prince A'ẓam (اعظم) was increasing day by day. He realised that after him there would be great confusion and trouble in the army and the people would be greatly distressed if the two tigers were left free with their chains broken. He had also a great concern about the well being of Prince Kām Bakhsh. At first Prince Kām Bakhsh was sent to the province of Bijapur with due honour and with all the paraphernalia of royalty and it was ordered that he should be seen off with the beating of drums. When Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam saw this, he coiled like a venomous snake but did not have courage to utter a single word. Within two or three days,

1 This is incorrect, In fact Zib-al-Nisā had died in 1702. See *Ma'athir-'Ālamgīri* (Eng Trans), p. 323. If the story about A'ẓam's letter is true, then it must have been addressed to Zīnat-al-Nisa, who like Zib-al-Nisa, was also the real sister of the Prince, and at the time was with the Emperor.

Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh was also sent to Malwa with a party of strict Sazāwals. After the two brothers had been made to depart, [P. 549] the illness of the Emperor became more serious and he developed high fever. For three or four days, in spite of his serious illness the Emperor offered his five daily prayers regularly with the congregration. When he was in this condition Ḥamīd al-Dīn, according to the suggestions of the astronomers, presented a petition for the sanction of giving in charity (تصدق) one elephant and a precious diamond. He wrote on it under his own signature: "Giving an elephant in charity was the custom of the Hindus and the star worshippers. Four thousand rupees may be sent to *Qāḍi al-Quḍāt* to be distributed in charity among the deserving". On the same petition he wrote that his humble (خاکسار) body should be buried soon after his death and that people should not busy themselves in decorating his coffin. They say that he wrote a will about the division of his Empire among his sons and handed it over to Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān.

On Friday the 28th of Dhu al-Qa'dah in the fifty first year of his reign in the year 1118/H., the thirteenth day of the month of Isfandar of the Ilāhi era, 'Ālamgīr started reciting the Kalimah-i-Tawḥīd[1]. After a part of the day had passed, he

1 According to Musta'id Khān the Emperor offered his morning prayers on Friday (28 Dhu al-Qa'dah 1118 H / 21 Feb. 1707) and then went to his *Khwāb-gah*, where he engaged himself in reciting *Kalimah*. He expired when a part of the day had passed and even at the last moment, when unconsciousness had overcome him, his fingers were seen counting the beads of the rosary and his lips moving till the last breath.

Prince A'ẓam had to rush to the Court to join the funeral of his deceased father and reached there on Saturday. On monday he carried the bier on his shoulders, in a state of extreme grief up to the gate of the Court. The body was laid to rest in the court yard of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn's tomb in a sepulchre which had been built by him in his life time. His burial place has come to be know as *Khuld Ābād* Its simple structure consisting of a *Chabūtrah* (platform) of red stone, three yards in length and two yards and a half in breath, with its heights measuring a few fingers. In the centre there is a cavity filled with earth. *Cf. M'athir-i-'Ālamgīri.* (Agra, 1873), p. 230.

departed from this mortal world for the eternal gardens (روضه جنان). He attained the age of 91 years and some months and he ruled for fifty years and 2½ months.

بیت — اگر صد سال مانی ور یکے روز به باید رفت زین کاخ دل افروز

Verse :

[Even if you live for hundred years you must leave this pleasant palace one day.]

He was buried between the tombs of Ḥaḍrat Shaykh Burhān-al-Dīn and other Shaykhs and that of Shāh Zari Zar Bakhsh near Dawlatābād. Some flourishing villages in the Sarkār of Dawlat Ābād in the vicinity of Khujistah Bunyād (Awrangabād) were set apart and named as the Parganah of Khuld Ābād for the expenses of the tomb of the Emperor who has his place in the heavens.

[P. 550] Outwardly speaking, very few among the Timurid Princes or even among the earlier kings of Delhi, with the exception of Sikandar Lodi, whose commendable qualities have been described in the first volume of this narrative; have surpassed him in the performance of prayers, abstinence and in the administration of justice. However, out of regard for the Sharī'ah he did not award severe punishments (to the offenders). He was matchless in courage and forbearance, and in the strength of conviction he was pearless. As the administration of an Empire is not possible without punishment discensions and rivalries had cropped up among the nobles, and every project and scheme started by him, failed to go through, and every expedition undertaken by him was prolonged and ended in failure. In spite of the fact that he had reached the age of 90 years, his five senses were perfectly sound, except for a slight weakness in hearing, which could not be detected by others. Mostly he passed his nights in vigils and prayers, and

1 Khāfi Khān's statement creates a little misunderstanding. As far as punishments were concerned, 'Ālamgīr did not take unusally severe steps against the offenders. He wanted to do justice and was against crossing its bounds. He, therefore, awarded punishment allowed in law and often took a lenient view of the deeds of the offender.

abstained from most of the pleasures which are inseparable from human nature (لازم و ملزوم بشریت هستند)

One day an old woman made a complaint against the cruelty of a hard-hearted Fawjdār. He issued strict orders for the return of the confiscated money to her. She came back again with the complaint that the confiscated money had not been returned to her by the Fawjdār and that he was maltreating her more than before. He ordered the transfer of the Fawjdār. However, again she came with the complaint that the new Fawjdār had declared the extortion of money from her as the practice (دستور العمل) of his predecessor and had realised it again by force, and therefore she had brought the complaint again. The Emperor said in his reply: "Pray to God so that He might send another Emperor." He did not issue orders for the punishment of one or two really tyrannical *Fawjdārs*. As they had no fear of punishment, the officers and Fawjdārs of the Parganahs used to collect the prohibited cesses for themselves. The macebearers also went there. collected the money for themselves and returned after taking *Muchalkahs* for show only.

[P. 551] *Pious and saintly persons of the period.*

It is impossible to enumerate and give an account of numerous pious men, *Pīrs* (اولیاؤ پیران دین) in the twenty one Ṣūbahs of his Empire. I am giving brief notices of some of these rightly guided persons about whom I possess information.

Shaykh Wārith

Combining in his person the inward and outward qualities, Shaykh Muḥammad Wārith. conversant in real truth and knowledge, admired by other chosen persons of God is one of them: he lived in retirement and seclusion, That learned divine follower of the road of Faith (پیرو راه دین) performed so many miraculous deeds that the people had begun to think of him as one who possessed *'Alim-i-Da'wat*! The Emperor had

visited him several times. He used to make great efforts to solve the problems of the people.

Shaykh Bāyazīd.

Another pious person was Shaykh Bāyazīd who was an Afghān by origin. In self denial and abstinence (ریاضت و نفس کشی) and in the matter of helping the destitute, the fame of that devotee of God had spread all over the world, and therefore he had become the centre of attraction for Hindus and Muslims and the needy people of every religion. Most of his time was spent in solving the problems of the needy and helpless people. Bare-headed he remained engaged in reciting Allāh and did not spend even a moment without reciting (ذکر) the name of God.[1] When Sīdī Yaḥyā became the Kotwāl of Delhi, he wanted to appoint a number of persons. Many people came to the Shaykh and requested him to recommend them to him. The Shaykh took them along with him to the Kotwāl and recommended them for service. Sīdī Yaḥyā said; [P. 552] "You are the patron and refuge of the people and I have three defects.—Firstly, I am a purchased slave; secondly, I belong to the race of Abyssinians who are the ugliest and the rudest of the people; and thirdly, I am a Kotwāl whose business is to be harsh. Now as you have designed to come and are recommending these people I consider it to be a great obligation and I accept them; but, if you will take the trouble of coming again, I will not accept it (recommendation)". The Shaykh replied. "If I come again to give you trouble, you may order the shaving of my head, and seating me on a donkey, have me paraded through the city." Sīdī Yaḥyā enrolled the people brought by the Shaykh and took them in service. After two or three days, three or four persons came to the Shaykh and humbly requested him to take them to the Kotwāl and get them appointed. The Shaykh wanted to be excused, but the needy

1 ذکر : Lit. mentioning. It is a devotional practice of the Ṣūfīs in which they recite the first half of the Kalimah لا اله الا الله (There is no God save Allāh) or briefly *Allāhu*.

persons remained adamant. The Shaykh, taking a barber and a donkey with him went to the Kotwāl and said : "I had made a condition that if I would give you trouble again you would be at liberty to shave my head and have me paraded in the city on a donkey. I have brought a donkey and a barber with me. I am ready to bear any punishment, but these few persons should be appointed." Sīdī Yaḥyā smiled and accepted the recommendation of the Shaykh.

One day he addressed the Emperor in the *Jāmi' masjid* and said to him by way of an advice (وعظا). "The Leader of both the worlds and the Prophet of the mankind and the genii (may peace be on him and his descendants) gave his daughter in marriage. Why have you, being a religious minded Emperor, not married your daughters?" Other qualities of the Shaykh are beyond enumuration.

Sayyid Ḥasan Rasūl-Numā[1]

Another Shaykh of the time, Syyyid Ḥasan Rasūl-Numā. combined piety with learning and was among the capable persons of the day and was known for his closeness to God (واصل باللہ) .In his time, he was peerless in knowledge particularly in and Tafsīr and Ḥadīth and in his prayers and abstinence. He spoke in a rude and harsh manner to the rich people who visited him because of their faith in him, as is usual with the malamati faqīrs[2]. He kept himself aloof from the worldly-minded people, (دنیا پرستان), and spoke usually in harsh words to those who having faith in him visited him and expressed a desire to become his disciples. However, it has been heard on the authority of trustworthy persons that some of his devotees, who had true faith in him, were honoured by being presented in the assembly of the Prophet. Many a needy person had the desire of his heart fulfilled by his internal attention (توجہ باطنی).

1 He was known by this epithet because the people believed that through his spiritual force, he could make his disciples see the Prophet in a vision.

2 A section of the *faqīrs* who apparently behave in a disgusting manner, because they do not want the people to show respect to them.

Shaykh Burhān

Another Shaykh (of the time) was Ḥaḍrat Shaykh Burhān may God consecrate his dust! He was one of the chief disciples of Ḥaḍrat Shaykh 'Īsā who was one of the leading Shaykhs of Burhānpur. He (Shaykh Burhān) had spent a long time in serving Shaykh 'Īsā and used to bring for him clods of earth for cleansing the private parts after passing urine. As far as possible he always attended the gatherings of *Samā'* (Ṣūfi music), when a great change appeared in him ultimately he became one of the leading Shaykhs (بزرگان دین). Whatever is written about his good qualities it will be less than the reality. His treatment of the selected and the common people was such that men of all religions had faith in him. So many of his miraculous deds (خرق عادات) had been seen that it had become a common talk among the selected and the common people. When Prince Awrangzib was going with the intention of opposing Dārā Shukūh, he wanted to see him. As he knew that the Shaykh did not like to meet the rulers (سلاطین) he changed his dress, and sat down in the crowd of the people in the night without making it known to the Shaykh. The Shaykh, seeing a new face asked his name.

He replied "Awrangzib". The Shaykh did not say a word, nor gave him the (*Tabarruk*) any thing given by way of blessing. Next day when the prince again went to Shaykh Burhān, he said: "If you like this place please tell me, I will find some other *Takyah*[1] for *darwishes*". A person named Mālālu used to be in the service of the Shaykh day and night, and served water for his ablution. The Shaykh was very kind to him, and so 'Ālamgir approached him. As advised by Shaykh Niẓām, he agreed to the plan that he should stand at the door of the Khānqāh at the time when the Shaykh come out for prayers. Thus standing, he was to request the Shaykh to give him farewell blessings. Accordingly, Awrangzib taking Shaykh Niẓām, Shaykh Mīr, and Mīr Mīrān with him reached the place and stood there at the door of the Shaykh at the time of the Shaykh's coming out for prayers. He stopped

1 تکیہ ; lit. a place of repose. Here it means an abode of *Darwīsh*.

there and enquired about the welfare of the Prince. He began by complaining about Dāra Shukūh's laxity in observing the dictates of the Sharī'ah and then mentioned his own determination to closely follow the teachings of the Prophet (دین نبوی) and to look after the interests of the people (رعیت پروری), he requested Shaykh to confer his blessings on him and to help him by his spiritual guidance, (توجه باطنی). The Shaykh, who had a truth-uttering tongue, said: "Of what advantage can be the prayers of a poor faqir like me? You, who are a king, should pray to God for granting you good intentions to do justice and look after the interests of the people. We are also raising our hands to join you in prayers". Shaykh Niẓām said to the Prince in a low voice: "Congratulations for kingship!"

The father of the writer of these pages wanted to go to the court of Shāh 'Ālam to secure a *manṣab*. He went to Shaykh Burhān and told him about the purpose of his visit and requested him to pray for his success. The Shaykh said: "You are at liberty to go, but you will gain your object before you reach the court of Shāh 'Ālam"; and it actually so happened [P. 555]. At first when he had applied for the *manṣab* it was not granted, and this was the reason why he wanted to go in person. In the meantime, Zayn al-'Ābidin Khān, the founder of Khajistah Bunyād Awrang Ābād, who was his maternal uncle[1], had written to Muṣṭafa Khān about his case. When the petition was submitted by him for a second time, it was accepted in absentia. A group of the chief disciples of the Shaykh, who lived day and night in his Khānqāh, had so completely absorbed themselves into the personality of the Shaykh that in a trance and state of unconsciousness they considered him to be God and addressed him as such. The Shaykh repeatedly forbade them to do that and made them express their repentence (توبه) but this proved of no avail. At last the Shaykh confined some of them in his Khānqāh and in

1 Khālū (خالو) is the husband of the sister of one's mother.

course of time made them abandon those beliefs and repent from their actions; thus they regained their normal condition. However, some of them who were incorrigible were sent by him to the Qāḍi with directions that he should try to reform them as far as possible, otherwise he should punish them according to the *Sharī'ah* law. Accordingly, the Qāḍi put them in prison for a few days and tried to make them repent but it proved to be of no avail. At last he ordered them to be put to death. It is unnecessary to write more about the qualities of that person close to God (واصل باللہ).

In the 22nd year of the reign of 'Ālamgīr that beloved of God responded to the summons of Almighty Being (died). The writer of this narrative was one of the thousands of people who accompanied the bier of the Shaykh. In spite of my closely observing it I could not discern whether the bier was being carried on the tips of fingers of the people or it was floating in the air.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭīf.

Another Shaykh, possessing the knowledge of truth and gnosis, was Shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭīf who lived in the *maḥallah* of *Dawlat Mandān* at Burhānpur, on the banks of the river Patni.[1] He was a contemporary [P. 556] of Shaykh Burhān. 'Ālamgīr had great faith in him, and not a single week or month passed when the Shaykh did not receive a kind letter from him written in his own hand. He always obeyed the laws of Prophet Muḥammad's *Sharī'ah* he tried to follow the Mutakallimin,[2] and hated *Sam'ā* and instrumental music. Nobody had the courage to sing loudly in his neighbourhood and no marriage procession, whether of a king or a beggar, could pass by the door of his Khānqāh with drums beating or having unlawful things of decoration. He did not take any one as his disciple. In the beginning he used to call Shaykh Burhān a

1 Patni: Burhanpur is on the bank of the river Tāpti. It is quite possible that the editors have read پتنی for تپتی (Tapti).

2 The term is used to express Muslim thinkers and philosophers?

Bid'ati.[1] Shaykh Burhān on the other hand used to say about Shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭif: "I should thank God that I am a contemporary of such a strict follower of the *Sharī'ah* and the truth." It is said that towards the end of his life Shaykh 'Abd al-Laṭif had also begun to have faith in Shaykh Burhān.

Mīr Naṣīr al-Dīn.

Another pious person was Ḥaḍrat Mīr Naṣir al-Dīn Haravi. He was a Sayyid of noble birth, may his grave be consecrated! was so pious and virtuous that whatever be written by the truth loving pen about his qualities would be correct. Since the beginning of his youth both his feet and left hand had become paralysed. He used to scribe the *Qur'ān* and works on *Tafsīr* and *Sulūk*, with his right hand, and thus earned his living. He fasted throughout the year. After breaking his fast and offering 'Isha prayers he slept for two or three sidereal (ساعت نجومی) hours. Rising when two *pahars* of the night still remained he offered his *Tahajjud* prayers and began to read the *Qur'ān* which he continued till the time of the morning prayers [P. 557]. While reading the *Qur'ān* he used to weep in a way that a wave of tears appeared to be flowing like a spring from his eyes. On his earning of scribing he lived in such a manner that wisdom failed to understand it. If any person brought an offering (نذر و نیاز) as a token of his faith in him, the Shaykh refused to accept it. But he accepted presents offered by a person as a mark of his sincerity and attachment. In such cases also he did not then consider himself to have been freed of the obligation until he had repaid in someway or the other twice or thrice the price of the gift. He seldom rejected a request made to him by a person. People wondered when they thought of his income and expenditure. He hated the society of the rich people and the officers. Several times it happened that the Nāẓim of the city went to see him, but he expressed his displeasure and refusing to accept his *Nadhr* asked

1 Bid'ati : lit. an innovater. It is used for a person who introduces new and undesireable ways in religious practices.

him to leave. One day Munawwar Khān, Ṣūbehdār went to see him. The Shaykh addressed him and said: "Your elephant, and your army have blocked the road for the unfortunate people. I cannot think of any reason other than that you want to make this *faqīr* a partner in the curse of your tyranny. What else could be the meaning of your taking this trouble and giving trouble to others?" The Ṣūbehdār said: "Kindly attract me to yourself through your spiritual force". The Shaykh replied: "I, a sinner, have committed the sins of disobeying God, and He has rendered my feet and hand defective, you should also expect and wait for punishment for your deeds and actions in governing the people of God."

I make here only a brief reference to the contentment of that pious man of excellent character. 'Ināyat Allah Khān who had developed a faith in the Sayyid leader in absentia [P. 558] presented his case to the Emperor. A directive was sent to Khwājah Adham, the Ṣadr of Burhānpur to the effect that a report having been presented to the Emperor about the *Siyādat* (being a Sayyid) the rights, and virtues and piety of that scholar and knower of truth namely Sayyid Naṣīr al-Dīn, Imperial orders have been issued that the Ṣadr should go to the Sayyid and make enquiries about his resources and his rights (to State aid), and then he should suggest a monthly or a daily stipend for him and report it so that a *farmān* and a *sanad* might be issued from the Dīwān accordingly".

Khwājah Adham took the directive (حسب الحکم) to the Sayyid and showed it to him. The respected Shaykh read it and gave it back to the Ṣadr. The Ṣadr Said: "I would report to the Emperor whatever you want, a village near the city which you like, or cash." The upright Sayyid replied: "I do not know why you have shown this order to me and why you enquire from me in this connection?" The Ṣadr said: "As the directive has been received in your name, I thought it necessary to bring it to you and make an enquiry from you". That beloved of God said: "Perhaps by mistake this directive addressed to some one else has been brought to me. Four qualities have been

mentioned in this directive; of these, I cannot deny being a Sayyid but I cannot lay any claim to it, As to piety, right and learning which have been mentioned in it. I am certain that I possess none of them." The Ṣadr was displeased by this reply and said: Apparently you have the wealth of *Tawakkul* (depending on God)." The Sayyid in reply said. "*Lakhs* and *Karors* of persons like the one whom you look to, depend on the Being who has the key of my livelihood."

The writer of this narrative has a great faith in that respected Sayyid and has seen many of his miraculous deeds,, the details of which will make the account lengthy. In the beginning [P. 559] of his youth he was a trusted servant of Khān Zamān and was also known to the Emperor. Subsequently he retired from worldly life and lived in seclusion. During the year when Khuld Manzil had gone on the expedition against Kām Bakhsh, he had predicted his own death six months before the time.

Sayyid Sa'd Allāh.

Sayyid Sa'd Allāh, was the grand-son of Shaykh Pīr Muḥammad Salūni who resided in the eastern regions and was a well-known teacher in that area. He (Sa'd Allāh) had studied under his maternal grand-father for thirty five years, and had attained perfection in the traditional and rational sciences, and also in mathematics and in *Sulūk* (Sūfism). Later he went on a pilgrimage to Makkah and spent there twelve years in teaching and studying the standard works of the time (متداول). He performed the Ḥajj eleven times. He had earned such a fame for his piety, (تقوی وعلم سلوک و ریاضت) and abstinence that the Sharīf of Makkah had begun to show a great regard for him. He helped many people who used to come there for Ḥajj from Arab territories, 'Ajam and Hind. When ever there was any case of maltreatment of the people by the Sharīf the Sayyid sent his recommendation which proved to be effective. Thus he lived there in great respect. In one or two cases the Sharīf did not accept his recommenda-

tions. He was annoyed and left Makkah and reached Surat where he retired into seclusion. Through the despatches of news-writers and from some other sources the Emperor came to know about the Sayyid. He granted to him two villages with an income of seven or eight thousand rupees as *Madad Ma'āsh*. He also gave him Ḥavīli from Government houses for the establishment of a Khānqāh for his attendants. Thus he passed his days in great respect at the port of Surat. He lived with and treated the people [P. 560] belonging to all the religions in a way that all of them regarded him as their spiritual guide; even the infidels had a great faith in him. He tried his best to solve the difficulties of the people by contacting the officers of the State and some time even by writing to the Emperor. 'Ālamgīr had a great regard for the Sayyid and quite often he wrote replies to his affectionate letters in his own hand. Every recommendation that he made in cases of common persons was accepted. Once however when he wrote for the restoration of a despatch-writer and a Ḥakīm of Dār-al-Shifa to their posts, the Emperor immediately reinstated them but he ordered that a directive should be sent to the Sayyid. It said :—

"You are a darwīsh, a learned man and one who has cut off relations from the world. You should therefore recommend the cases of darwīshes and learned people only and should have nothing to do with the affairs of those who are tyrants. Should you say that they are honest in performing their duties and do not commit embezzlement, there is no doubt that in accepting our service they have been cruel to themselves but in serving us they cause damage to the life and property of others. To help a tyrant even though it be in the cutting of the pen (قلم تراشیدن) is forbidden."

From that day the Emperor gave np writing letters to the Sayyid in his own hand but the Sayyid did not discontinue practice of sending recommendations. Besides, he wrote to the Emperor in exaggerated terms that it was obligatory to cultivate love for the

twelve Imāms, he referred this matter to scholars of the Court and said: "The Sayyid has written to us about this again and again; we do not understand what he is aiming at. What is your view about it?" They replied:

"He is right, but with the Sunnīs the epithet 'Imām' is not confined to twelve Imāms[1] only."

[P. 561] One or two scholars of Surat, were unhappy with him because of his kind treatment of all the Hindus and the Muslims and his faith in some of the Ṣūfī doctrines. One day the Sayyid in reply to a letter from a Hindu, named Har Rai, who was permanent *Pīshkār* and Mutaṣaddi of the port of Surat and had a great faith in him, wrote in place of the form of address (القاب) the following verse.

Verse :

به نام آن که او نامے نه دارد   بهر نامش که خوانی سر برآرد

[In the name of One Who has no name,

And who replies by whatever name you call Him.'

When the contents of this letter came to the knowledge of the said scholars, they criticized the Sayyid saying that writing this couplet in place of the form of address for the infidel was showing disregard to the Sharī'ah. The Sayyid replied (in explanation): "Besides the Self-Existent (God), we consider all created beings (ممکن الوجود) to be non-existient (معدوم الوجود)."

Mir Murtaḍa Wā'iẓ

Mīr Murtaḍa Wā'iẓ was a resident of Multan. He was distinguished for his piety. He obeyed commands of the Prophet's Sharī'ah according to the beliefs of the Mutakallimīn and never visited a place where there was Samā' and instrumental music. He tried his

1 The majority of the Shiā'hs consider 'Ali and his eleven successive descendants as their Imāms. They are, therefore, known as Twelvers (Ithna Ashari). The Sunnīs however use the term for a person who leads the prayers or one who has attained proficiency in any field or branch of knowledge.

best to stop such gatherings and no one had the courage to raise the sound of music in the vicinity of the Maḥallah where he resided. He never took food at the houses of the officers. A large number of people had an attachment for him. However, when a person came to see him with a request to take him as a disciple, he stopped him harshly from uttering those words and asked him to repent.

"I have come after repentence and pray to God to forgive all my past sins, and in future through the grace of God and to the best of my capacity, I shall do or say nothing against the commands of the Sharī'ah."

After that he would ask him: "If God Almighty is kind enough to give you a son and your wife [P. 562] asks you to hold a music and dancing party, as is the custom of the day, will you do it or not ?" He would reply that he would do as directed by him. On this he used to say: "What is the value of my orders? Say that you will obey what has been ordered by God and His Prophet". He would then ask the man that if his wife would say that she would not live in his house if he did not agree to holding a rejoicing party on the birth of a son, as proposed by her, whether he would yield to her wishes or obey the orders of God and His Prophet. After the man had said that he would obey the commands of God he would make him repent (توبه داد) and give a pledge that in future he would not commit sins. About three or four thousand people from Multan and Lahore to the Deccan had a faith in him. If any one brought a *Nadhr* for him, he accepted it only after making an inquiry about the *means of his income* and *his profession*, and if it had not been acquired by illegal means, and that he had fulfilled his obligations in regard to providing subsistance for his wife and children. He took only one fifth (خمس) of the presents brought to him and invested the same in some business. He did not accept the help of the officers, nor even of the Emperor in the form of a grant of *Madad Ma'āsh*. He often observed fasts and remained engaged in prayers kept vigils in the nights and remained occupied in reading the *Qur'ān*. In his

discourses (وعظ) he used harsh language in condemning the cruel officers, hypocritical '*Ulama*, and a section of *faqirs* who became associated with the officers for the betterment of their livelihood, and tried to humour and please the wealthy people and guided them on a path against the commands of God and the Prophet, joined them in music parties, and heard music, and danced at the tombs of the pious persons (بزرگان). He also condemned those who acted upon certain innovations against the *Qur'ān*, the practice of which had become customary on the occasions of the *Shab-e-barāt*, [P. 563] the tenth day of Muḥarram and on the two 'Īd days. He preached the discontinuation of practice of the cooking of food in the name of the dead and sending it to one another's house instead of distributing it among the deserving. He also preached against dedicating food and other eatables in the names of souls of the dead and as an offering to those of the pious men. In Arabia, Iran and Tūrān the custom was to feed the Muslims and other destitutes, and then offer *Fātiḥah* on the table, while in Hindustān it has become customary that they after *Fātiḥah* before eating and distributing it. Though it has become a practice of the Mashā'ikh it is prohibited in the current books of these days (کتب متداوله). He laid great stress on the unlawfulness of tobacco and used harsh language in declaring it as such. For these reasons, wherever he went, the officers, the scholars, and the Mashā'ikh joined in opposing him and tried to insult him. On one Friday Qāḍi Akram, who later became Qāḍi-al-Quḍāt at the Court, collected all the judicial officers in the Jāmi' Masjid of Awrangabad, and announced that Mir Murtaḍa should be summoned, and a violent disturbance was about to ensue. A number of persons who had faith in Mir Murtaḍa and had followed him, wanted to mob the Qaḍi and insult him. The Mir, by threats and consolations, prevented them from crowding there and presented himself before the assembly of the Qāḍi. In regard to the lawfulness of the use of tobacco the Qāḍi

said to him: "O Mīr! you speak about the prohibition of the use of tobacco in highly exaggerated terms. From what standard works and the sayings of Mujtahid you draw your authority?". Mir Murtaḍa denied having said those words. Then there followed an altercation in which judicial officers supported the Qāḍi. The Qāḍi said: "Thousands of Muslims have gathered around you and there is no room left for other Muslims who are coming to offer their prayers. [P. 564] You should select some other place for your *wa'ẓ* (sermon)". Hot words were exchanged between the two sides. The Mīr repeatedly said, "Please tell me what is in accordance with the S͟harī'ah and I will accept it because I am also its follower".

Later when 'Ālamgīr was encamping at Poona in connection with his expeditions for the capture of the forts, and Qāḍi Akram had been appointed Qāḍi of the Court and given the title of Akram K͟hān, Mīr Murtaḍa appeared before the Emperor and presented a book which he had written under the title of *Ḥaqq-gu* (Proclaimer of truth). The religious-minded Emperor read two or three pages of the book and then placing it on his folded leg (زانو) raised his hands and said: "Praise be to Allāh! Praise be to Allāh! There are such proclaimers of truth in our time!" He told Prince Muḥammad Kām Bak͟hs͟h to accommodate the Sayyid near his own residence, and should listen attentively and act upon what the Sayyid said. The Emperor wanted to grant for him *Madad Ma'ās͟h*, but he declined. A few days later the Emperor said to him: "O Sayyid! we want to appoint you as a *Muḥtasib* (Censor of morals) in a city whose climate might suit you". The Sayyid replied: "If you want to appoint me as a *Muḥtasib* for the leading persons I accept it, otherwise the common people of most of the cities have faith in me". The Emperor said: "We do not understand what you mean by differenciating the leading persons from the common people[1]." Qāḍi

1 Evidenlly 'Alamgīr's refernce to the fact that before the laws af S͟harī'ah, which it was the duty of a *Muḥtasib* to enforce, there was no difference between a leading person and a common man.

Akram who wanted an opportunity to intervene said: "(By leading persons), he means the tombs and graves of the pious persons (بزرگان), because the Sayyid in his sermons proclaims from the pulpit that the bones of the persons, at whose graves drums are beaten and music and musical instruments are played should be unearthed and burnt to ashes". The Emperor said : "We cannot go with you to that extent". The Sayyid denied it, but it was of no avail, [P. 565] and he lost the respect which he had gained with the Emperor. Mīr Murtaḍa discontinued his visits to the Emperor and left for Burhānpur without taking permission from him. As the scholars, the officers and the Shaykhs of all the cities disliked the truthfulness of the discourses of the Sayyid, they sought loop-holes (رخنه) in his arguments to humiliate him. One day, he gave a sermon against the use of intoxicants, from the pulpit and was quoting verses from the *Qur'ān* and the sayings of the Prophet in support of his statement. He quoted a prohibitary *Ḥadīth* on the unlawfulness of the use of Hemp (بنگ). One of the scholars from Kashmir objected to his word, and insultingly said to him : "Hemp was not used in the days of the Prophet. It came into use five hundred years after his death. You are quoting a fabricated *Ḥadīth*, and you should be punished for it". The Mīr thus suffered another insult at the hands of the luxury loving young men and world seeking (دنیا پرست) scholars. Matters reached such an extent that Mīr Murtaḍa left the mosque for his house and never came out of it. About the same time he was overtaken by death, and according to the popular version he had taken poison.

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